

HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME XV

15
1946



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

1946

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY J. H. FURST COMPANY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
BONNER, CAMPBELL: Harpokrates (Zeus Kasios) of Pelusium.....	51
HILL, DOROTHY KENT: Material on the Cult of Sarapis.....	60
MAAS, P.: Στεφανώ, Title of a Priestess.....	72
MITsos, MARCELLUS T.: An Inscription from Mycenae.....	115
RAUBITSCHKE, A. E., and STEVENS, GORHAM P.: The Pedestal of the Athena Promachos	107
STEVENS, GORHAM P.: Architectural Studies Concerning the Acropolis of Athens	73
STEVENS, GORHAM P.: The Northeast Corner of the Parthenon.....	1
URE, A. D.: Some Boeotian Palmette Cups.....	27
URE, P. N.: Ring Aryballoi.....	38
EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA	
MERITT, BENJAMIN D.: Greek Inscriptions.....	169
PRITCHETT, KENDRICK: Greek Inscriptions.....	138
VANDERPOOL, EUGENE: The Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft.....	265
VANDERPOOL, EUGENE: Some Black-figured Pottery from The Athenian Agora	120
Epigraphical Indexes	166, 254



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024

https://archive.org/details/hesperia_1946_15

THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE PARTHENON

IF WE bear in mind that the Propylaea of the Acropolis of Athens was at the west end of the Acropolis, that the main entrance of the Parthenon faced east, and that the axis of the Propylaea was considerably to the north of the axis of the Parthenon, we shall understand that the most direct route from the Propylaea to the main entrance of the Parthenon passed around the northeast corner of the temple (cf. Figs. 1 and 2). This is the route which the masses of the people would naturally take in going from the Propylaea to the most important shrine on the Acropolis. Moreover, visitors in almost the entire northern half of the Acropolis would pass around the same corner on their way to the east cella of the Parthenon (cf. Fig. 2). There can be no doubt, therefore, that many persons rounded the corner in question. As votive offerings are set up to be seen, the best sites for them are those places which large numbers of people are wont to pass. We would, then, expect to find such monuments clustered about the northeast corner of the Parthenon. As a matter of fact there is considerable evidence of one kind or another to show that this was so. For example, if we examine the numerous rock cuttings in the neighborhood of the northeast corner, we find that many of them are suitable for votive offerings (cf. Fig. 3). And the ancient literary sources at our disposal are no less valuable for our study as we shall see. Certainly the area around the northeast corner of the Parthenon was an important section of the Acropolis.



Fig. 1. Northeast Corner of the Parthenon:
Restoration of the Latter Part of the
First Century B. C.

Pausanias has left us the most valuable account of the Acropolis of Athens. When he made his visit in about the middle of the second century after Christ, he saw certain monuments the locations of which are now known. Of the various fixed points along his route only those of Ge and the east pediment of the Parthenon concern our special investigation, because Pausanias must have passed the northeast corner of the Parthenon in going from one to the other of these fixed points. The position of the monument to Ge is known from an inscription cut in the living rock

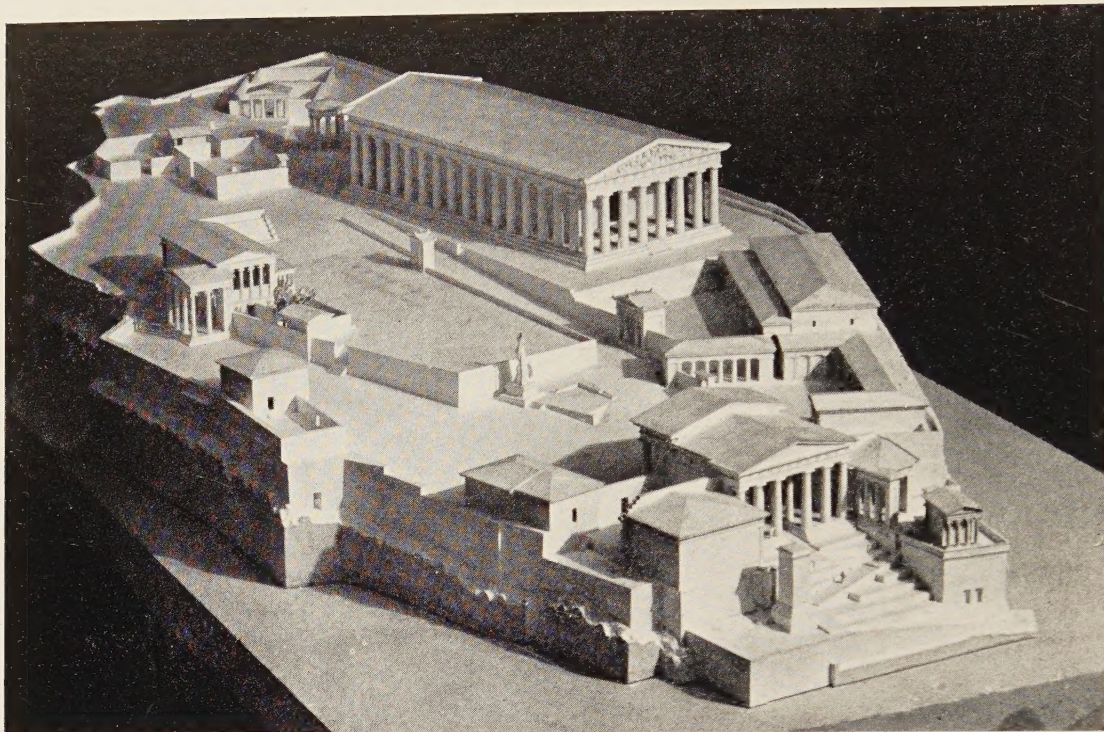


Fig. 2. Model of the Acropolis of Athens: Restoration of the latter Part of the First Century B. C.

of the Acropolis—the inscription and its accompanying rock cutting for the statue prove that the monument stood about 9.00 m. north of the approximate middle of the Parthenon (Fig. 3, 1). And when Pausanias is describing the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, he is surely standing in front of that temple; that is, he has rounded the northeast corner of the Parthenon. Our problem, then, in so far as Pausanias' description is concerned, is to ascertain if the positions of any of the monuments he saw while passing from the statue of Ge to the position in front of the east pediment can be determined. In connection with this part of his route he says:

There is also an image of Earth praying Zeus to rain on her, either because the Athenians themselves needed rain, or because there was a drought all over Greece. Here also is a statue of Timotheus, son of Conon, and a statue of Conon himself. A group representing Procne and Itys, at the time when Procne has taken her resolution against the boy, was dedicated by Alcamenes; and Athena is represented exhibiting the olive plant, and Poseidon exhibiting the wave. There is also an image of Zeus made by Leochares, and another of Zeus surnamed Polieus ('urban'). I will describe the customary mode of sacrificing to the latter, but without giving the reason assigned for it. They set barley mixed with wheat on the altar of Zeus Polieus, and keep no watch; and the ox which they keep in readiness for the sacrifice goes up to the altar and eats of the grain. . . . All the figures in the gable over the entrance to the temple called the Parthenon relate to the birth of Athena.¹

¹ Pausanias, I, xxiv, 3, 4, 5 (Frazer's translation).

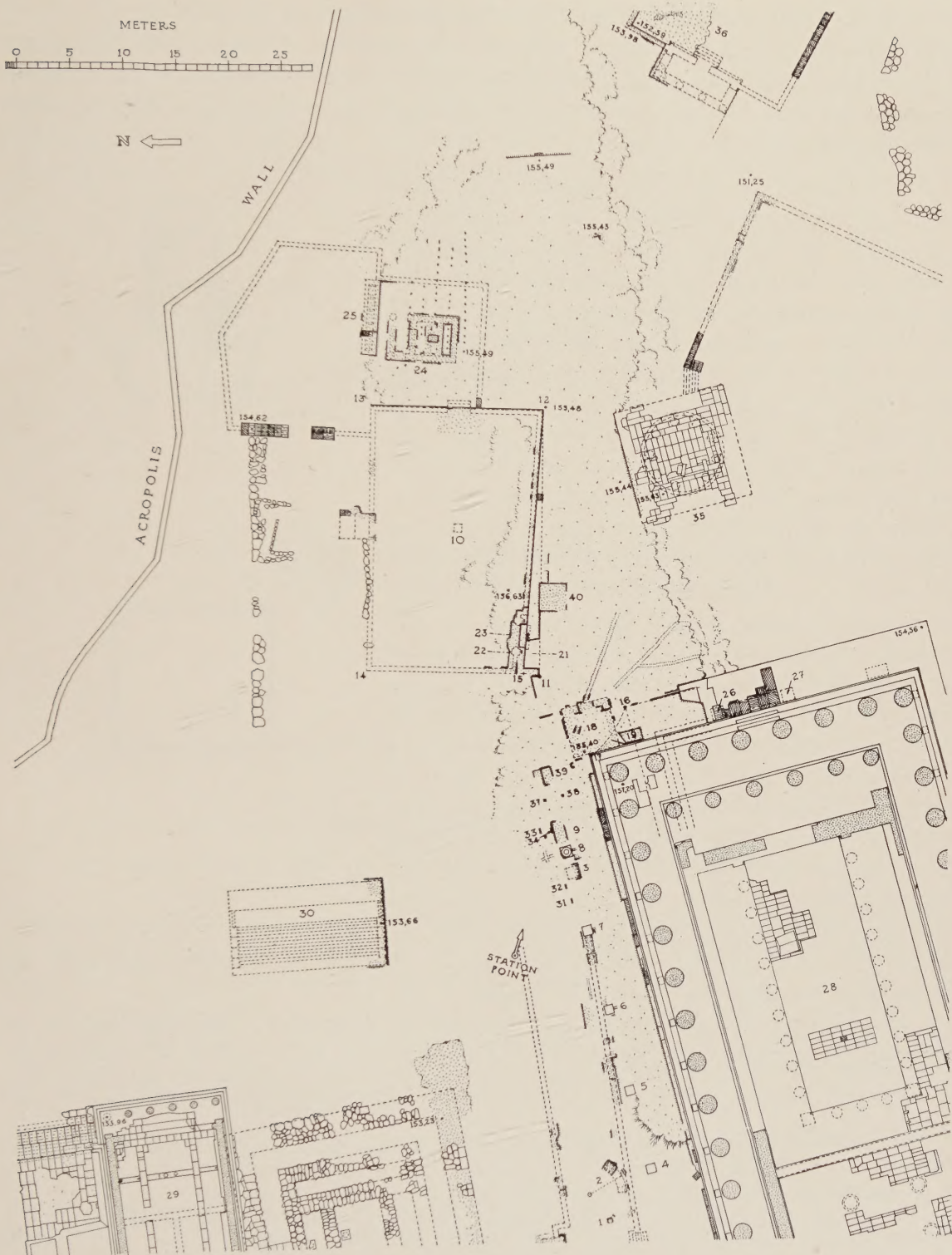


Fig. 3. Plan, Actual State in the Neighborhood of the Northeast Corner of the Parthenon

In the foregoing passage the list of the monuments is as follows: (1) Earth (Ge) praying for rain (location certain). (2) Statues of Conon and Timotheus. (3) Group of Procne and Itys. (4) Group of Athena and Poseidon. (5) Zeus Polieus (two statues and an altar). (6) Birth of Athena in the east gable of the Parthenon (location certain).

1) Earth (Ge, Gaia) praying for rain. This monument has been discussed by a number of scholars.² We venture, however, to remind the reader that the upper half of the goddess was very probably represented as rising out of the rock of the Acropolis, with her hands raised in supplication, an attitude in which she is often depicted on vases (Fig. 4).³ It is to be remarked that Pausanias approached the statue by way of the terrace of the Parthenon.⁴ The statue, however, was not on the terrace itself; the inscription and statue were *ca.* 2.00 m. to the north of the terrace wall and lay 1.45 m. below the terrace. And the inscription faced the northwest. Pausanias therefore could hardly have been standing on the terrace when he was looking at the statue. There was probably a small staircase to the west of Ge leading down from the terrace to the route bordering the terrace on the north. The natural place for such a staircase is on the axis of the propylon which led into the area south of the Erechtheum (cf. Figs. 2 and 3). The propylon was standing in 485 B.C. (cf. note 16) and thus antedated the Parthenon (begun in 447 B.C. and practically finished in 433 B.C.). Pausanias may have taken the staircase to the west of Ge in order to make a careful examination of the statue. There is no proof on the site that there was such a staircase, but its usefulness at this place cannot be denied.

Our information concerning the statue to Ge is meager, but some day, if not the original, perhaps a copy of it will be found.

2) Statues of Conon and Timotheus:⁵ Three blocks of Pentelic marble be-

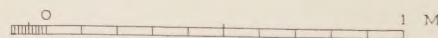


Fig. 4. Ge, a Restoration

I.G., II², 4758

² J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, Vol. II, p. 299; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 257-263.

³ Baumeister, *Denkm.*, abb. 637; Roscher, *Myth.*, Vol. I, p. 1578, p. 1582.

⁴ G. P. Stevens, *The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon* (*Hesperia*, Supplement III), fig. 1.

⁵ Frazer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 299.

longing to the Conon-Timotheus pedestal are now lying 2.70 m. south of the inscription of Ge (Figs. 5 and 6): they are not *in situ*. At 2, Fig. 3, there is a set of rock cuttings for a curved monument which was backed up against the terrace wall of the Parthenon. The easterly extremity of the cuttings is only 5.30 m. from the inscription of Ge. Moreover, there are no other cuttings for a curved monument anywhere in the vicinity. Remembering that the three preserved blocks of the Conon-

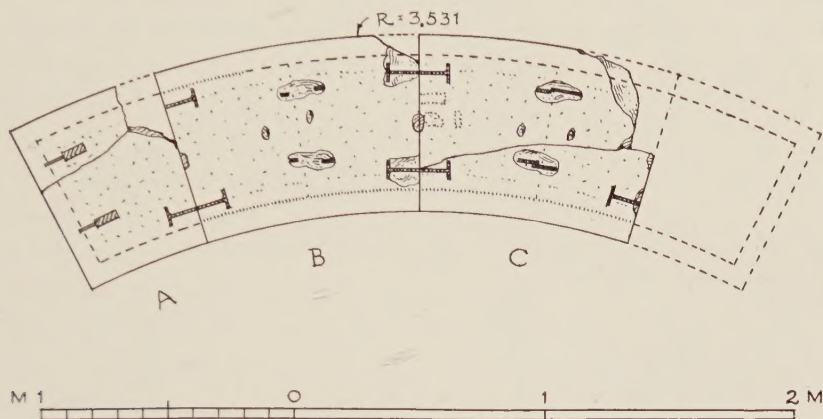


Fig. 5. Blocks from the Conon-Timotheus Pedestal: Tops

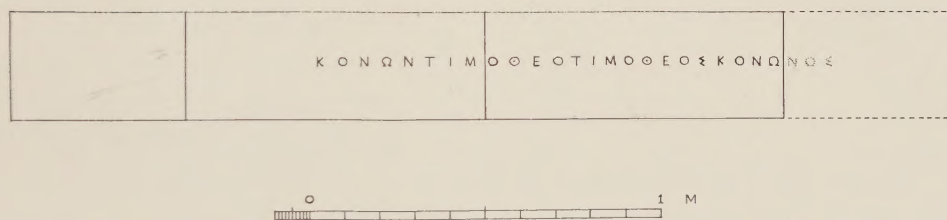


Fig. 6. Inscription on the Conon-Timotheus Pedestal: Development

Timotheus pedestal are curved and that Pausanias mentions the Conon-Timotheus monument immediately after that of Ge, we are strongly tempted to place the Conon-Timotheus pedestal over the cuttings in question (cf. Fig. 3, 2).

An examination of the dowels and pry holes on the tops of the blocks of Figure 5 shows that the course above was reset—this is clear from the double set of dowels and especially from the double set of pry holes. As there is no difference in the sizes of the dowel cuttings or in the manner in which they are cut, we may infer that the resetting took place soon after the pedestal was erected. The double sets of dowels and pry holes indicate, also, that the second set of blocks was laid in an opposite direction to that of the first set of blocks; but which set was laid first cannot be determined. The bottoms of the blocks of Figure 5 show no signs of resetting—this

means, almost certainly, that in Greek times the blocks always occupied the positions for which they were originally intended.

The inscription also displays two periods of work of about the same date. The character of the letters is consistent for the entire inscription, but the letters of $\text{KON}\Omega\text{NTIMO}\Theta\text{EO}$ are spaced 0.0603 m. on centers, while those of $\text{TIMO}\Theta\text{EO}\Sigma\text{KON}\Omega[\text{NO}\Sigma]$ are only 0.0511 m. on centers. The crowding of the latter letters shows that there were only four blocks across the face of the pedestal, for, if there had been a greater number of blocks, there would have been no need of spacing the letters nearer together (cf. Fig. 6). And with four blocks the vertical joints are sym-

metrically placed in the pedestal—this is as it should be. The $\text{KON}\Omega\text{NTIMO}\Theta\text{EO}$ is fairly well centered on the four blocks, but the $\text{TIMO}\Theta\text{EO}\Sigma\text{KON}\Omega[\text{NO}\Sigma]$ makes the inscription as a whole decidedly off center, and, if the letters of the $\text{TIMO}\Theta\text{EO}\Sigma\text{KON}\Omega[\text{NO}\Sigma]$ had been given the same axial unit as that of the $\text{KON}\Omega\text{NTIMO}\Theta\text{EO}$, the inscription as a whole would have ended 0.129 m. farther to the right, and its centering on the four blocks would have been even worse. It is evident, therefore, that, when the pedestal was set up, there was no thought of cutting the $\text{TIMO}\Theta\text{EO}\Sigma\text{KON}\Omega[\text{NO}\Sigma]$.

The weather lines on the top of block "B," Fig. 5, indicate that the course above had a setback of 0.078 m. on both the front and the back of the

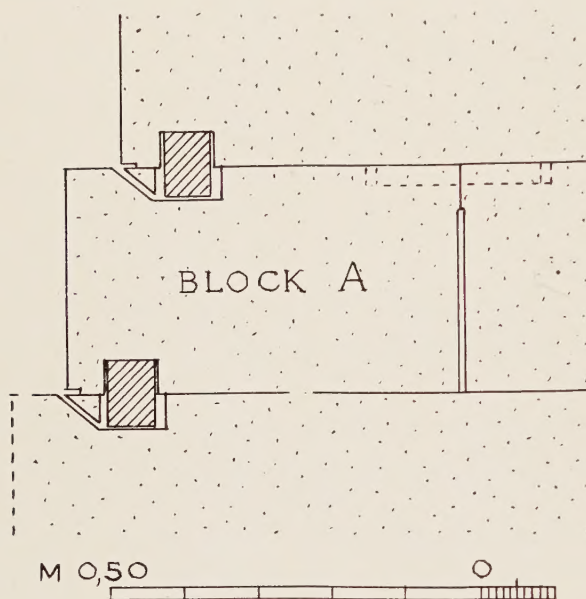


Fig. 7. Dowels and Inclined Pour Channels of Block A, Fig. 5

pedestal. And block "A," Fig. 5, gives the information that the same setback was carried across the end of the pedestal, for molten lead could not have been poured through the inclined channel shown in Figure 7 if there had been no setback. As the bottom of block "A" has its pressure relieved and as the same is true of both front and back edges of the bottom of block "B," it follows that the course below "A" and "B" projected beyond "A" and "B" (cf. Figs. 7 and 8): just how much the projection was we cannot say definitely. But, if all the courses of the pedestal had the same height, the projection below "A" and "B" was very probably the same as the setback above these blocks: this is what happens in a fairly common type of Greek pedestal. We can make a shrewd guess that all three courses had the same height, for the inscription would then be suitably placed halfway up the pedestal, and the statues would be at an appropriate height above the ground.

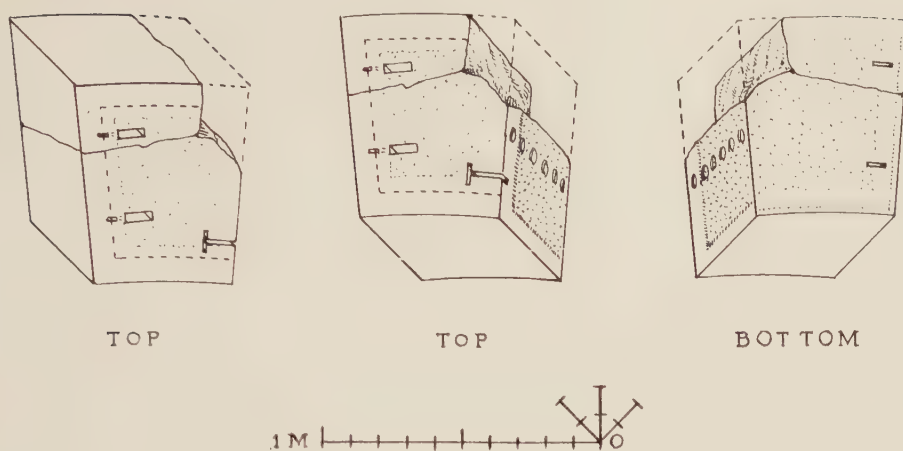


Fig. 8. Block A, Fig. 5: Isometric

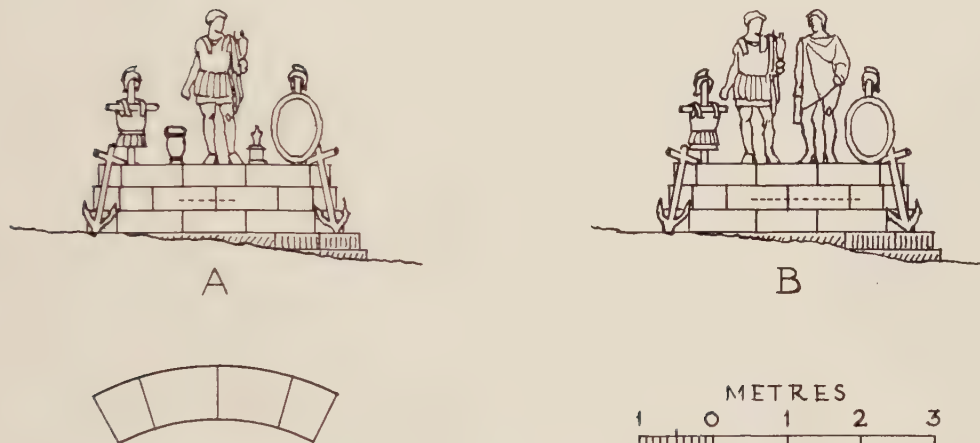


Fig. 9. Conon-Timotheus Monument, Two Periods: Restorations

With the foregoing facts at our disposal, we may attempt a restoration of the monument. There were two periods. At first, there can be little doubt that the monument was planned to look as shown in Figure 9 at "A." But why so much space on either side of the statue? The spaces are excellent platforms for the exhibition of some of the trophies won in battle by Conon. Afterwards, when the Athenians decided to set up a statue of Timotheus at the side of the statue of his father, the readjustment shown in Figure 9 at "B" was made.

The fact that the top course of our pedestal was reset indicates that the statue of Conon was countersunk in the top of that course; for, if the statue had a plinth beneath it, statue and plinth could have been easily slipped along the pedestal into a

new position without a resetting of the course beneath the plinth. If the statue was countersunk, it was probably of bronze: but there are some cases of marble statues, especially of early date, in which statue and plinth are of one piece, and in which the plinth is countersunk in the pedestal.

Pausanias tells us (I, iii, 2) that there was another group of Conon and Timotheus in the Agora of Athens; as this is confirmed by Isocrates (ix, 57), Aeschines (iii, 243), Nepos (*Timotheus*, 2) and Philostratus (*Vit. Apollon.* iv, 20), there is no doubt that there were two monuments representing father and son, one of which was on the Acropolis, the other in the Agora.

Why was the monument curved in plan? The reason is an aesthetic one. The center of the curve lies about in the middle of the path along which passing visitors walked (cf. Fig. 3, 2); that is, the monument had its center at that place where people would be most likely to stop to admire the memorial; from that point the admirer had all parts of the monument equally distant from him. And why was the monument not placed squarely in front of the terrace wall behind it (cf. Fig. 3, 2)? Again the reason is an aesthetic one. The monument was turned toward visitors coming from the Propylaea, so that they might begin to see it from a distance. The revolving of the monument gave importance to it. The treatment is similar in the well-known family tomb of Dexileos at the Kerameikos (which probably antedates our monument by only a few years). The pedestal is quadrant shaped and is turned to face pedestrians advancing along the route from Athens. And let us remember that the inscription to Ge faced in almost the same direction as did the Conon-Timotheus base (cf. Fig. 3, 1 and 2, and Fig. 4). The reasons for the turning seem to be the same in both cases. Thus the artist who was responsible for the Conon-Timotheus monument made good use of the site.

Because it seems natural for Pausanias to be gazing at the fronts, not the backs, of Conon and Timotheus, we are lead to think that he was on the route north of the Parthenon terrace, just as in the case of the statue of Ge. Thus our belief in a small staircase to the east of Ge, from the terrace to the route, is strengthened.

Conon died about 390 B.C. and his son either in 355 or 352 B.C. As a statue is generally set up soon after the death of the person it commemorates, we may assign the monument of Conon to the first quarter of the fourth century B.C., and the alterations to about the middle of the same century.

Before leaving the Conon-Timotheus pedestal, we wish to discuss two constructional features connected with it. The first is this: There is an unusual series of pry holes in block "A," Fig. 5, on its vertical face of contact with block "B" (cf. Fig. 8). We may explain the pry holes in the following way. In doweling block "A" to the block below it, first the dowels were firmly fastened with lead in the bottom of block "A," and dowel cuttings, with inclined pour channels, prepared in the block below to receive the protruding dowels of block "A" (cf. Fig. 10). Then

block "A" was lowered into place and molten lead run in through the inclined pour channels to secure the dowels to the block below. We may suppose that the block was lowered into place by means of tongs which caught under bosses on the front and rear of the block (the bosses, of course, would be removed after the block was set). The lowering operation required great nicety of adjustment, and it was precisely here that the peculiar pry holes were useful (cf. Figs. 7 and 10).

The second constructional feature is this. An examination of Figure 5 will show that the dowels and pry holes on the tops of blocks "B" and "C" are not placed as they would be in a straight wall. In a straight wall of the thickness of our curved wall the dowels are located symmetrically about the axis of the wall, and the pry holes come on the axis itself. In the case of

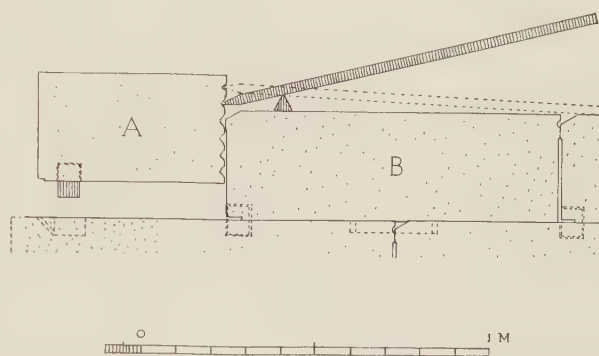


Fig. 10. Method of Setting Block A, Fig. 5

our curved wall the front dowels are farther from the front face of the block than the back dowels are from the back face of the block; and the pry holes are farther from the front face than from the back face. Why is this? The shifting of the dowels and pry holes from their normal positions in a straight wall is due to the fact that our wall is curved. The shifting we explain in the following way. In Figure 11, 1 is the horizontal projection upon the top of block "C" of the center of gravity of the block above

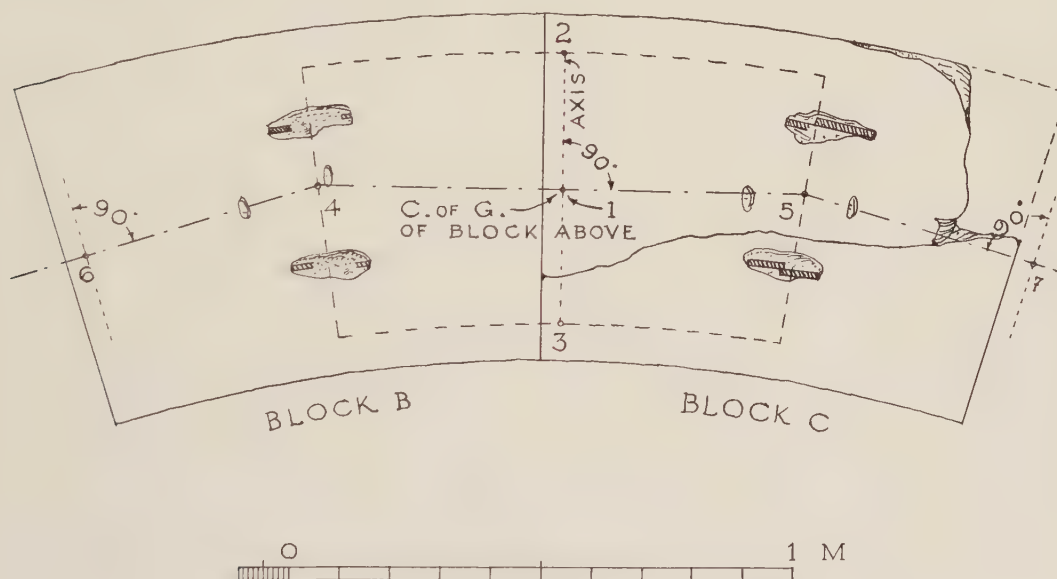


Fig. 11. Peculiar Position of the Dowels and Pry Holes in the Tops of Blocks B and C, Fig. 5

the joint between blocks "A" and "B" (1 to 2 is slightly greater than 1 to 3). Line 4-5 gives the direction in which the block in the course above is being pushed. If this be granted, then the pry holes are best placed on or near the line of shift passing through 1; that is, at 4 and 5, and not at the center of the wall. The explanation of the location of the dowels is somewhat similar. The broken line 6-4-5-7 corresponds to the axis of the straight wall, and, consequently, the dowels should be placed symmetrically about 6-4-5-7, if the block above is to be most effectively prevented from sliding.⁶



Fig. 12. Procne and Itys; with Restored Base



Fig. 13. Slaying of Itys; from a Vase in the Munich Museum

(Harrison and Verrall, *Myth. and Mon. of Ancient Athens*, fig. 17, p. xciii)

3) Group of Procne and Itys. A group, in Pentelic marble, of Procne and Itys is preserved in the Acropolis Museum (Fig. 12). Procne is represented "as resolved upon the murder" of her son, in agreement with what Pausanias says, not as in the act of killing him, as, for example, she is depicted on a Munich-Museum vase (Fig. 13). The workmanship of the group in the Acropolis Museum is decidedly poor. One striking defect is that the boy is carved out of the right leg of Procne. According to Pausanias the monument was dedicated by Alcamenes. It is difficult, however, to believe that the great sculptor of that name was responsible for such an indifferent

⁶ The clamp cuttings follow the rule for a straight wall—they are placed equally from the front and back faces of the blocks (cf. Fig. 5). Probably this was done to be sure that there would be no more tendency for a front vertical joint to open than for its corresponding back joint. Greece is subject to earthquakes, and a tremor of even moderate intensity might open a vertical joint of a curved wall if the blocks were not properly clamped together.

work of art. We may suppose that he made a Procne and Itys, and that the group was either destroyed or carried off. In such case it is possible that a replica by an inferior artist took its place. It is also admissible that the Alcámenes who dedicated the statue was not the well-known sculptor, but some other individual of the same name. The group in the museum has a plinth beneath it. Plinth and figures are cut out of the same piece of marble. The plinth measures a little more across the face than it does from front to back. The base under the plinth would, then, also be slightly rectangular in plan. There is a rock cutting for a pedestal at 3, Figure 3. The east-west measurement of the cutting is preserved in the rock itself, and the north-south measurement can be estimated by supposing that the group was placed on the axis of the five ancient wells, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, Figure 3 (cf. Fig. 19). Figure 12 shows how the group, its base and the rock cuttings may have gone together.⁷ In both location and size the cutting is thus suitable for the group of Procne and Itys (cf. Fig. 1).

4) Group of Athena and Poseidon. The contest between Athena and Poseidon for the possession of Attica is represented in ancient art in two distinct ways: either the deities are in actual strife, as in the western pediment of the Parthenon, or they are standing in apparently friendly discussion while the winner is being decided by a vote of the twelve gods, or by a vote of the Athenians themselves as another version puts it. Pausanias clearly indicates that the group he saw was of the second type—the scene was a colloquy, not a violent dispute. The type is represented on Athenian coins—possibly the group Pausanias saw inspired the design for the coins (Fig. 14). There are three requirements for such a group, namely:



Fig. 14. Coin of Athens, Athena and Poseidon

Inghoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*

- 1) As Pausanias mentions the Athena and Poseidon immediately after speaking of Procne and Itys, we should expect to find that the former stood to the east of, but near, the latter.
- 2) Two figures facing each other need a base considerably longer than it is deep, and, if the tokens as well as the deities are represented, as Pausanias says they were, the base becomes not far from a double square in plan (Fig. 15).
- 3) Statues of important gods placed in the open should be somewhat over life size, or they will look dwarfed.

These requirements are met by the rock cuttings at 9, Figure 3. We may, therefore,

⁷ Frazer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 300; Harrison and Verrall, *Myth. and Mon. of Ancient Athens*, lxxxii-lxxxiii, xciv, p. 414, p. 421.

claim, with some plausibility, that the group of Athena and Poseidon occupied this site (cf. Fig. 1).⁸

5) Zeus Polieus (two statues and an altar).⁹ From Pausanias we gather, (1) that there were two statues of Zeus Polieus, one of which was archaic in type while the other was more modern (both types are probably represented on the coins of Athens, see Figure 16), and (2) that there was an altar around which a goodly number of worshippers gathered for the purpose of sacrificing an ox. From other sources we know that several oxen, not one, were allowed to wander freely around

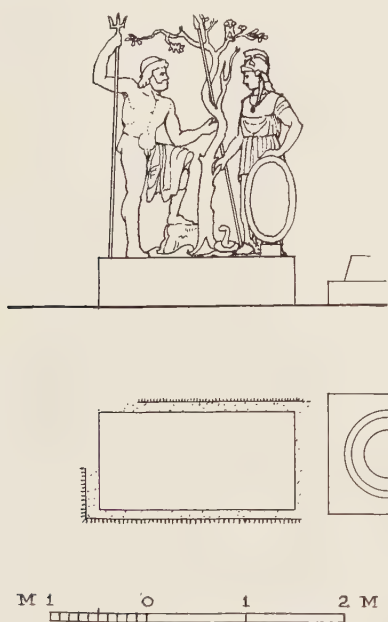


Fig. 15. Athena and Poseidon:
Restoration

the altar. The nature of the ceremonies required a precinct of some size; and the precinct would probably be walled in to prevent the escape of the oxen. There can be no doubt from Pausanias' account that the ancient Precinct of Zeus Polieus was near the northeast corner of the Parthenon, where, it should be remarked, the Acropolis rock reaches its highest level (156.63 m. above the sea), a site suitable for the worship of Zeus, the god of thunder and lightning. The writer believes that he has identified the site: it was probably at 10, Figure 3, with the two statues and the altar somewhere within the precinct.¹⁰

In the fifth century B.C. the Acropolis rock to the south and east of the Precinct of Zeus Polieus was cut down to form a large platform; in the operation, however, the precinct was carefully respected, probably on account of its ancient sanctity. Immediately south of the precinct two periods in the rock cutting can be discerned—there is a distinct line at 11-12, Figure 3, in the dressing of the Acropolis rock, to the north of the line the rock being raised *ca.* 0.05 m. In the first period the precinct was a true rectangle—11, 12, 13, 14. In the second period the wall 11-12 was revolved about 12 as a center until the position 15-12 was reached. Why were there two periods? A study of the northeast corner of the Parthenon and its immediate neighborhood throws light on the question. The location of the northeast corner of the Older Parthenon is given at 16, Figure 3.¹¹ When the Periclean Parthenon was built, the free space between the precinct and the temple was maintained, that is, the

⁸ Frazer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 300-302.

⁹ The following paragraphs are a revision of a section in *The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon*, *Hesperia*, Supplement III, pp. 79-86. Consult, also, Harrison and Verrall, *Myth. and Mon. of Ancient Athens*, pp. 427-428.

¹⁰ Harrison and Verrall, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ B. H. Hill, *A.J.A.*, 1912, pl. IX.

distance 11-16 was the same as the distance 11-17. By moving the façade of the temple westward the area in front of the temple was considerably increased—the enlarged area was probably required by the increase in the population of Athens after the Persian wars. But an important monument, namely, that at 18, Figure 3, was placed at the northeast corner of the Parthenon. The monument considerably overlapped the steps of the Parthenon in a northerly direction, probably because a pre-existing monument stood at 19, Figure 3. The monument at 18 was so large, that it would have more than half blocked the access to the area in front of the Parthenon (cf. Fig. 3). Such a choking of the access would hardly have been permitted. To solve the difficulty as well as possible, the south wall of the Precinct of Zeus Polieus was shifted, the southwest corner of the precinct going from 11 to 15, as suggested above, thus enlarging the access to the area in front of the Parthenon. Hence it seems possible that the second dressing of the Acropolis rock south of the Precinct of Zeus Polieus, namely that of the triangle 11-15-12, Figure 3, took place when the projecting monument was installed at 18.

The great amount of the rock cutting in the vicinity of 21-23, Fig. 3, indicates that here was the main entrance to the Precinct of Zeus Polieus. Examination of the cuttings reveals the fact that there were three building periods, namely:

First period: The entrance was in the wall 11-12, with the axis 21.

Second period: The entrance of the first period was moved backward. Its new position was in the wall 15-12, with the axis 22.

Third period: A new and larger entrance was built in the wall 15-12, with the axis at 23. Note that this entrance is set back *ca.* 0.65 m. from the south wall of the precinct, thus increasing for a second time the distance between the southwest corner of the precinct and the monument at 18. A restoration of this entrance is attempted in Figure 17 (cf. also Fig. 1).

East of the portion of the Precinct of Zeus Polieus just discussed, are the interesting rock cuttings for a small shrine—a shrine which was intimately connected with the worship of the god (Fig. 3, 24).¹² In the center of the cella is a rectangular rock-cut pit, into which sacred ashes may have been thrown. The lower portion of the shrine was of stone—probably poros—the upper portion perhaps of wood.¹³ At 25 are more rock cuttings and a poros block, *in situ*, filling a hole in the Acropolis rock.



Fig. 16. Coins of Athens:
Zeus Polieus (?)

¹² G. P. Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-85.

¹³ G. P. Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 86 and fig. 63.

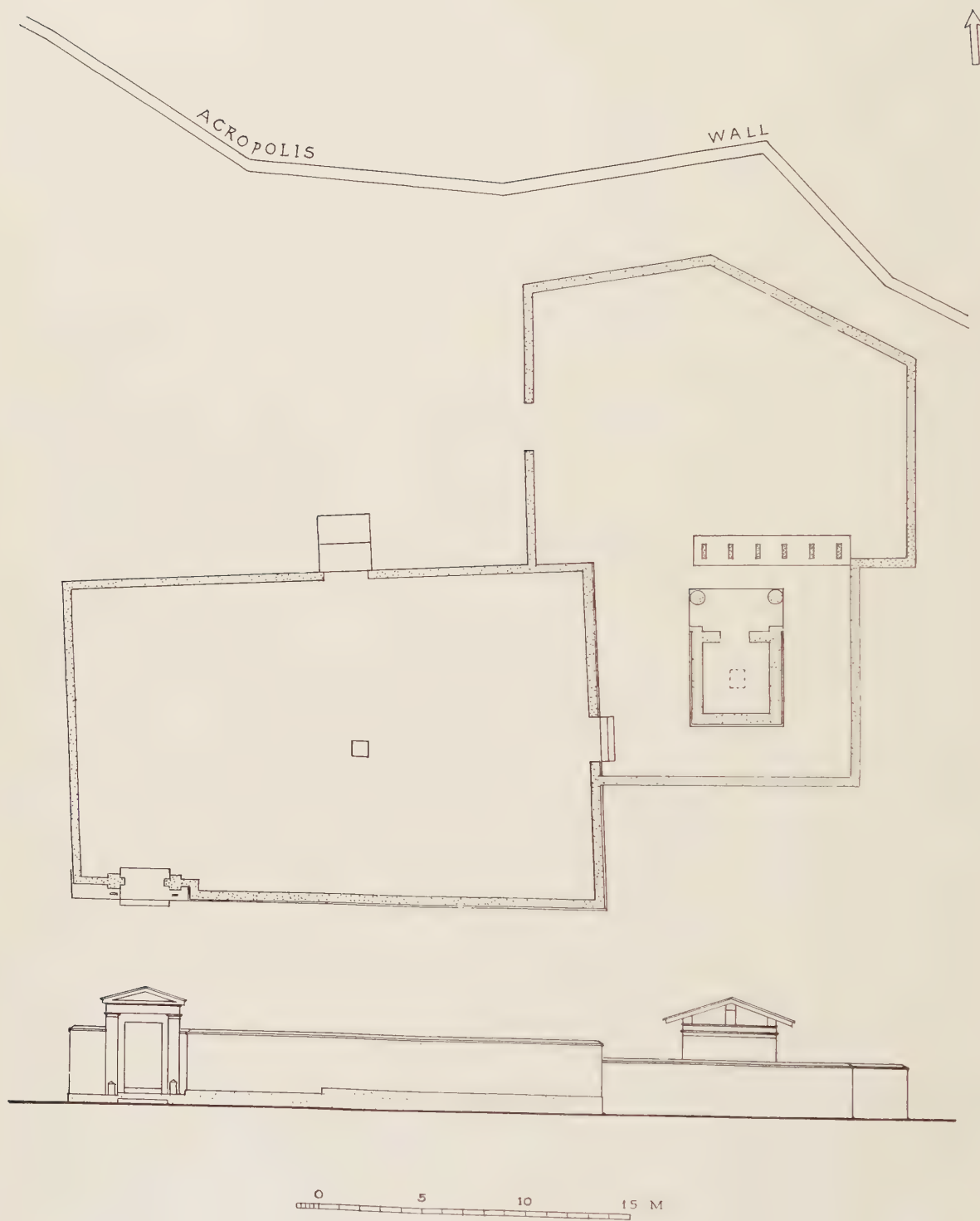


Fig. 17. Precinct of Zeus Polieus, Plan and South Elevation: Restoration

Here, perhaps, was the foundation for a platform upon which was the ceremonial table about which the participants in the religious rites gathered to partake of the ox they had slain and cooked (cf. Figs. 17 and 18).¹⁴

That oxen connected with the worship of Zeus Polieus were housed on the Acropolis in the time of Pericles is uncertain: they may have been brought from the city when needed.¹⁵ On the other hand, if they were kept on the Acropolis in Pericles' day, they may have been housed in a structure, or structures, located to the north of the precinct, where there is considerable space which might have been used for such a purpose. And the inscription prohibiting the throwing of dung in the area to the west of the precinct helps to support a theory that oxen were housed on the

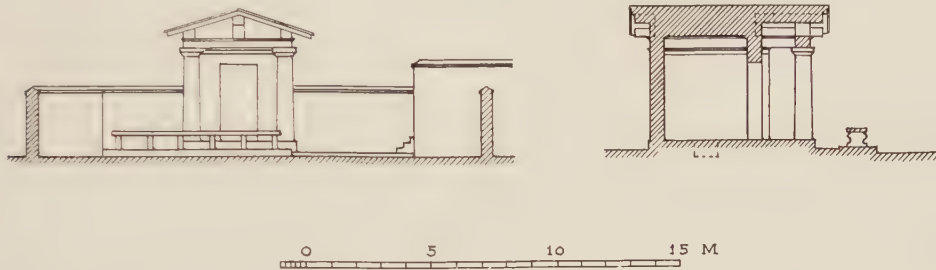


Fig. 18. Shrine in the Precinct of Zeus Polieus, Elevation and Section: Restoration

Acropolis after the Persian invasions.¹⁶ Unfortunately there are no Periclean remains which can be definitely connected with the sheltering of oxen on the Acropolis.

6) The Birth of Athena: Pausanias next mentions the pedimental group in the east gable of the Parthenon, representing the birth of Athena. This masterpiece of Greek sculpture has been so thoroughly discussed by scholars that no attempt will be made here to add to what they have written.¹⁷

As Pausanias emerges from the Parthenon he says: “. . . and at the entrance there is a statue of Iphicrates, who did many marvellous deeds. Over against the temple is a bronze Apollo: they say the image was made by Phidias. They call it Locust Apollo, because. . . .”¹⁸ The statue of Iphicrates very probably stood in a cutting at 26, Fig. 3, or at 27 (a position symmetrical to that of 26). From other sources we learn that the statue was made of bronze and was set up in 372/1 B.C. The honors bestowed on Iphicrates were a reward for his services in cutting to pieces a Spartan regiment in 392 B.C.¹⁹ If we accept Pausanias' statement about the Locust

¹⁴ Harrison and Verrall, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

¹⁶ G. P. Stevens, *op. cit.*, notes 24 and 65.

¹⁷ J. G. Frazer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 308-311.

¹⁸ Pausanias, I, xxiv, 7 and 8.

¹⁹ For a more detailed discussion of the east façade of the Parthenon, see G. P. Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-55.

Apollo,—and there seems no reason not to,—then the site of the statue was somewhere on the extreme eastern portion of the Parthenon terrace, either north or south of the Temple of Rome and Augustus (Fig. 3, 35). North of this temple the terrace is rock cut and shows no traces for statues. But south of the temple the terrace was made by filling, and monuments could have been placed there and still leave no traces. For these reasons a site south of the temple may be assigned with some certainty to the Locust Apollo.

We have now concluded our discussion of what from Pausanias' account we know that he *actually* saw between Ge and the east façade of the Parthenon.

We next wish to speak of certain things not mentioned by Pausanias, but which we are sure he might have seen as he walked from the statue of Ge to the entrance of the Parthenon. Pausanias would hardly have time to mention all the buildings, monuments and statues on the Acropolis. He himself says, when he obtained his first view of the Entrance Court of the Acropolis, as though he were overwhelmed by the number of monuments before him, “. . . I do not wish to mention the obscurer statues.”²⁰ The study of Pausanias shows that, if he had said “buildings, monuments and statues” instead of “statues” alone, the statement would still be true.

Pausanias made no record of having seen either the metopes, or the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon, probably because they formed an integral part of the temple (Fig. 3, 28). It would have been difficult to speak of these and to say nothing about the columns, for example, which were majestic in their proportions and beautiful in detail—they were more conspicuous than either the metopes or the frieze. True, he did speak of the monumental group in the gable over the east entrance, but there the figures were cut in the round and formed a fitting climax to all the external decoration of the temple.

If Pausanias turned his eyes toward the north, he must have seen two important monuments, namely, the Erechtheum (Fig. 3, 29) and the great altar of Athena (Fig. 3, 30). The former he described in detail on his way back to the Propylaea. But he said nothing about the great altar: this is strange, for on his way to the Erechtheum he must have passed near it.

Among the objects too inconspicuous for Pausanias to mention were the stelae. For these there are numerous rock cuttings (cf. Fig. 3, 31, 32, 33, 34). It is possible, of course, that some of the stelae had disappeared before the time of Pausanias, and that others had not yet been erected. And he would be even less likely to mention the utilitarian rock-cut wells, 3 m. deep, at 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8, Figure 3, in which rain water was collected. The wellhead of number 8 alone is preserved, but, as the dimensions of all the wells are the same, their wellheads were probably alike (Fig. 19).

²⁰ Pausanias, I, xxiii, 4.

The monument at 18, Figure 3, is not mentioned by Pausanias, although, judging from its size, its careful rock cuttings and its conspicuous location, it must have been important.

The traces on the Acropolis rock show that the all-over measurements of the monument were 4.43 m. by 4.91 m. A small side faced east and was, without doubt, the front of the monument; and on the east side the dedicatory inscription was probably placed. The traces on the rock indicate, further, that the monument had a base course, about 0.48 m. wide, of a fine-grained stone (Pentelic marble?).²¹ The course was perhaps a step with a tread of about one Attic foot (0.328 m.), or some 0.15 m. less wide than the course itself (in the case of steps 0.15 m. represents the usual overlap of the step above). Almost the only votive offering which can be placed over the rock cuttings is a quadriga, facing east, for the plinths of Greek quadrigas are slightly rectangular in plan, a horse from head to tail together with the chariot requiring somewhat more space than four horses abreast. Can we find a quadriga which will fit at 18, Figure 3?

When, in 1926, Nicolas Balanos removed the church linings from the west door of the Parthenon, an inscribed block of Pentelic marble was found. It has cuttings on its upper surface for the front feet of two bronze horses; and there is, also, a trace of one hind foot (cf. Fig. 20).²² Anathyrosis on the right side of the block shows that there was a second block in contact with the first block; and the incomplete inscription gives us the same information. We may logically suppose that the second block supported two horses; hence, a quadriga. The rear of the block, like the right side, has anathyrosis; that is, there was a block in contact with the rear of the first block. The entire plinth may, then, be tentatively restored with two equal blocks across

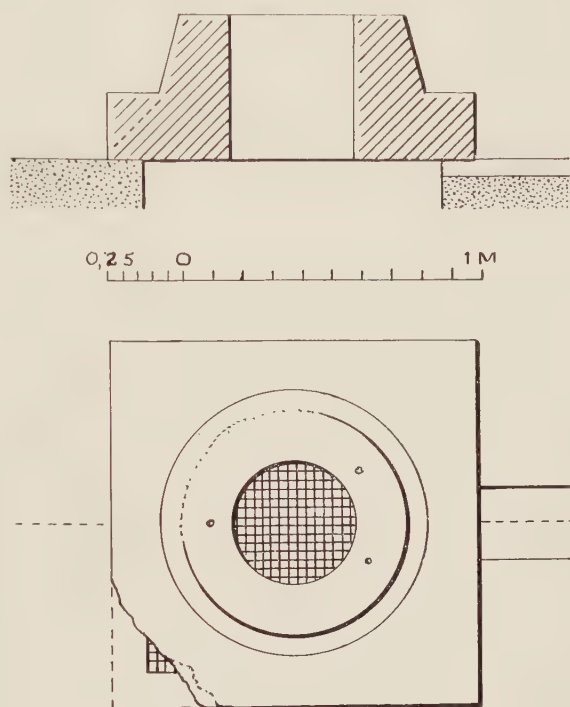


Fig. 19. Ancient Wellhead at 8, Figure 3

²¹ G. P. Stevens, *The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon*, *Hesperia*, Suppl. III, fig. 39 and pp. 54, 55.

²² N. Balanos, *Les Monuments de l'Acropole*, plate 140, *a* and plate 141, *β*, fourth big stone from the top. N. Κυπαρίσσης, *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, Vol. XI, 1927-28, p. 133. A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 158 to 160.

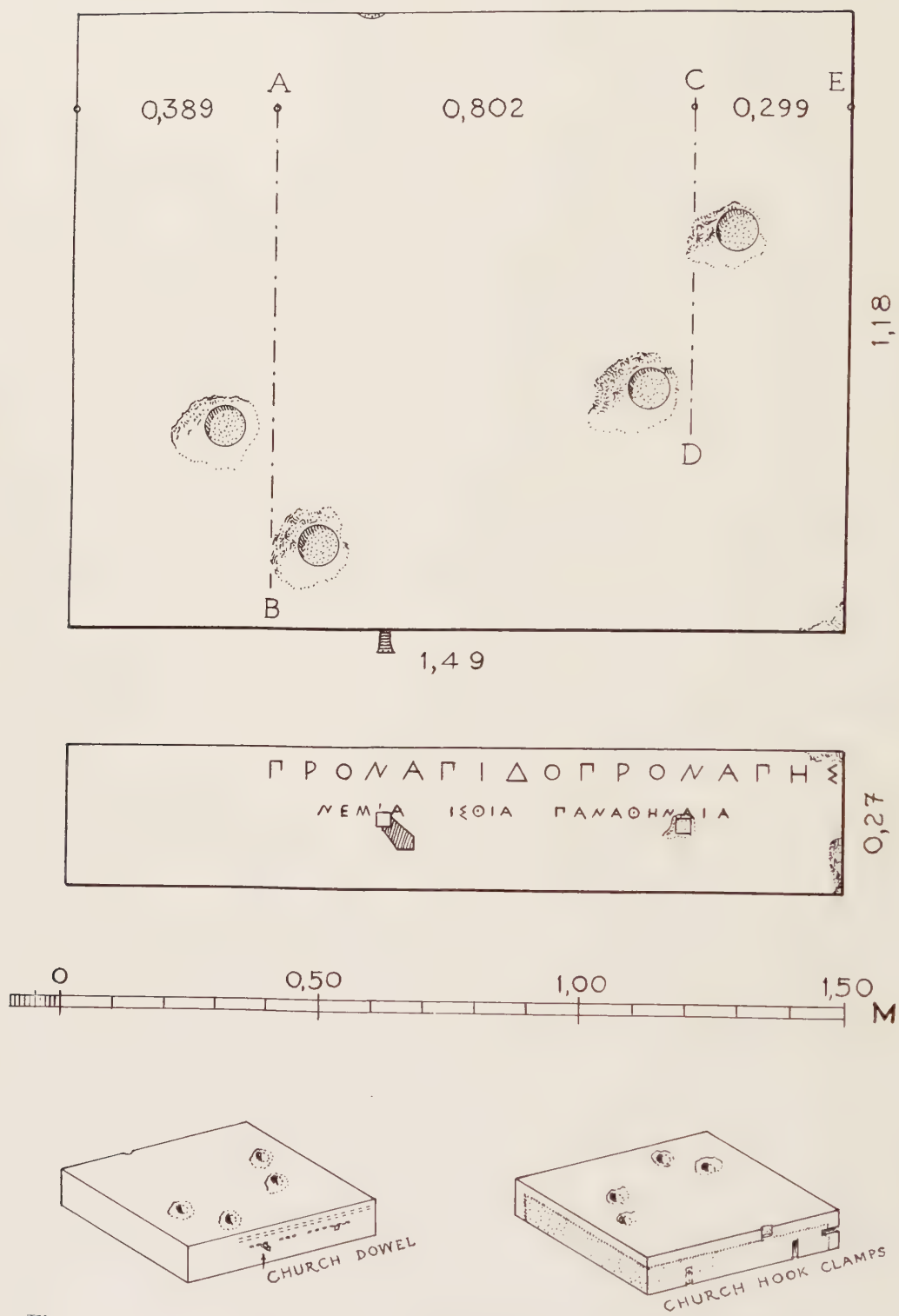


Fig. 20. Block from the Base of the Quadriga at 18, Fig. 3, and Isometric Views of Front and Rear of Same

the front and with three equal blocks along the side (remembering that the side is to be a little longer than the front). When we try to place such a plinth over the rock cuttings at 18, Figure 3, we find that this can be done, provided: (1) two steps, each with a tread of one Attic foot, be placed beneath the plinth; (2) the two front blocks be not quite the same in length; (3) the two restored blocks along the side be not quite equal in length to the block which exists (cf. Fig. 21). That the blocks across the front were not exactly equal in length is suggested by the position of the horses' hoofs on top of the existing block (cf. Fig. 20). The traces of the hoofs do not indicate that the horses were in violent action, for all four front feet were on the ground. If the two left-hand horses had quiet poses, it is not likely that either horse of the missing block was in violent action. Therefore the horses may be represented very approximately by their axis lines (cf. AB and CD, Fig. 20). And the axis lines of all four horses would be spaced almost equally apart (cf. Fig. 21). If the right-hand side of the existing block were in the middle of the plinth, then AC (cf. Fig. 20) would be twice CE—it is considerably more than twice. To make the axial distances of the four horses even approximately equal, the block on the right hand must be longer than the existing block (cf. Fig. 21). The plinth of Figure 21 measures 3.118 m. by 3.598 m. If we compare this plinth with the plinth of the "Agrippa" quadriga, we find that the two plinths are remarkably alike, for the plinth of the "Agrippa" quadriga measures 3.095 m. by 3.580 m.; and the smaller measurement runs across the front.²³

The hoofs of horse A, Figure 21, are unusually near the front of the monument, while those of horse B occupy a normal position. It is evident that horse A projected considerably beyond horse B. Furthermore, horse A probably projected beyond horses C and D, for otherwise horses C and D would hide horse A from people rounding the important corner E. The sculptor seems to have purposely projected horse A beyond all the others, so that his group would be as imposing as possible when seen by the great number of people streaming around the northeast corner of the Parthenon.

The inscription on the existing block tells us that the quadriga was set up by a certain Pronapes, to commemorate an unusual number of victories (at least three). As a matter of fact, it is the only four-horse chariot so far known which was dedicated by a victor and set up on the Acropolis. The Pronapes of the inscription is perhaps the cavalry commander of the same name, who was one of three commanders holding office, when, probably in 446 B.C., two groups were set up outside the Propylaea by the newly formed cavalry divisions of Athens.²⁴ The letter forms of the inscription are of the fifth century B.C. Further, the monument was obviously set up after the stylobate of the Parthenon was laid. Perhaps the monument was in place

²³ R. Bohn, *Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen*, plate XXI.

²⁴ *I.G.*, I², 400; cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 255 f. For the inscription on the quadriga dedication: *I.G.*, II², 3123; Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 158 ff.

the best building periods, is not confined to those periods. The use of horizontal pour channels for the dowels which held the bottom course of the monument to the Acropolis rock is, at first sight, a stumbling block for a fifth-century dating of the monument, because horizontal pour channels were not commonly used in Athens until about the middle of the second century B.C.²⁵ But there are exceptions to the rule. The ancient Greek architect was an ingenious builder, and he did not hesitate to employ horizontal pour channels as early as the fifth century in places where they were obviously desirable. Thus, everything considered, it seems both possible and likely that the Parthenon and the monument were erected at about the same time.

We have already seen that the monument at 18, Figure 3, partially blocked access to the area in front of the Parthenon, and caused the removal of the southwest angle of the Precinct of Zeus Polieus from 11 to 15 (Figure 3). If the date assigned in the last paragraph to the quadriga is correct, then the rock-cut triangle 11-15-12 (Figure 3) probably has the same date as that of the quadriga; in other words, the rock-cut triangle is contemporary with the Parthenon. Furthermore, as the rock-cut area to the south of the triangle must antedate the triangle, we may infer that a rock-cut area was prepared for the Older Parthenon.

If the quadriga was not removed before the time of Pausanias' visit to the Acropolis, then he surely walked along the north and east sides of the monument. Let us suppose that the monument was there at the time of his visit. He had a good reason for not mentioning it. From his description we gather that, as he rounded the northeast corner of the Parthenon, his attention was at once drawn to the group in the east pediment of the Parthenon. We cannot blame him for preferring to look at Phidias's overpowering chef-d'oeuvre rather than at the quadriga.

Pausanias does not mention the Temple of Rome and Augustus, although at the time of his visit it must have been standing there (cf. Fig. 3, 35, and Fig. 1). The temple was fairly conspicuous on account of its size, with columns 6.30 m. high; but in the carving of its architectural ornament it was "sloppy" beyond belief. Unless a building was remarkable either for its beauty or for some special historical association, Pausanias is almost sure to pass it by without comment.²⁶

We believe that Pausanias saw to the right of, and somewhat beyond, the Temple of Rome and Augustus the entrance to a fairly important precinct, namely, that of Pandion (cf. Fig. 1).²⁷ Now Pandion was the eponymous hero of the Pandia, the all-Zeus festival. And no less than five inscriptions tell us that he had a Heroön on the Acropolis.²⁸

²⁵ See footnote 21 above.

²⁶ *Antike Denkmäler*, 1884, Taf. 25 and 26.

²⁷ G. P. Stevens, *The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis of Athens*, p. 69 = *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 511, hesitantly tolerated another identification of the site.

²⁸ *I.G.*, II², 1138, 1140, 1144, 1148 and 1152.

Jane E. Harrison as long ago as 1890 published a statement to the effect that this Heroön must have been near the Precinct of Zeus Polieus.²⁹

About 56 m. to the east of the Parthenon and only 25 m. to the southeast of the Precinct of Zeus Polieus are the remains of what has generally been called the *Ἐργαστήριον*, or workshop, where, it was thought, much of the preliminary work which must have accompanied building operations on the Acropolis was carried on (Fig. 3, 36).³⁰ The ruins show that the so-called *Ἐργαστήριον* was composed of two portions, namely, "A" and "B," Figure 22.

Portion "A". A good deal of rock cutting was required in the north corner of "A," the greatest depth being 1.39 m. (cf. Fig. 22, 1). This amount of rock cutting is permissible for an important undertaking, but decidedly costly for a workshop. At 2 is a large rock cutting which has hitherto been overlooked. The cutting indicates a projecting portico, facing the center of the Acropolis. But the main approach to "A" was from the center of the Acropolis. Therefore the portico probably marked the chief entrance into "A." A portico of either wood or stone is too great a luxury for a workshop, and its columns would hinder the passage of large building materials. Furthermore, the rock cuttings at 3 and 4 show that the stone walls which rose above them were only one Attic foot (0.328 m.) thick. The walls could not have been more than one Attic foot, for their inside faces were flush with the rock cuttings below them, and, if the inside of the walls had been sheathed with stone work, thus making the walls thicker, the sheathing would have left its traces on the floor (where rock cut) of the structure and also probably against the vertical portions of the rock cuttings: there are no such traces. Walls as thin as one Attic foot are too light for a roofed structure of our span—a span of a little more than 16 m. One Attic foot, however, is the usual thickness for an Athenian precinct wall of stone. The Acropolis rock beneath walls 1-3 and 1-5, especially beneath the latter, is so full of holes, that rain water could not have been prevented from penetrating into the interior of a building at "A." Even the walls of a workshop are made waterproof. Walls 1-5 and 6-7 are not parallel to each other, the distance 1 to 6 being 0.24 m. greater than the distance 5 to 7. A workshop is roofed, if work is to go on in rainy weather, and the roof is usually hipped to throw the rain water off quickly. In a structure roofed with a hip, one would expect to find the walls more nearly parallel than in the case of the walls in question. No traces of interior supports were found when the site was excavated: a covered workshop should have an economical type of roof, and, in the time of Pericles, the economical roofing of a span *ca.* 16 m. wide called for interior supports. The level of the rock-cut floor in the north corner of "A" is 152.59 m.: this is 0.80 m. above the finished grade outside the south wall

²⁹ Harrison and Verrall, *op. cit.*, p. 429.

³⁰ Kavvadias and Kawerau, *Ἡ Ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως*, Πίναξ Ε'.

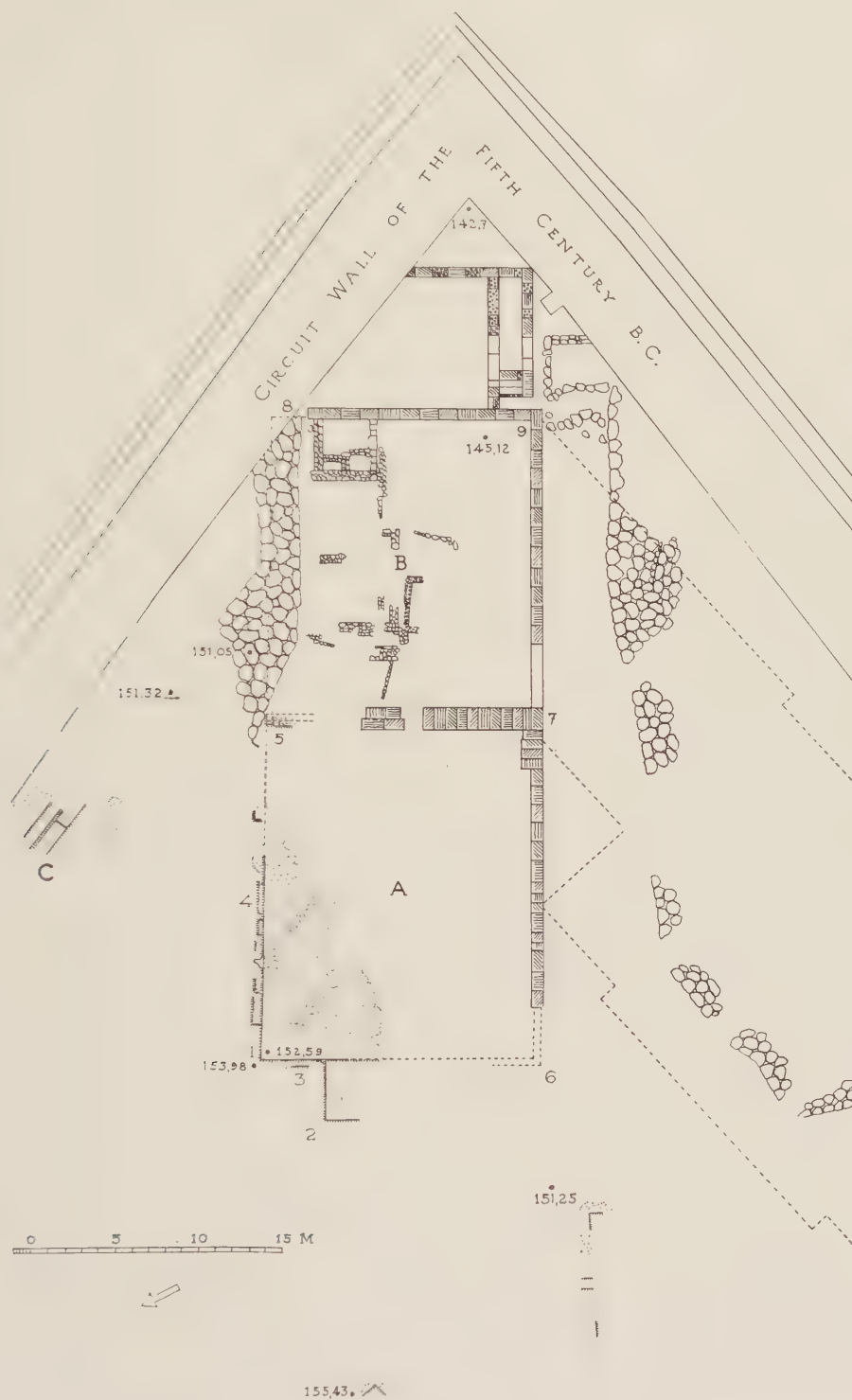


Fig. 22. Precinct of Pandion, Plan: Actual Condition

of area "A."³¹ In other words, if "A" were unroofed, rain falling in "A" would drain off properly. From the above data we feel justified in concluding that "A" was not roofed. It was an open precinct (near that of Zeus Polieus) with a dignified entrance which people within the Acropolis could plainly see and easily approach. Thus the precinct had considerable importance. In fact, it was, we believe, none other than the Heroön of Pandion.

Of walls 6-7 and 7-5 only the poros foundations remain. Almost all of wall 6-7 rests on the Acropolis rock, and its thickness is suitable for a wall one Attic foot thick above ground. On the other hand, the foundation wall at 7-5 does not rest on rock, but on earth; here the foundation was made twice as thick as the foundation at 6-7, so that the two walls might not settle unevenly. These well-designed foundations are suitable for the enclosing walls of a major sanctuary.

Portion "B". There is a section of the prehistoric circuit wall of the Acropolis on the northeast side of area "B" (Fig. 22, 8-5). The top of the wall is 1.54 m. below the rock-cut floor in the north corner of "A," and even 0.74 m. below the finished grade to the southwest of "A" and "B" (cf. Figs. 22 and 23). The wall could, therefore, have served as a foundation for the northeast wall above ground of area "B." The foundation wall 8-9 is built against the fifth-century circuit wall of the Acropolis: this means that wall 8-9 is later in date than the circuit wall of the fifth century. If Cimon built the fifth-century circuit wall in this part of the Acropolis, as seems likely, then area "B" is later than the circuit wall. Walls 8-9 and 9-7 (a foundation wall similar to 8-9) differ radically from those at 7-5 and 7-6 in that the former are neither carried down to the Acropolis rock nor two courses thick. The light foundations of 8-9 and 9-7 are due to the fact either that area "B" was less important than area "A," or that 8-9 and 9-7 had less weight to carry than 7-5 and 7-6. But, as there is little difference in the height and thickness of Athenian precinct walls, we are led to believe that the two types of foundations are due to the differing importance of the two areas.

When the fifth-century circuit walls of the Acropolis were built, the ground level in the southeast part of the Acropolis was greatly raised. It is possible, therefore, that an early precinct of Pandion was buried at that time. Kavvadias and Kawerau discovered early walls of service buildings in, and to the southeast of, area "B," but the excavators found no early walls beneath area "A."³² To explain these facts we may suppose that the building operations at the higher level repeated the early ones below to a certain extent; that is, when the Acropolis was restored after the Persian wars, area "A" with its well-built walls became the new sacred precinct of Pandion,

³¹ The finished grade outside the southwest wall of area "A" was 151.79 m. (cf. G. P. Stevens, *The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon, Hesperia*, Suppl. III, figs. 36 and 66).

³² Kavvadias and Kawerau, *op. cit.*, Πλάξ Ε'.

while area "B" with its poorer walls became a service court. At least one service court on the Acropolis was necessary for the storage of building blocks, tools, ladders, and the like: even temporary sheds for masons to work under could be concealed behind the wall of such an area and might thus account for the great number of drips found here by Kavvadias and Kawerau.

About 12 m. north of the Precinct of Pandion are a series of rock cuttings (at C, Fig. 22).³³ They are parallel to the circuit wall of the Acropolis and about 9 m. from the outside face of the circuit wall. We believe that the cuttings give the location of a stair which leads down from the eastern plateau of the Acropolis to a terrace on the north side of the Precinct of Pandion. The difference in level between the plateau and the terrace was about 2.19 m. The terrace had the same level as the terrace along the south side of the Acropolis. From both terraces was a beautiful view over the countryside with mountains in the distance.

Figure 23 gives the reader an idea of what the Periclean Precinct of Pandion and the service area behind it may have looked like.

There is something else which Pausanias must have seen at least subconsciously as he rounded the northeast corner of the Parthenon. We refer to Mount Hymettos. This conspicuous ridge formed a distant background for

everything in the southeast part of the Acropolis, just as it does today (cf. Fig. 1).

If we would complete the picture of the northeast corner of the Parthenon, to the things which Pausanias mentioned and to the things which we are convinced he saw either consciously or subconsciously but did not mention we must add certain

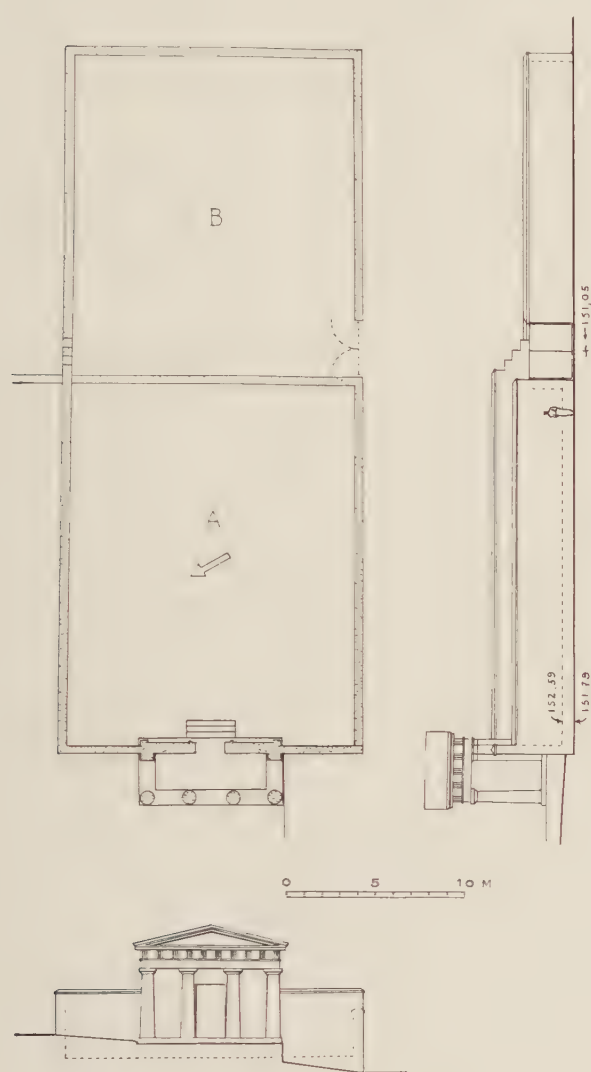


Fig. 23. Precinct of Pandion, Plan and Two Elevations: Restoration

³³ Kavvadias and Kawerau, 'Η 'Ανασκαφή τῆς 'Ακροπόλεως, Πίναξ Ε'.

things which he may possibly have seen. For example, there are traces of pedestals for statues on the middle step of the Parthenon, in front of the columns—seven traces on the north side of the temple, eleven on the south side (but none on either the east or west ends). It is likely that the wear and tear of time has defaced some of the traces on the north and south sides, and that originally a statue stood in front of every column (cf. Fig. 1).³⁴ Perhaps they were some of the “inconspicuous” statues referred to by Pausanias.³⁵ Other examples of the objects which Pausanias possibly saw are indicated by the square cuttings at 37 and 38, Figure 3 (measuring 0.20 m. \times 0.20 m. \times 0.20 m.), which, judging by the depth of the cuttings, were probably intended for temporary wooden posts to support trophies, banners, or the like. Then, there are several cuttings such as those at 39 and 40, Figure 3, which may be associated with small altars—no important religious site of ancient Greece could do without such altars. Finally, we may mention the cutting at 19, Figure 3. It is almost on the axis of the northern intercolumniation of the Parthenon. As in the case of the cutting for the Athena-Poseidon group, we have in 19 a cutting which is considerably longer than it is wide, and here, too, we believe that a group stood; but what it represented we have no idea.³⁶

We close these remarks with the request that the reader look at Figure 1. There he will find an attempt to give the impression the Greeks of the time of Pausanias had as they rounded the northeast corner of the Parthenon.

GORHAM P. STEVENS

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
AT ATHENS

³⁴ G. P. Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-64.

³⁵ Cf. note 20.

³⁶ Cf. note 19.

SOME BOEOTIAN PALMETTE CUPS

(PLATES I-VIII)

OF THE numerous Boeotian black-figured cups of the latter part of the fifth century and the early fourth comparatively few have been published and still fewer have been classified. The majority of them, decorated merely with palmettes and lotuses and the like, are not the sort of material in which one can detect a master hand or trace the influence of a notable craftsman. Yet crude and incompetent as most of them are, it is possible to sort them into groups in which the work of various shops can be differentiated, and often to assign the groups to a definite locality. There are over two hundred and fifty of these cups extant, including two important collections, one at Tanagra from local graves, the other at Chaeronea where there are more than a hundred floral kylikes and skyphoi. In the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. XLVI, 1926, pp. 54 f., I published thirty-eight floral kylikes at Tanagra (Schimatari), that is, all there were in the museum at the time except a few from controlled excavations, which were awaiting publication by the excavators, and two or three which were in such bad condition that the patterns could not be completely made out. The Chaeronea collection still awaits publication. Pending the time when a complete study of the material will be possible I propose here to call attention to one or two easily recognizable groups.¹

Plate I 1 and 2 show a kylix in Reading² which belongs to one of the most distinctive and best represented groups of these floral cups. In profile it is very like a cup in Copenhagen, *C.V.*, Denmark, pl. 182, 1. A notable feature is the deep cylindrical well in the centre of the bowl (Plate I 2) to catch the dregs of the wine. The presence of this well accounts for the unusual thickness of the stem. The rest of the inside of the bowl is black with reserved bands. The shape of bowl, foot, handles and the well are all characteristic of the largest group of cups at Tanagra, the "chevron" group, nos. 16-35 of my list of cups at Schimatari,³ and the painted decoration also shows that both the Reading cup and the one in Copenhagen belong to this group. It will be noticed that the palmettes of both cups are of rather an unusual shape.

¹ My warmest thanks are due to those members of the Greek Archaeological Service whose unlimited kindness and hospitality made it possible for me to work among the Boeotian pottery in Thebes, Chaeronea, Tanagra, Nauplia and Athens, and who gave me permission to publish vases in those museums. In particular I should mention the late Professor Pappadakis, sometime ephor of Boeotia, his successor Dr. Karouzos, Mrs. Karouzos, and Professor Rhomaios. I am also much indebted to Mr. R. U. Sayce, Keeper of the Manchester Museum, and to Professor Sieveking for similar facilities in Manchester and Munich and for permission to publish the pieces illustrated on Plates III, IV 1, and VI.

² University collection no. 29, xi, 7. Diameter 0.195 m. Provenance not known.

³ *J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, pp. 59 f., pls. III and IV.

The innermost leaves on each side, after rising nearly to the full height of the central leaf, bend over and run horizontally for some distance so that the outline of the whole palmette, instead of curving gradually from a wide base to a more or less pointed apex, is suggestive rather of a rectangle; in fact the width is even greater across the top than at the base. The heart from which the leaves spring is, in three cases out of the four on the Reading example, not a simple curve but a curve with a wobble near the middle as though the painter was undecided whether to draw one arc or two side by side. The palmettes of the Tanagra chevron group are all with one exception (no. 18) of this same general type,⁴ sometimes with a single arc for the heart, sometimes with two side by side, and sometimes compromising with the wobbly curve that we see on the Reading cup. In the apotheke of the National Museum at Athens there are seven further examples of this group, all of the same characteristic shape and with palmettes of the type described above and all from Tanagra. The tendril with wide, sweeping curve seen between the palmettes of the Reading cup is found on nos. 17, 26, 29, 30 and 33 of my Tanagra list, and also on one of the cups in the Athens apotheke. In this group the decoration under the handles consists usually of three or four chevrons placed one inside the other, but ivy leaves take the place of chevrons on the Reading cup, on nos. 16 and 26 (in each case under one handle only) of the Tanagra list, and on two of the cups in the Athens apotheke. The Copenhagen cup has the normal chevrons, and so also has an unpublished cup of this group in the Berlin University collection.⁵

Not all the cups of the chevron class are decorated with palmettes and chevrons. On nos. 34 and 35 of the Tanagra list, which from their shape undoubtedly go with the main mass of the chevron cups, and nos. 36 and 37, which are not far removed from them, we have wreaths or spirals. In Nauplia Museum there is another example of the wreath (Plate II 2),⁶ this time of laurel, the leaves drawn in outline, the outer edge heavy, the inner often lighter, with a faint line to mark the centre and with a row of dots following the outer edge of the leaves. The shape of foot and bowl and the deep well put this in the same class as the chevron cups.

With this distinctive cup group can now be associated a couple of vases of different shapes. The first is a pyxis in Koenigsberg published by Lullies, *Antike Klein-kunst in Koenigsberg*, pl. 17, no. 99 (Plate II 1). It has a body of a fortunately uncommon shape, rather top-heavy, with clumsy rim and pinched waist, and the lid is peculiar in having for a knob a diminutive pyxis of the same shape as the parent vase. The main decoration of the body consists of two zones of palmettes with the quasi-rectangular outline noted on the Reading and Tanagra cups. The smaller

⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. III, 16, 19, 21, pl. IV, 28.

⁵ Similar to no. 19 of the Tanagra list, *ibid.*, p. 60 and pl. III.

⁶ No. 539, Nikandros collection. For the dancing woman beneath one of the handles just visible on the right in Plate II 2, see *ibid.*, p. 61, fig. 5.

palmettes on the rim have sometimes two arcs placed side by side to form the heart, as on the Tanagra chevron cup no. 21 (*J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, pl. III 21 lower side), while sometimes these two arcs are enclosed within a larger one, a variation I have not yet observed on any cup. This latter form of heart is used for the large palmettes of the broader zone round the body. The lid has a wreath of laurel, the leaves drawn in outline, one edge heavy and accompanied by a row of dots, the other edge more lightly drawn and with a faint central vein, very similar to the laurel wreath of Plate II 2, though on the pyxis the dots are smaller and more numerous. The second vase is a stamnos-pyxis in the Athens apothēke. It has four zones of decoration on the body: (1) in the handle zone between the warts, vertical and horizontal palmettes of the type described above with two arcs for the heart and sometimes with rows of dots along each side of the central leaf; (2) laurel wreath as on the Koenigsberg pyxis; (3) upright palmettes as in zone 1, and (4) ivy wreath. On the lid is a zone of similar palmettes, alternately upright and inverted and accompanied by numerous dots, and on the knob there are chevrons. Lullies describes his Koenigsberg pyxis as early Hellenistic and compares the Heidelberg pyxis *A.J.A.*, 1909, p. 394, fig. 4 b. But the Heidelberg pyxis, though possibly of Tanagra fabric, belongs to an earlier group and shows a quite different type of palmette. The Koenigsberg pyxis clearly belongs to the same group as the Tanagra chevron cups, which have been dated in the earlier part of the fourth century,⁷ and though the pyxis may well belong to the later phase of the cup series it is doubtful whether it should be placed much later than the middle of the century. The Athens stamnos-pyxis may well be earlier.

The provenance of the Koenigsberg pyxis seems to be unknown. That of the stamnos-pyxis in the apothēke is given as Eretria, and this raises a difficulty. I have tried to show elsewhere⁸ that the floral ware of Eretria was in a style distinct from that of Tanagra, and this stamnos-pyxis bears no resemblance to that style. There is however no reason to think that pieces of Tanagra pottery did not occasionally make their way across the Euripus both in antiquity and in more recent times.

Another vase that may well have issued from a workshop in Tanagra is the small stamnos-pyxis in Professor D. M. Robinson's collection, *C.V.*, Baltimore, fasc. 3, pl. XXXII, no. 3.⁹ The shape of the handles, which are painted black on the part remote from the body, the rather heavy foot rim, reserved and grooved, recall similar features of the chevron cups. The chain of buds resembles those on a cup in the University collection, Cracow, *C.V.*, Poland, pl. 78, 15 which, judging from the illustration, seems to be not far from the chevron cups. Similar buds are also to be seen on a stemless cup from Tanagra in the apothēke at Athens. The palmettes on the lid¹⁰

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁸ *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XLI, p. 27.

⁹ I am indebted to Professor Robinson for kindly sending me detailed information about this vase.

¹⁰ On the lid four palmettes alternate with four plants similar to that on the probably Boeotian R. F. askos Wuerzburg 638, Langlotz Taf. 216.

of the Robinson vase are not however of the quasi-rectangular type associated with the chevrons. They recall another kind of palmette found at Tanagra, e. g., *J.H.S.*, 1926, pl. II 2, a palmette that springs from volutes which curve out from an upright stem, the whole looking rather like a tree with trunk and abundant leaves. In these tree-palmettes the leaves spring not only from the curve that crowns the volutes but from the volutes themselves, diminishing in size until the lowest look like tiny buds. There are four examples of cups with these palmettes in Tanagra Museum (nos. 2-4 of the list in *J.H.S.*, 1926, p. 57 and another much encrusted with earth not included in that list) and three examples from the near-by cemetery of Rhitsona.¹¹ Of the Rhitsona examples two are from the doubtful grave 114b,¹² and with them in the same cluster of vases was another cup of a similar kind with a chain of buds¹³ not unlike those on Professor Robinson's stamnos-pyxis. All this seems to point to the little Baltimore vase having links with both the earlier and the later phases of the Tanagra cup series, and to suggest that it was made at Tanagra not long after 400 B.C.

The chevron cups do not represent the latest phase of the activity of Tanagra cup painters. It has already been pointed out¹⁴ that there are a few examples of a still later development in which the foot becomes smaller and the handles turn up more sharply towards the rim. By far the commonest examples of this shape have no floral patterns, but are decorated outside as well as in merely with alternate black and reserved bands. Plate I 3 and 4 give an example in Reading,¹⁵ I 3 showing the marked deterioration in shape that is noticeable at this time. Of these cups with bands there are also two examples in Nauplia,¹⁶ and the Athens apothekē has thirteen, all reputed to have come from Tanagra.

In Chaeronea there are about a hundred floral cups of various shapes and styles from sites in the neighbourhood. They do not as a whole greatly resemble the floral kylikes found at Tanagra. Generally speaking the bowl is shallower, the handles narrower, the foot lighter with a slender stem, though conical feet are frequently found on both early and late cups. The inside of the bowl is generally black with a large reserved medallion, often so large that the interiors might almost be described as reserved with a broad black border. Wells occur not infrequently, varying from a very slight depression in the centre of the bowl to a deep thimble-shaped cavity which tends to be narrower than the Tanagra variety.

The majority of the cups in Chaeronea are from Abae, just over the border in Phocis. Mr. V. W. Yorke, who excavated at Abae in 1894, speaks of the large number

¹¹ Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona*, pl. X, 52. 16; *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, pl. XXV, 114b. 7 and 8.

¹² *Sixth and Fifth*, p. 5.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pl. XXV, 114b. 10.

¹⁴ *J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, p. 61.

¹⁵ No. 27. iv. 5. Diameter, 0.197 m. Burnt.

¹⁶ Nos. 547, 614. Nikandros collection.

of graves there which "for years have been a hunting-ground to the peasants in search of antiquities" and mentions that there was in the tombs "a great quantity of rude black-figured pottery ornamented with palmettes."¹⁷ Since then further excavations have been made on the site but unfortunately remain unpublished. Entries in the museum inventory and information supplied by the phylax George Papangelos lead to the conclusion that upwards of seventy of the palmette vases in the museum are from Abae. For the others there is no provenance given, and it is quite possible that some of those also may be from Abae. It must then be understood that the vases dealt with in the second part of this paper, though referred to for the sake of convenience as Chaeronea types or as found in the Chaeronea region, are many of them from Abae and are therefore of Phocian provenance. It is likely that the pottery trade followed natural rather than political or racial frontiers and that Helicon and Copaïs together formed a dividing line. North of Helicon we find the kind of palmette ware that is so well represented in Chaeronea Museum, and which, though essentially similar, differs in many details from that which had its vogue in the southeastern half of Boeotia from Thespieae to Tanagra and Mycalessus. But once north of Helicon we are soon in Phocian territory. One cannot be certain that the Chaeronea vases are not mainly of Phocian rather than Boeotian make. Until further excavations have been made and past excavations adequately published this will have to remain an open question.

Plate II 3 shows a typical example¹⁸ of one of the earlier groups. The palmettes have a single large shallow curve for the heart, such as is seen on some of the Tanagra chevron cups, but the general outline of the palmette, forming a single curve upwards from a broad base to an apex, is totally unlike the rectangular outline of the palmettes of the chevron class (contrast Plate II 3 with Plate I 1). Inside there is a large reserved medallion, perfectly plain. There is no well. Of this group there are at least four kylikes and five closely related skyphoi in Chaeronea, and two other kylikes in a private collection are known to have come from approximately the same region. All have palmettes of this same type and between them hens, cocks, swans or sphinxes, single or in pairs. It may at first sight look as though these cups were not in the floral tradition but followed the normal Attic arrangement of a figure scene between handle palmettes. But this is not invariably so. One of the Chaeronea kylikes has on the one side palmette, swan, lotus, palmette, and on the other palmette, ivy leaf, palmette, lotus, palmette. A sixth skyphos also, in every other respect like the first five, has only palmettes and lotuses. From this one gathers that the birds are regarded as alternatives to floral motives. The group in fact seems to be transitional between an earlier stage in the Attic manner and the fully developed floral style.

¹⁷ *J.H.S.*, XVI, 1896, p. 302.

¹⁸ Diameter, 0.16 m. Inventoried, with other vases, under no. 302. According to the phylax Papangelos they are all from excavations made by the late Dr. G. Soteriades at Abae.

This earlier stage is perhaps to be seen in a pair of cups, one in the Manchester Museum (Plate III 1 and 2)¹⁹ and one in Reading.²⁰ Nothing is known of the provenance of either. The shape of bowl and handles is similar to that of the preceding group with hens and swans, and inside there is the usual large medallion, this time with a central dot and two circles in black. The chief difference lies in the foot, which in the Manchester example is almost conical. That of the Reading cup is rather less so and is a stage nearer to the stemmed type of Plate II 3. The two cups are practically duplicates, showing on one side two lean satyrs at an amphora and on the other two of their comrades hastening up with drinking horns. The palmettes are of the same kind as those of the cups with hens and swans.

This same kind of palmette, though with fleshier and more succulent leaves and with a smaller, shallower heart which gives the impression that the palmette is gradually submerging, is found on a cup of peculiar shape (Plate V 1)²¹ in Chaeronea, the bowl deep with a well that necessitates a thick stem which broadens into a rather insignificant foot with a thin, finely ridged edge.²² A large medallion with black circles occupies the greater part of the inside of the bowl. Very similar in decoration, which includes an ivy leaf with curling stalk beneath the handles of each, is a stemless cup in Manchester (Plate IV 1).²³ Here also the bowl is deep, the upper part only of the offset rim is painted black; the medallion inside corresponds to that in the Chaeronea cup. The Manchester cup, however, being stemless, has no well. The fine ridging round the edge of the foot is the same in both.²⁴ A pattern of three similar palmettes, one upright between two horizontal that spring from the handles, recurs with only minor variations on a series of more than a dozen normal stemmed kylikes in Chaeronea of which two are figured here (Plate V 2, with abnormally wide handles; Plate V 3, with unusually long centre leaf in the horizontal palmette).²⁵ All have inside a very large reserved medallion with black circles and there is generally an ivy leaf under the handles. The little ornament consisting of two volutes with a vertical line between them, seen on the right of the centre palmette in Plate V 1, is seen with modifications on about half of them.²⁶ It is difficult in the entire absence of external

¹⁹ No. III G 2. Diameter, 0.162 m.

²⁰ No. 39. ix. 7. Diameter, 0.16 m.

²¹ Diameter, 0.21 m. Both handles of this cup have been broken off at the ends.

²² Contrast the heavy foot with thick-ridged edge of the Tanagra chevron cups, e. g., *J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, pl. III, 11, 19, pl. IV, 35.

²³ No. III G 1. Diameter, 0.185 m. Provenance unknown.

²⁴ The ridge scarcely shows in the photograph reproduced in Plate IV, 1.

²⁵ Both inv. no. 302; see note 18. Diameter, 0.19 m., 0.24 m.

²⁶ On at least seven out of at least thirteen examples (including that illustrated in Plate V 3). The vases in Chaeronea were studied under difficulties. It was impossible to reach a dozen cups at the end of one of the cases and they could only be imperfectly seen stacked one inside another behind the glass. In computing numbers I have omitted all doubtful cases and confined myself to the cups that I was able to handle or to see clearly.

evidence²⁷ to give a date to this or any other group of Chaeronea vases. There is nothing comparable to the Thespian polyandron of 424 B.C., which affords such a valuable fixed point for the dating of the palmette ware of the Thespieae-Tanagra region. It can however be said that the palmette with the simple arc for heart, the commonest palmette at Chaeronea, occurring as it does on thirty out of the hundred palmette vases in the museum, is found on cups that have in the main early features, i. e., a bowl with fairly curved sides and no well, or only occasionally in place of a well a slight depression in the centre, and handles with only a slight twist or no twist at all. It is therefore probable that many if not most of the cups with this kind of palmette should be dated before the end of the fifth century.

The palmette of the hens-and-swans type, but enriched by a dot inside the shallow curve that forms the heart, meets us again on a unique vase in Chaeronea, a large shallow lekane (Plate V 4).²⁸ Round the greater part of the bowl this palmette alternates with a tall attenuated lotus, often accompanied by a dot rosette, but in three instances these lotuses are replaced by large teazles. The teazle is a rare motive, and I know of only one other instance of its use on Boeotian floral vases. That is on a rather remarkable unpublished cup in Berlin University. Though belonging to the floral class it is unusually pictorial, showing on each side two women drawing water at a fountain, the fountain house being represented by a pillar, with spouts in the shape of animals' heads. Each figure is separated from its neighbour by a palmette, sometimes accompanied by a dot rosette, and on the extreme left of one side there is one large teazle. The palmettes, unlike those of our lekane, are mounted on a pair of volutes, but the vases are probably not unconnected.

The same palmette occurs once more on a particularly careless kylix in Reading (Plate IV 2).²⁹ The shallow bowl, narrow handles, large medallion are all of the Chaeronea type, and the almost conical foot corresponds with that of the Manchester cup with satyrs (Plate III 1 and 2). Of the four palmettes the heart of one is plain, one has a dot as on the lekane, one a smudge, and in the fourth the central leaf is continued downwards and sticks like a post through the middle of it. Two of the palmettes have attached to them scraggy lotuses of the same type as those on Plate

²⁷ The furniture of the tomb of the Macedonians who fell at Chaeronea in 338 B.C. consisted of black-glaze pottery. Some fragments of palmette cups are to be seen among the finds from the Soros, but they are not from the actual burial, being accidental intrusions into the earth used for the tumulus; see Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery*, p. 25, note 2. It would be rash to infer from their absence here that floral cups had ceased to be made by 338 B.C.

²⁸ Inv. no. 302, see note 18. Diameter, 0.29 m. For the name lekane as applied to these dishes and for the functions they fulfilled see *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, Vol. IV, p. 18.

²⁹ No. 25. vi. 2. Diameter, 0.14 m. This cup was alleged by the dealer from whom it was originally acquired to have come from Tanagra. Such alleged provenances are often untrustworthy. In this case there is nothing whatever in the style of the cup to suggest Tanagran manufacture, while there is at least one (purely floral) cup in Chaeronea Museum that has every appearance of issuing from the same shop as the Reading cup.

V 4 and elongated lotus buds stand loose here and there. On each side is a seated lyre-player performing to a listener who stands leaning on his staff. This brings us to a subject which seems to have been a favourite in the region that the Chaeronea collection represents. Lyre-player and audience occur on kylikes of various types of which the one just described is the basest. More noteworthy is a cup in Munich (Plate VI 1 and 2)⁸⁰ showing a lyre-player with an audience consisting on the one side of a cock and on the other of a swan. The palmettes have stiff straight leaves rising from a heart that suggests a pair of spectacles. A second cup from the same hand, also in Munich,⁸¹ has no lyre-player but on the one side a mule and on the other a lion in headlong career. A third, in Chaeronea, from a grave at Abae,⁸² is similar and shows a mule and a centaur, both going at full speed. All three cups have a large medallion occupying the greater part of the inside of the bowl, spectacle palmettes, ivy leaves under the handles, and, a rather unusual feature in Boeotia, leafy branches in the field.⁸³ Besides the Reading and Munich musicians there are eight other cups (with a different palmette type) either in Chaeronea or from that neighbourhood which have lyre-players whose audiences include a lion, a dog, a cock, an unidentified bird, and a tortoise, as well as human listeners. One is tempted to see in the three cups of the Munich group, all undoubtedly by the same painter and forming as it were a set, an extension of the same theme. The two mules, the lion and the centaur may be hurrying to join the swan and the cock at the concert. It is curious that this subject was such a favourite theme to the north of Helicon but does not seem to have appealed to the painters of the southeastern district as represented by the collection at Tanagra and the finds from Rhitsona. Do we see a human lyrist, some local celebrity? The presence of a tripod beside the figure on one of the Chaeronea cups might seem to suggest that it was. On the other hand the many representatives of the animal kingdom remind us of the story of Orpheus and of what Pausanias saw in a valley of Helicon. "There is a statue of Orpheus with Telete standing by his side, and round about him are beasts in stone and bronze listening to his song."⁸⁴ We do not know whether any of the menagerie that Pausanias saw was already there to inspire pot painters of the late fifth century, but Orpheus haunted Helicon long before his statue was set up there. There is however an argument against the identification of this musician with Orpheus in the fact that geographically the Valley of the Muses, the obvious home of Orpheus and his mother Calliope, is on the wrong side of Helicon. It would have been more natural for him to be portrayed on the cups used in Thespieae rather than in the parts around Chaeronea. Two of the lyre-player cups were cer-

⁸⁰ Mus. ant. Kleinkunst no. 2129. Diameter about 0.21 m.

⁸¹ Mus. ant. Kleinkunst no. 2128. Diameter, 0.23 m.

⁸² No. 363. Nine cups are inventoried under this number, all from graves at Abae.

⁸³ But cf. the lekane in Heidelberg *A.J.A.*, 1909, p. 395, fig. 5.

⁸⁴ Pausanias, IX, 30, 4. Frazer trans. p. 480.

tainly, and two others probably, found at Abae, and so was the kylix with mule and centaur, painted by a man who also painted lyre-players. The provenance of the others is uncertain. If we regard the subject as being particularly popular in Abae a third alternative suggests itself. Abae was the seat of an ancient and important oracle of Apollo.³⁵ What could be more natural than for the people of Abae to have on their cups their own Apollo, and why not depict him as Eurípides had described him not very many years before, surrounded by wild things?

Σὺν δ' ἐποιμαίνοντο χαρᾷ μελέων βαλῖαί τε λύγκες,
 ἔβα δὲ λιποῦσ' Ὀθρυος νάπαν λεόντων
 ἅ δαφονὸς ἴλα·
 χόρευσε δ' ἀμφὶ σὰν κιθάραν,
 Φοῖβε, ποικιλόθριξ
 νεβρὸς ὑψικόμων πέραν
 βαίνουσ' ἐλατᾶν σφυρῶ κούφῳ,
 χαίρουσ' εὐφροني μολπᾷ.

(*Alcestis*, 579-587.)

It has been pointed out that in Plate V 1 and Plate IV 1 the arc that forms the heart of the palmette is diminishing or submerging. In some cups at Chaeronea it has disappeared entirely and the leaves of the palmettes spring directly from the base line (Plate VII 1).³⁶ This is not in itself a sign of lateness, for this kind of palmette is found on one of the seven palmette cups in the Thespian polyandron of 424 B.C. Nevertheless most of the eighteen cups at Chaeronea with heartless palmettes are shown by the increasingly angular outline of the bowl, the prevalence of wells or at any rate a noticeable sinking in the centre, and the frequent twist of the handles, to be a later development than the series of cups with the hens and swans type of palmette. Inside they have very large reserved medallions with black circles, or rather black bands, which on the later cups are sometimes broad enough to produce very much the same effect as the reserved bands in the black ground inside Tanagra chevron cups such as *J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, pl. III 26 or the cup shown in Plate I 4. Vases with heartless palmettes form the second largest group in Chaeronea Museum and together with those with palmettes of the hens-and-swans type make up about half of the entire collection.

A group of seven cups in Chaeronea shows a palmette similar to the Tanagra "tree-palmette" mentioned above in connexion with the little stamnos-pyxis in Baltimore. One of them is seen in Plate VII 2.³⁷ Compared with the Tanagra-Rhithsona

³⁵ Pausanias, X, 35.

³⁶ Inv. no. 363. From an Abae grave. Diameter, 0.16 m.

³⁷ "Abae 1908." Diameter, 0.26 m.

variety of the palmette³⁸ those in Chaeronea have more numerous and straighter leaves and look lighter and more shapely. Of this group of seven³⁹ three show the lyre-player accompanied by lion, dog, tripod, or bird, three have only palmettes and lotuses, while one is purely floral on the one side and has lyre-player and cock on the other. This class of cup has no well and the handles do not twist. The Rhitsona and Tanagra tree-palmettes are probably to be dated around 400 B.C., some of them rather before that date,⁴⁰ and there is nothing to indicate that the Chaeronea group is not roughly contemporary with them.

A few vases in Chaeronea stand somewhat apart from the rest. There is for instance a little group of three cups which differ from the normal in having a deeper bowl, the inside black without the usual medallion, a thick stem and a heavy foot with the rim reserved and grooved. One⁴¹ is shown in Plate VII 3, the second⁴² in Plates VII 4 and VIII 1, and the third⁴³ is practically a duplicate of the second but lacks the dots. The ground is unusually pale. The palmettes are linked together by tendrils drawn with an unsteady hand, and beneath the handles of two of the three cups are sinuous tendrils springing from an ivy leaf. There is a good deal in both the shape of the cups and the scheme of the decoration that suggests comparison with cups from the Tanagra region,⁴⁴ but the upright palmettes, which have fleshy leaves springing from a heart composed of two insignificant volutes with no connecting member, are not of a Tanagra type. It is uncertain whether the cups are importations from a workshop farther south or whether they were made in the north in more or less conscious imitation of a southern model.

Plate VIII 2 shows what is probably one of the latest of the floral cups in Chaeronea⁴⁵ and the only one with sickle-shaped palmette leaves. The shallow bowl, sharply twisted handle, a well and broad black bands inside all speak for a date well on in the fourth century. Palmettes with leaves of this shape are not found to my knowledge on any cups in Tanagra Museum, but in the apotheke of the National Museum in Athens amongst the floral vases from Tanagra there is a kylix of normal chevron type having a palmette of this kind (though without the dots and with the sickle bend rather less pronounced) on the one side while the other side practically duplicates the cup in Reading shown in Plate I 1.

³⁸ *J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, pl. II, 2; *Sixth and Fifth*, pl. XXV, 114b. 7, 8, 9.

³⁹ Four are inventoried as being from Abae. The remaining three come under inv. no. 302; see note 18.

⁴⁰ *J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, p. 58.

⁴¹ "Abae 1908." Diameter, 0.17 m.

⁴² Inv. no. 363. From an Abae grave. Diameter, 0.16 m.

⁴³ Provenance uncertain. Not measured.

⁴⁴ For shape cf. *J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, pl. III, 11; for tendrils cf. the Tanagra cup *ibid.*, pl. II, 1 and the Rhitsona cup *Sixth and Fifth*, pl. XXIV, 123. 32.

⁴⁵ "Abae 1908." Diameter, 0.23 m.



1



3



4



2

1 and 2: Reading 29. xi. 7. 3 and 4: Reading 27. iv. 5.

A. D. URE: SOME BOEOTIAN PALMETTE CUPS

PLATE II



1



2



3

1: After Lullies, *Antike Kleinkunst in Königsberg*, pl. 17. 2: Nauplia 539. 3: Cup in Chacronca.

A. D. URE: SOME BOEOTIAN PALMETTE CUPS



1



2

1 and 2: The Manchester Museum III G 2.
A. D. URE: SOME BOEOTIAN PALMETTE CUPS

PLATE IV



1



2

1: The Manchester Museum III G 1. 2: Reading 25. vi. 2.

A. D. URE: SOME BOEOTIAN PALMETTE CUPS



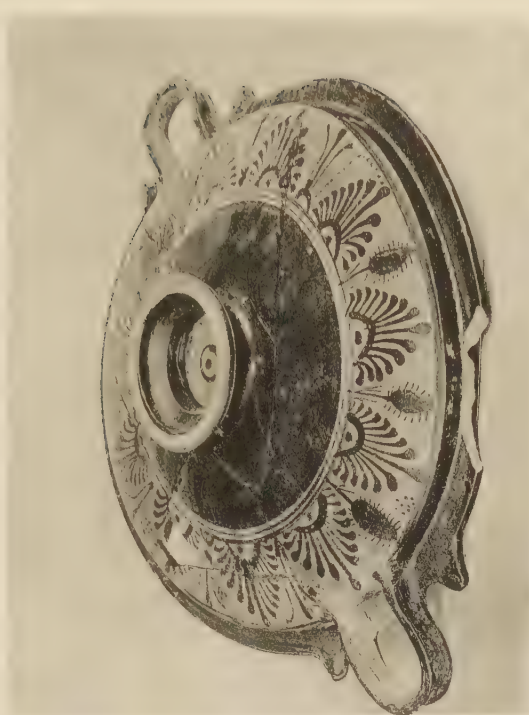
1



3



2



4

1-4: Three cups and a lekane in Chaeronea.

A. D. URE: SOME BOEOTIAN PALMETTE CUPS

PLATE VI



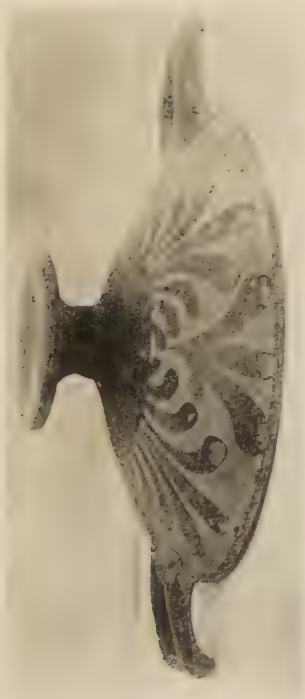
1



2

1 and 2: Munich 2129.

A. D. URE: SOME BOEOTIAN PALMETTE CUPS



1



3



2



4

1-4: Cups in Chaeronea.
A. D. URE: SOME BOEOTIAN PALMETTE CUPS

PLATE VIII



1



3



2



4

1-4: Three cups in Chaeronea.
A. D. URE: SOME BOEOTIAN PALMETTE CUPS

Finally, Plate VIII 3 and 4 show an early cup in Chaeronea ⁴⁶ that seems to be unique. It has a conical foot similar to that of the satyr cup in Manchester (Plate III), and though rather deeper in the bowl it does not differ much in shape from the ordinary run of the earlier Chaeronea cups. In decoration this cup also has affinities with vases of the southern group. There is no medallion inside. Outside, the carefully drawn palmettes spring from a well-curved heart standing on neat volutes, and tendrils curl about with a waywardness unparalleled at Chaeronea. On one side stands a sedate swan with feathery wing, on the other an impish little Hermes complete with petasos, rhabdos and winged sandals speeds through the air on some celestial mission. It is a pity that this cheerful cup has no fellows.

A. D. URE

READING, ENGLAND

⁴⁶ Inv. no. 302; see note 18. Diameter, 0.22 m.

RING ARYBALLOI

(PLATES IX-XI)

I. CORINTHIAN

THE University of Reading has for some time possessed two fragmentary ring aryballoi. More recently it has acquired two complete specimens. All four are of normal Corinthian fabric. Corinthian ring aryballoi have not come down to us in any great numbers. Only about fifty examples are known to me. But even so, as a class they have been somewhat neglected. In Payne's masterly *Necrocorinthia* they receive only one short paragraph, and if treated as material for the history of Corinthian art perhaps this is as much as they deserve, for nearly all the fifty or so specimens fall into a few rather stereotyped groups. But from another point of view this very tendency to standardisation increases their interest. Vases are the product of the one industry of ancient Greece which can be studied from an examination of the actual output and the distribution of that output. From this industrial viewpoint the standardised article has a special importance; and of all the products of the great Corinthian pottery industry the aryballos is the most standardised and the most abundant. Its commonest form is the little ball aryballos, of which Rhitsona by itself has yielded more specimens than the total number of Corinthian vases of all shapes that are listed in Payne's *Necrocorinthia*. No ring aryballos at all has so far been unearthed there to set against the 1,600 or so ball aryballoi that the site has yielded. But the ring vases are a sort of freak variant on the immensely more popular ball aryballos, and a survey of them may help to round off the study of the commoner type that I attempted in my *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona*. But leaving for the time being these wider questions let us simply collect and classify these odd little vases for their own unpretentious sakes.

Most of the fifty or so Corinthian examples known to me fall into three main groups, A, B and D, of which A and B are closely connected and decorated with a zone of animals, while in D the decoration consists exclusively of linear bands and dots. Group C consists of one vase in which dolphins replace the quadrupeds of A and B. Groups E (one vase) and F (three vases) are not certainly Corinthian.

On the A and B vases the top of the mouth and the shoulder show a daisy pattern, that on the top of the mouth sometimes covering the whole top, sometimes being framed with concentric circles. The handle generally has horizontal bands between two uprights. The inner part of the circular tube that forms the body is painted black. Concentric with this inner circle, on either side of the body, are several painted rings, usually black, of which the midmost and thickest is cut across by numerous incised lines. On the handle zone the A vases have goats or ibexes and lions or panthers with

an occasional bull or wild horse, the B vases horses sometimes mounted, sometimes led, sometimes neither. In both groups the field of this zone tends to be filled with amorphous "rosettes," often remarkably elongated, as are also often the animals themselves. One other fairly common feature, especially in the B vases, is an outline head facing left just under the handle. The animals, when in procession, which is most commonly the case on A vases and always so on those of Group B, face in this same direction.

In the lists that follow I have noted these various peculiarities where they can be verified. Unfortunately both the descriptions and illustrations of published examples often leave some of these points uncertain, and my own notes of unpublished examples are often equally defective. They were made before I was specially interested in this type of vase, in days when I did not foresee how impossible it was to become to supplement them.¹ There is the further difficulty that a number of these vases are exceptionally badly worn. The material and information available does however seem, with this reservation, sufficiently full to make the lists which follow worth while.

GROUP A (goats, lions etc.)

1. Reading University, Inv. 44.i.1, Plate IX, No. 1 *a-c*: height, 0.068 m.; details in red; the framing dots above the ibex are not often found on these vases. Lion and ibex facing a central rock. From the fore part of the lion to the handle decoration almost all gone. From the Evmorfopoulos Collection.

2. Delos, *Exploration Archéologique*, Vol. X (Dugas, *Vases de l'Héraion*), pl. XXXV, 464 a and b: height, 0.073 m.; two grazing ibexes to left; daisy pattern on top of mouth framed by concentric circles; other details as on 1.

3. Delos, *ibid.*, pl. XXXV, 463 a and b: height, 0.083 m.; lion to l. followed by grazing bull; subordinate details as on 2.

4. Syracuse Museum, from Megara Hyblaea sep. CCXVI: two panthers and two wild goats.

5. Oxford, *C.V.A.*, fasc. 2, p. 64, no. 22 and pl. 2 (G.B. 385), 22, 40, pl. 3 (G.B. 386), 14:

height, 0.076 m.; three lions to l.; incised on main black band on one side crab, on other a lion's paw. From Schliemann Collection.

6. Louvre, *C.V.A.*, fasc. 8 (France 12), pl. 21, 20, 24, 25: height, 0.07 m.; three panthers to l., subordinate details as on 2 except that side of mouth has angular S-pattern. From Rhodes.

7. *C.V.A.* Rodi, fasc. 2, pl. III, C, 5 (Italia pl. 489) no. 5; *Clara Rhodos*, IV (Camirus), p. 312, fig. 346, and p. 314, no. 10: height, 0.06 m.; top of mouth as 1; goat to l. followed by another animal. The main black band on either side appears to lack the usual incisions.

The vase has been twice published and illustrated by the same writer. The above description is what may be extracted from the *C.V.A.* illustration. The *C.V.A.* text describes the animals as "felino affrontato ad un ovino," that in *Clara Rhodos* as "cervi pascenti." In justice to the writer who could give two descriptions of the same vase which entirely contradict one another and concur only in both being contra-

¹ I should like to thank my old pupil Capt. E. S. Haydon for trying to get me further information about the examples in the Syracuse Museum. He tells me that they are safe but inaccessible and likely to remain so for some time. The curator of the Boulogne Museum, Mr. Jules Paublan, has most kindly informed me that the same is the case with the vases at Boulogne (see below, No. 19).

dicted by the illustration it should be observed that both publications were issued in the fascist era (years IX and XII) and that both are propaganda efforts intended to advertise Italian activities in the Greek Dodecanese.

8. *C.V.A.* Rodi, fasc. 2, pl. III, C, 6 (Italia pl. 490) no. 5; *Clara Rhodos*, IV (Camirus), p. 276 and (p. 278) fig. 307: diameter, 0.06 m.; top of mouth as 2; grazing goat to l. and another animal behind it. The *C.V.A.* text says "felino ed ovino incedente," *Clara Rhodos* "cervi pascenti."

The following (Nos. 9-12) have a head in outline facing l. at the handle end of the animal zone.

9. Bibliothèque Nationale, *C.V.A.*, fasc. 1 (France 7), pl. 14, 4, 14, 15: height, 0.09 m.; goat followed by lion walking to l.; top of mouth as 2. Plate IX, No. 9.

10. Louvre *C.V.A.*, fasc. 8 (France 12), pl. 21, 5, 10, 11, 16: height, 0.08 m.; goat followed by lion walking to l.; mouth as 9. From Rhodes. Plate IX, No. 10.

11. Berlin, Furtwängler, 1094: height, 0.085 m.; goat followed by panther to l.; from Camirus.

12. Louvre, *C.V.A.*, fasc. 8 (France 12), pl. 21, 3, 4, 9, 14: height, 0.095 m.; mouth as 9; horse followed by goat to l. From Rhodes. Plate IX, No. 12.

GROUP A OR GROUP B

The state of the vase or the inadequacy of the published record or of my own notes makes it impossible to determine to which group Nos. 13-21 belong.

13. Vienna, Oest. Mus., Masner, p. 7, no. 73: height, 0.06 m., "unkenntliche Tiere," (Coll. Castellani 4657).

14. *Mon. Ant.*, XXXIV, 1931, p. 313 and pl.

XIV, 20: height, 0.09 m., "animali pascenti e gradienti." From Populonia.

15, 16, 17, 18, Syracuse Mus.: 15-17, *Notizie*, 1895, pp. 126, 176 (where they are called "bombylioi a ciambella" or "anelliformi") from Syracuse Sepp. 175, 451-452; 18, from Megara Hyblaea Sep. 708.²

19. Boulogne: mouth as 2, back of handle hatching of vertical and horizontal lines; figured decoration includes a bird.

20. Bonn, Akad. Kunstmuseum, Inv. 592: mouth and handle as 1; animals elongated.

21. Coll. Scheurleer, *C.V.A.*, fasc. 1, pl. III, C, 6 (Pays Bas, pl. 18), no. 5: height, 0.076 m., "décor très effacé." Scheurleer describes the remains of decoration on the main zone as "motifs floraux." I should suspect these "motifs floraux" of being the remains of field ornaments. If they are not, this vase is unique. From Greece, Coll. Wolters.

GROUP B (horses and horsemen)

Where, as is normally the case, the figures are in procession, the descriptions below start from the front.

22. Collection Scheurleer, *C.V.A.*, fasc. 1, pl. III, C, 6 (Pays Bas, pl. 18), no. 4: height, 0.068 m.; mouth as 2; two horsemen on elongated horses to l., goose, handle. From Greece, Coll. Arndt.

23. Louvre, *C.V.A.*, fasc. 8 (France 12), pl. 20, 31, pl. 21, 6, 7, 12: height, 0.095 m.; mouth as 2; horse with rider to l., lion to l., outline head to l., handle. From Rhodes (fonds Salzmann). Plate IX, No. 23.

24. Louvre, *C.V.A.*, fasc. 8, pl. 20, 28, pl. 21, 1, 2, 8: height, 0.095 m.; mouth as 9; two horses to l., handle. From Rhodes.

25. *Mon. Ant.*, XVII, p. 638, fig. 453: two elongated horses with riders to l., drawing

² A very worn example from Megara Hyblaea, Sep. 407, may also perhaps belong here.

sketchy; mouth as 2. From Bitalemi Sanctuary at Gela.

26. Bibliothèque Nationale, *C.V.A.*, fasc. 1 (France 7), pl. 14, 1, 3, 9: height, 0.098 m.; mouth as 2, two elongated horses, bridled, to l.; outline head to l.; handle. From Camirus. Plate IX, No. 26.

27. Bibliothèque Nationale, *C.V.A.*, fasc. 1 (France 7), pl. 14, 2, 10, 16: height, 0.09 m.; mouth as 2; two elongated horses with riders to l.; outline head to l., handle with hatching of vertical and horizontal lines. From Camirus. Plate IX, No. 27.

28. Yale, Stoddard Coll., *Catalogue* (Baur), no. 91, p. 64, fig. 14, p. 57, and pl. I: height, 0.093 m.; top of mouth unusual, between concentric circles as on 2 in place of daisy petals radiating lines alternating with single dots; two elongated horses to l.; outline head to l.; handle with dependent petals below dots continued round from the side of the mouth.

29. Oxford, *C.V.A.*, fasc. 2, pp. 64-65, no. 24, pl. III, C, 2 (G.B. 385), 24, 38, III, C, 3 (G.B. 386), 17: height, 0.0835 m.; two horses to l.; outline head to l.; handle with horizontal bars.

30. Oxford, Coll. Beazley,³ Plates IX-X: height, 0.06 m.; mouth and handle as 2; two elongated horses with riders to l.; outline head to l. Colours all gone.

31. Berlin, *Jahrb.*, I, 1886, p. 146, Inv. 3054; diameter, 0.065 m.; two elongated horses with riders to l., drawing sketchy. From Siana.

32. Berlin, Furtwängler, no. 1095: height, 0.06 m.; two elongated horses with riders to l. From Thebes.

33. *Ibid.*, no. 1096: height, 0.055 m.; the same. From Smyrna.

34. *Ibid.*, no. 1097: height, 0.06 m.; the same, still more sketchy, colours mostly gone. Gerhard bequest.

35. *Ibid.*, no. 1098: diameter, 0.06 m.; mouth and parts near it missing, three of same horse-men to l. Gerhard bequest.

36. *Ibid.*, no. 1099: height, 0.065 m.; elongated horse with rider to l. followed by footman leading a horse. From Camirus.

37. Sarajevo, *Katalog gr. Vaseu im Landesmuseum* (E. Bulanda), no. 74: height, 0.065 m.; mouth daisy; two horsemen each leading two horses. From Camirus.

38. Samos, Heraeum, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIV, 1929, p. 27, fig. 1, mouth very small daisy pattern between circles, procession of riders to l.

39. Reading University, Inv. 26. ii. 3, Plate X, No. 39: height, *ca.* 0.06 m.; much of body and all mouth and handle missing, colours all gone; tail, rump and hind leg of horse to l., fore part of second horse to l. with rider. From Egypt Exploration Fund.

40. Reading University, Inv. 26. ii. 4, Plate X, No. 40: height, *ca.* 0.055 m.; only mouth, handle and adjacent parts of body preserved; traces of front part of horse with reins to l., traces of outline head to l., handle with horizontal lines between vertical. From Egypt Exploration Fund.

GROUP C

Like A and B, but the quadrupeds are replaced by dolphins.

41. Louvre, *C.V.A.*, fasc. 8 (France 12), pl. III, C, a 20, 25, 27, pl. 21, 15: height, 0.09 m., mouth as 2; handle, vertical lines; two dolphins swimming to l., field rosettes and other motives with incisions. From Rhodes.

GROUP D

In place of the animal zone of Groups A, B and C the Group D vases show a zone of dots treated generally much as on the bombylioi and ball aryballoi figured at the top of my *Aryballoi and Figurines*, pl. V. On either side of this

³ I have to thank Professor Beazley for permission, most readily given, to publish this vase.

outer zone of dots (sometimes as many as six deep), between it and the central hollow, the decoration consists of plain concentric bands, occasionally diversified by a single band of dots. The incisions characteristic of the main side band in the animal groups are wanting.

42. *Clara Rhodos*, III, pl. VI, v 18 and p. 37: height, 0.072 m.; normal handle; the dots round the side of the mouth are close to the top. From Ialysus.

43. *Clara Rhodos*, IV, fig. 346 and (presumably) p. 319 bottom. Only the body can be seen in the illustration; there is no description in the text. From Camirus.

44. Copenhagen, *C.V.A.*, fasc. 2, pl. 85 (Denmark 86), 9: height, 0.065 m.; on top of mouth radiating bars; side of mouth, dots; decoration of handle (normal shape and position) not indicated. Said to be from the Athenian Acropolis.

45. 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1910, p. 290, fig. 9 A: height, 0.065 m., normal handle. "Decoration of body completely faded, but appears to have consisted of concentric bands." From this description it would appear that further bands replaced the normal zone of dots. From Bassae.

46. Coll. Scheurleer, *C.V.A.*, fasc. 1, pl. III, C, 6 (Pays Bas 18), no. 9; Scheurleer, *Catalogus*, no. 355: height, 0.085 m.; top of mouth black tongues, side of mouth plain band; no handle. From Livadia. Scheurleer says "probably Boeotian," but this seems only an inference from the place of finding.

47. Delos, *Exploration Archéologique*, XVII (Dugas), pl. LVI, no. 70, and pp. 87, 101, from the "fosse de purification" on Rheneia: height, 0.088 m.; top of mouth daisy pattern, side of mouth apparently plain; the thicker of the plain concentric bands on either side are purple;

there is a single band of dots on either side in addition to the usual band of dots many deep on what would be the animal zone in Groups A and B. No handle. The ring which forms the body of the vase is almost rectangular in section. I do not remember seeing the vase, but neither the rather rectangular section of the body (*pace* Payne, p. 313) nor the colour of the clay, which Dugas describes as "brun clair," seems to me to invalidate Dugas' assignation of the vase to Corinth.

48. Schimatari Museum, diameter, 0.07 m., top of mouth square-topped daisy petals. No handle. Presumably from Tanagra.

49. Reading University, Inv. 45. i. 1,⁴ Plate X, No. 49 *a* and *b*: height, 0.082 m., top of mouth wedges based on outer rim (cf. No. 48), side of mouth dots right at top (cf. No. 42), handle (with horizontal bars) is set on one of the broad sides of the body.

50. Leiden, J. P. J. Brants, *Description Greek Vases*, no. 67, pl. xiii and p. 13 (where the Copenhagen reference should be as under No. 44 above and not as in Brants' text): height, 0.10 m., like 42-44 above. From Italy.

51. Harvard, Fogg Museum, *C.V.A.*, U. S. A., fasc. 8, pl. IV, 18: height, 0.067 m., like 42-44 above.

52. *Ibid.*, pl. IV, 17: height, 0.094 m., like 49 above.

GROUP E

(perhaps Boeotian, see immediately below)

Main decoration on either side of the body a star-like leaf pattern recalling the quatrefoil, cinquefoil, sixfoil, etc., ornament on the commonest of all types of Corinthian ball aryballois

⁴ This vase was formerly in the private collection of Professor A. B. Cook at Cambridge and is no. 602 of the *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Greek Art*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1944. When I wrote asking for permission to publish it in this study, Professor Cook, with characteristic generosity, presented the vase to Reading, where it now is in the University Museum.

(Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines*, pp. 43 f. and pl. X; 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1912, pp. 113-114, figs. 10-13). The sides of the vase are flatter than is normally the case in the groups preceding. This class appears to be represented by only a single vase.

53. Athens, Collignon-Couve, pl. XXIII, no. 583; 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1900, p. 105: height, 0.082 m., diameter, 0.07 m. On one side (figured C.-C. and 'Αρχ. 'Εφ.) septfoil of framed lanceolate petals with, between each pair of petals, four framed palmette petals resting on a laddered arc and under each arc a fifth similar petal but unframed; on the other side a star or rosette of long pointed petals black and purple alternately. On the handle zone groups of lines and (on either side of the mouth) a strip of crosshatching. Bought in Thebes.

The ring aryballoi listed above are all, except perhaps Groups E and F, normal Corinthian, of the same characteristic clay, decorated in the same style with the same distinctive motives that are found on the much commoner bombylioi and ball aryballoi as enumerated for example in my *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona*, pp. 22-46.

The animals and "rosettes" of Groups A-C of the ring aryballoi would be equally at home on ball aryballoi or bombylioi of my class iv, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 f.; the bands and dots of Group D above are also the distinguishing feature of my class ii, *ibid.*, pp. 25 f. The septfoil decoration of our solitary Group E ring vase is a variant on the quatre-, cinque- and sixfoil motive of my class viii, *ibid.*, pp. 43 f. For my class iii (silhouette animals, sub-geometric), *ibid.*, pp. 28-29, I suggest that we might find a counterpart in Group F above. The round-shielded foot soldiers of my class vi, *ibid.*, pp. 38 f., so common on ball aryballoi and bombylioi, are entirely absent from these ring vases, and the "other human figures" of my class v, *ibid.*, pp. 37-38, are represented on the ring vases only by the walking figures that occasionally lead the horses on our Group B vases and by the often sub-human jockies that frequently mount them. But human beings in their normal upright posture do not lend themselves readily to the process of lateral elongation that the ring aryballos painters found so congenial, and the same difficulty of fitting the picture into the frame explains the absence from our ring vases of the floral complexes of class vii of my *Aryballoi and Figurines*, pp. 41 f. It is hard on the other hand to see why the experiment of the solitary septfoil vase of Group E was not pursued further. We can only say that apparently it did not catch on. Reverting to Groups A-C we may note that the incisions on the central broad band on the sides of our vases, though they may have the practical

GROUP F

(perhaps East Greek, see immediately below)

54. *Jahrb. Arch. Inst.*, I, 1886, p. 148, no. 3039, fig. *ibid.*: diameter, 0.085 m.; handle zone water birds to r. in silhouette; rest of body thin concentric bands; top of mouth lines radiating outwards in groups of four; round the neck a horizontal wavy band; clay pale reddish. From grave K. 10 at Siana (Rhodes).

55. *Ibid.*, no. 3038, replica of 54, but glaze burnt red. From Siana, grave K. 10.

56. Copenhagen, *C.V.A.*, fasc. 2, pl. 80 (Denmark 81), 10: height, 0.081 m.; main zone row of water birds not visible in illustration; mouth and neck as 54 and 55; glaze lustrous red-brown, clay chamois colour. From the island of Rhodes.

motive of making these little vases less slippery, at once recall similar incisions on similar bands on three-handled "cothons," e. g., *J.H.S.*, XXXI, 1911, p. 73, fig. 2, where also they are often associated with goats and lions, and on bombylioi such as Louvre A 435, Pottier, *Album*, I, pl. 14, and Athens, Collignon-Couve, pl. XXII, 512, where, as often, they are associated with rows of round-shielded warriors.

This brings us to the question of the dating of our vases. Payne lists the ten examples that he refers to in *Necrocorinthia* (1057-1066, p. 313) under Middle Corinthian, and dates them late seventh century or early sixth. The ascription of these vases to the Middle Corinthian period is probably right in the main, though the beginning of Group D is perhaps to be placed earlier and the most careless examples of B may be indefinitely later. The evidence to be got from associated finds is rather meagre, but points in that direction. For example in the Camirus grave CLXXVIII, *Clara Rhodos*, IV, fig. 346 our Nos. 7 (Group A) and 43 (Group D) were found with some twenty ball aryballoi of which three or four are of types found in the earliest group of Corinthian graves at Rhitsona (group a, *Aryballoi and Figurines*, p. 22), but the great majority are of types that first appear in group b graves (*ibid.*). There is, I think, nothing in the treatment of either figures or subordinate details of decoration in any of our Corinthian ring aryballoi that cannot be paralleled from vases from middle-Corinthian graves (group b above). Some distinctive characteristics, e. g., the amorphous rosettes and the framing dots, point indeed rather to a date in the third Corinthian period, but elongated amorphous rosettes go with elongated animals and bands of dots above them, and may well have been first suggested by the elongated frame that the pictures on our ring vases have to fill. Our vases may have led the way in this direction, but they certainly herald the third period and may well have run on into it.

As regards chronological sequence within the limits just indicated, we may notice that the Group D vases are the least standardised and that they tend to have the older unflanged form of mouth (see Plate X, No. I 49) whereas the A-C vases generally have it flanged (see Plate IX, No. I 1)⁵ and that bands of dots go back to the early Corinthian period though they persist later. D may therefore be rather the earliest of our three main groups. Of the other two, A and B, the B-group vases are a particularly stylised and standardised variation from Group A and their vogue at any rate may be rather later. The fact that outline heads of identical style occur sometimes on A vases, more often on B, harmonises with such a chronological sequence though it does not prove it. Outline heads go back to the Protocorinthian period (see Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 287 on no. 480, p. 303 on nos. 803-805), and down to the middle-Corinthian period were sometimes used to decorate the handles of ball aryballoi (Payne, pl. 31, 6 and 7). Our examples are cruder and more careless and may be later. The argument from careless-

⁵ By the unflanged type of mouth I mean that in which the mouth consists of a simple disc narrowing if anything towards the outer perimeter, by the flanged that in which the disc broadens sharply downwards round the outer perimeter producing a flanged effect on the under side.

ness must be used with caution, for carelessness is not of an age but of all time. Our vases are certainly earlier than the Attic little-master cups of the third quarter of the sixth century where the same problem of figure decoration in a narrow band inspired some charming little outline heads of infinitely better workmanship than ours. But the little masters were working when Attic black-figure painting was still in its prime. Our ring-vase heads are best explained as a take-over for mass production of a motive on which Corinthian vase painters had already done their best work.

Whether the E and F vases are Corinthian is uncertain. The E vase is regarded by Kourouniotes ('Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1900, p. 106) as Boeotian. It was bought in Thebes; the clay, though finer than normal Boeotian, shows grit and bubbles; the tubular body is rather squarer in section than is normal in Groups A-D, and the main decoration may be paralleled, though not very closely, on Boeotian figurines, e. g., Grace, *Archaic Sculpture in Boeotia*, figs. 29, 33 and (figurine vase) 44. But none of these points is decisive. They can all be paralleled equally well from undoubtedly Corinthian vases. The three F vases all come from Rhodes and have been regarded as East Greek. A Rhodian connection is further suggested by the distinctive treatment of the mouth, which is found also on the ring vase from Vroulia, Kinch, pp. 45-47 and pl. 31, 3a, 3b, cf. Johanssen, *Vases Sicyoniens*, pp. 27-28. But we may note that it comes from a grave which contained some unquestionably Protocorinthian and Corinthian vases, e. g., bombylioi like Kinch, *Vroulia*, pl. 33, p. 2. This latter, decorated with horizontal zones of bands and dots, is closely related to other similar vases which differ only in having one zone of silhouette animals (e. g., my *Aryballoi and Figurines*, pl. V, 86, 1). Is it possible that these so-called East-Greek ring aryballoi are in fact Corinthian and form in the ring-vase series the counterpart to the silhouette (or, as Payne calls it, sub-geometric) series amongst the bombylioi and ball aryballoi? Rhodes has yielded large numbers of the unquestionably Corinthian A-C series. It is perhaps worth noting that the misfiring which has produced the colour effect of two of the three F vases (55 and 56) occurs also on a ball aryballos of the silhouette-animal class at Reading, Inv. 26, vii, 6, listed *Aryballoi and Figurines*, p. 93.

II. BOEOTIAN

The ring is generally rectangular in section (not round as in normal Corinthian examples). The handle zone is mainly plain, but on typical specimens below the mouth, on the side away from the handle, there is a laddered horseshoe or loop (like those on Plate XI 3c), often framing a single tongue. The decoration on the two sides of the ring (see Plate XI 3, which gives sectors from various vases⁶) is arranged in three

⁶ These rough sketches are not to scale and are intended only to indicate the types and general disposition of the decoration, and to make the verbal descriptions comprehensible.

concentric zones of which the inner and outer are formed of plain bands, sometimes with white dot rosettes superimposed (Plate XI 3*d*); the middle zone shows various motives: plain chevrons set herring-bone fashion (*a*), check pattern (*b*), larger chevrons arranged in a star pattern round the plain inner zone and formed either of double laddered lines (*c*) or of plain single lines (*d*) and sometimes interpunctuated with dots (so in both *c* and *d*; the laddered arc in *c* is an intrusion on this formula), loops or horseshoes laddered like the *c*-type chevrons (*e*), laddered horseshoes alternating with laddered chevrons (*f*), radiating wavy lines (*g*), straight lines grouped in twos separated by a dot (*h*), petals set diagonally (*i*), stiff branches or ferns (*l*), two zones of small dots with a plain band between them (*j*), or a zone of larger dots (*k*). The clay is pale brown, the decoration in black and purple.

There can be no doubt that this group is Boeotian. Two examples are signed by the potter Mnasalkes, who writes his name in the Boeotian form with the Boeotian alphabet. Boeotia is the region where most of the vases have been found. The motives illustrated in Plate XI 3 can nearly all be paralleled on vases of the most exclusively Boeotian of all wares, that namely of the four-handled bird kylix style (*VI and V Cent. Pott. from Rhitsona*, pp. 17 f.) or the corresponding figurines.

1. Athens, Nicole 841, *Cat. Vases d' Athènes*, p. 148 and pl. IV; 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1900, pp. 101-3; Hoppin, *Black-Figured Vases*, p. 23; diameter, 0.075 m.; dark red on light red; top of mouth, daisy pattern; side, plain band; handle, vertical lines; Mnasalkes' signature runs along the handle zone which is otherwise plain except for a band of pot-hooks beginning above the end of the signature and a laddered horseshoe in usual place; on sides ring of chevrons arranged herring-bone wise between usual plain bands (Plate XI 3*a*). Bought in Thebes.
2. Athens, Inv. 14895, like 1 but no signature, no pot-hooks, on back of handle horizontal bands between vertical, and on one side of body in place of chevrons a narrow band of check pattern (Plate XI 3*b*). Place of finding not known.
3. Boston, Fairbanks, p. 184 and pl. LI, no. 538; Hoppin, *B.-F. Vases*, p. 24; diameter, 0.084 m.; neck, mouth and handle missing; ring almost round in section; signed by Mnasalkes on handle zone; main zone on one side of body laddered horseshoes alternating with laddered chevrons (Plate XI 3*f*), on other side band of small squares with a dot in each. From Boeotia.
4. Athens, Nicole 832 (Inv. 2767): height, 0.08 m.; usual horseshoe on handle zone; main zone on either side laddered chevrons interpunctuated with large dots (Plate XI 3*c*).
5. Athens, Nicole 840 (Inv. 2250): height, 0.08 m.; decoration on both sides something like that of No. 4 (see 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1900, p. 104, where Kourouniotes compares that of the reverse side of the gourd- or disc-shaped vase by the Boeotian potter Phithadas, Hoppin, *B.-F. Vases*, p. 21, left). Nicole compares Dragen-dorff, *Thera*, p. 313, fig. 501. The points of similarity elude me.
6. Athens, Nicole 842 (Inv. 2252): height, 0.082 m.; on either side of body concentric bands, black and red alternately; handle zone has not the usual horseshoe but only the inner petal or tongue that it sometimes frames (e. g., on No. 1) with attachments: see 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1900, pp. 104-105.
7. Cassel, *Arch. Anz.*, 1898, p. 191, no. 5, fig. 8; height, 0.095 m. (Langlotz, *Vasen in Würzburg*, p. 16, refers to this vase as in Gotha); on handle zone usual horseshoe in usual place; main zone on either side star pattern of plain

chevrons interpunctuated with dots, the inner and outer zones have superimposed white dot rosettes (Plate XI 3 *d*).

8. Munich, Sieveking and Hackl, pl. 12, no. 324a: height, 0.085 m.; on handle zone usual ladder horseshoe (S. and H. "Tragschlange"); main zone on one side ladder horseshoes as Plate XI 3 *c* but without the dots, on the other "herring-bone pattern" (chevrons as Plate XI 3 *a*?); white dot rosettes on the plain bands as on Plate XI *d*.

9. Bonn, *Arch. Anz.*, 1936, pp. 399-400, no. 48, p. 397, fig. 54: height, 0.082 m.; main zone on one side ladder horseshoes (Plate XI 3 *c*), on the other radiating zigzag lines (Plate XI 3 *g*); on handle zone ladder horseshoe in usual position; on back of handle vertical bars; on top of mouth purple petals alternating with black lines. From a Cairo dealer.

10. Boston, Fairbanks, p. 155, and pl. XLIII, no. 420: height, 0.09 m.; main zone on one side radial zigzag lines (cf. No. 9), on the other fern(?) pattern (cf. Plate XI 3 *l*?); on handle zone usual horseshoe in usual place. Listed by Fairbanks as Corinthian.

11. Würzburg, Langlotz, p. 16 and pl. 9, no. 121: diameter, 0.063 m.; handle missing; main zone on either side of body check pattern as Plate XI 3 *b* but with black rectangles thinner; white dot rosettes on the broad plain bands. No mention of horseshoe on handle zone.

12. Heidelberg, I 49, *Arch. Anz.*, 1936, p. 399, note 1, and pp. 397-398, fig. 55 left: diameter, 0.069 m.; main zone on one side ladder horseshoes as on Plate XI 3 *c* but not interpunctuated with dots, on the other side "Reihe von Pfeilstrichen"; section of ring squarish but with no sharp corners. Said to be from Andros (*Arch. Anz.*, *loc. cit.*), but there are other vases in Heidelberg alleged to have come

from the northern Cyclades that are undoubtedly Boeotian and were almost certainly found in Boeotia.

13. Heidelberg, III 14, *ibid.*, fig. 55 right: diameter, 0.08 m.; on either side of body radiating branches (Plate XI 3 *l*) between plain concentric bands of brownish black, which latter have superimposed a thinner band of white. Section of ring like last.

14. Athens, Nicole 834 (Inv. 12670): height, 0.08 m.; main zone on one side of vase pair of straight radiating lines alternating with one large dot (Plate XI 3 *h*), on the other, thin lanceolate leaves set diagonally (Plate XI 3 *i*); on handle zone usual ladder horseshoe; on back of handle horizontal lines; on top of mouth daisy pattern. The section of the ring is not sharply angular but rounded at all four corners. Nicole lists this vase as (Proto) Corinthian, but the colours are much as those of the Mnasalkes vase No. 1, though the ground is yellower.

15. Athens, Nicole 843 (Inv. 2251): height, 0.09 m.; on one side of the body, between the inner and outer plain bands, a single ring of large dots (Plate XI 3 *k*), on the other two rings of smaller dots with a plain band between them (Plate XI 3 *j*); mouth all black; handle exceptionally square; clay reddish buff; handle zone flat, but the inner part of the body is rounded in section.

16. Thebes, old collection: diameter, 0.07 m.; Plate X, No. 16; ring round in section, black with superimposed thin concentric bands of purple; top of mouth, black on ferruginous brown, daisy pattern with drum-stick petals; back of handle vertical lines, black on ferruginous brown, above horizontal band of black with superimposed horizontal purple line. Clay reddish brown varying to grey.

There seems to be every probability that this last vase is Boeotian. Cups, especially kantharoi, black-glazed or black-figured with lines of red or purple above the black.

are amongst the commonest products of sixth-century Boeotian workshops. The round section of the ring is no argument against the attribution; we have seen that what may be called the Mnasalkes series shows deviations from the rectangular-sectioned ring towards rotundity, and the black-glazed form of decoration is found on the mouth of No. 15 of our series. Vases in Thebes Museum are by no means necessarily Boeotian; but where there are other reasons, as here, for assigning a vase to Boeotia, the fact that it was presumably found in Boeotia points in the same direction.

For the dating of Boeotian ring aryballoi there is no decisive evidence. Our No. 11 is dated by Langlotz about 600 B.C. This is not impossible, but neither is a date anywhere in the sixth century. What does seem unlikely is that the whole series should cover more than a few decades at the most. The safest dating would probably be somewhere towards the middle of the century. We have noticed that nearly all the motives of the middle zones on the sides of the body can be paralleled from vases and figurines of the Boeotian bird-kylix style (*Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery*, pp. 12 f.; *Boeotian Pottery of Geom. and Arch. Styles* [Union Acad. Internat., *Classification des Céramiques Antiques*], pp. 6 f.). In fabric our aryballoi show the closest affinity with Class III of the vases and figurines of the bird-kylix style, which is distinguished by the clay and ground colour being of a similar brown. The Rhitsona vases of this class are a miscellaneous lot which were buried at intervals throughout the second half of the sixth century. But the closest parallels to the decoration of our aryballoi are to be found on vases from one outstanding group within this class, formed of a series of long and thin necked oenochae: see especially Louvre C. A. 826, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XXI, 1897, p. 446, fig. 2, here Plate XI 1, which shows zones of wavy lines, of laddered loops alternating with laddered chevrons, plain chevrons placed herringbone fashion, and plain bands with white dot rosettes, just as on the ring vases. Laddered loop, check pattern and wavy lines as on our aryballoi are found on the "pappas" figurine of Grace, *Arch. Sculp. in Boeotia*, fig. 31 (here Plate XI 2). This figurine is dated on good grounds by Grace (*ibid.*, pp. 34-35) in the first half of the sixth century. The oenochoe is less easy to date, but it is better and hence perhaps earlier than any of the Class III objects found at Rhitsona, which would suggest a date roughly the same as that assigned by Grace to his figurine.

The connexion of our aryballoi with the oenochoe series to which Louvre C. A. 826 belongs suggests another equation, for this group is generally associated with the oenochoe signed by the Boeotian potter Gamedes (Hoppin, *B.-F. Vases*, pp. 18-19). Unfortunately the Gamedes oenochoe is in many ways unique. The plentiful use of fine white dots points to a Corinthian prototype of the middle-Corinthian period, but how much later this vase is than its prototype is hard to say with a fabric that borrowed so indiscriminately and was excessively prone to archaisms. Gamedes has left us another vase, a ball aryballos that is a variation on the orange quartering type that

died out in the middle-Corinthian period. This aryballos (Hoppin, *op. cit.*, p. 17) deviates from the strict orange pattern and on one of these deviations has a zone of chevrons as on the Mnasalkes vase No. 1 above. But once again it is hard to say how much the imitation is later than its prototype. There remains the question where the Boeotian series stands in relation to ring aryballoi of other fabrics. Of our Corinthian series only D shows any affinities with it, but these are sufficiently close for D vases to have been mistaken for Boeotian⁷ and for vases of our Boeotian series to have been listed as Protocorinthian or Corinthian.⁸ Whether we regard the Boeotian series as imitations of the Corinthian or as using a common stock in trade, the similarities are an argument for not dating the Boeotian vases much later than those of Group D, and these latter, we have already seen, form probably the earliest of our main Corinthian groups.

The square-sectioned ring of the typical Boeotian vase takes us back earlier still; it is the distinguishing feature of the Protocorinthian series; see Johanssen, *Vases Sicyoniens*, pp. 26-28, pls. VII, 4, VIII, 4; Zervos, *Rhodes*, figs. 27, 28, 30. These Protocorinthian vases are very different from any of those listed in this paper: the central hollow is much larger so that the general effect is much more like a hoop; the mouth may take the form of a moulded head, the vase may have a foot (as has also the solitary Proto-Attic example, *Jahrb.*, II, 1887, p. 56, no. 14, figs. 21, 22, dated by J. M. Cook, *B.S.A.*, XXXV, p. 194 about 650 B.C.). The Protocorinthian series begins early in the Protocorinthian period, but there is a single Boeotian imitation of the Protocorinthian type with hoop-like ring and mouth in form of a head, figured by Grace, *op. cit.*, fig. 28, which he dates, *ibid.*, p. 33, about the middle of the second quarter of the sixth century. It may in fact be somewhat earlier, but it is in a technique, with the colours laid on a chalky white background, that appears at Rhitsona only after the beginning of the sixth century (*Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, p. 12; cf. *Aryballoi and Figurines*, pp. 53, 55-56, 63, pl. XIII 86.293, 145.99, pl. XVI 125d. 3, 86.277). The vases of our Boeotian series have plainly a different pedigree, but one would hesitate to date them as early as this archaic-looking vase of Grace's, and this again suggests for them a date towards the middle of the century.

The signed vases support the same conclusion. Not only are signatures of potters and vase painters extremely uncommon before the second quarter of the century, but among the mourners at Boeotian funerals the use of writing (in the form of incised words or abbreviations of words scratched on the vases they put in the graves) comes in only about the middle of the century, and this fact is an argument for not putting the Boeotian potters' signatures much earlier. The fact that at Rhitsona the Class III

⁷ Greifenhagen, *Arch. Anz.*, 1936, p. 399, regards our D vases 46 and 47 as Boeotian and groups them with vases of the Mnasalkes series. He seems unaware of the existence of our well-marked Group D.

⁸ Nicole so lists our Nos. 4, 14, Fairbanks our No. 10.

type of Boeotian bird-kylix ware lingered on till the end of the century may serve as a reminder that our ring aryballoi may also have to be dated later ⁹ than is here suggested, if ever excavation should provide us with the only firm basis for dating such eclectic and archaising ware, in which the decoration makes so little demand on the skill of the painter.

P. N. URE

THE UNIVERSITY, READING

⁹ As is done by Greifenhagen, *loc. cit.*, who assigns them to the period 550-500 B.C.



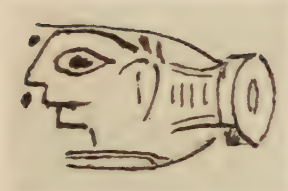
No. I1a



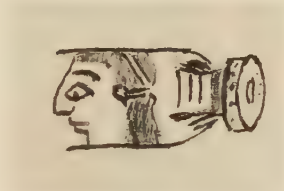
No. I1b



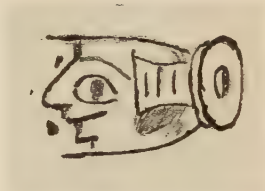
No. I1c



No. I9



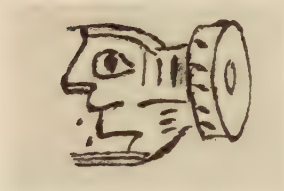
No. I10



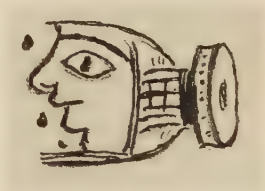
No. I12



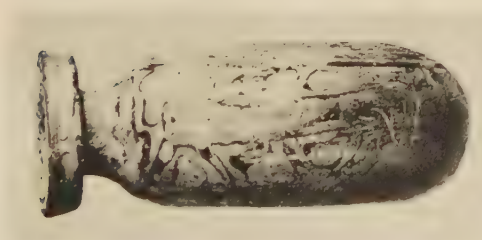
No. I23



No. I26



No. I27

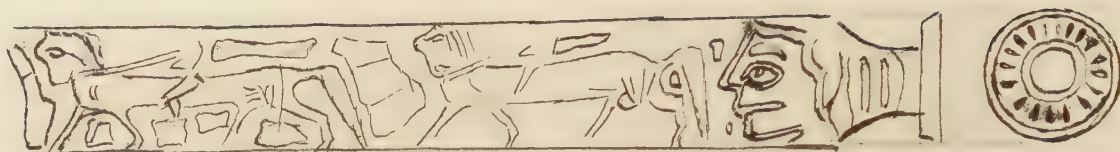


No. I30a



No. I30b

PLATE X



No. I30



No. I39



No. I40



No. III16



No. I49a



No. I49b

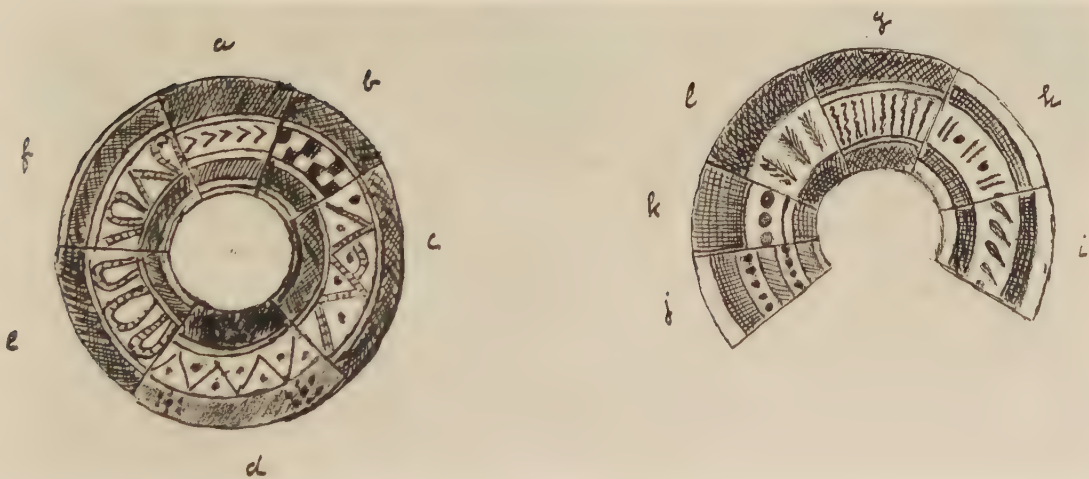
P. N. URE: RING ARYBALLOI



1. *B.C.H.*, xxi, 1897, p. 446



2. Grace, *Archaic Sculpture in Boeotia*, fig. 31



3. Schemes of Decoration of Boeotian Ring Aryballoi

PLATE XII



1



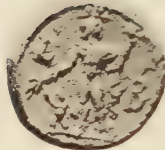
2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9

BONNER: HARPOKRATES OF PELUSIUM

HARPOKRATES (ZEUS KASIOS) OF PELUSIUM

(PLATE XII)

CLITOPHON and Leucippe, those lovers for whose vexation Achilles Tatius contrived so many wild and fantastic adventures, ran away together from their parents in Tyre and went to Berytus, whence they took ship for Alexandria.¹ The first disaster of their wanderings was a wreck, which cast them ashore on the Egyptian coast near Pelusium, seemingly the only survivors; for Clitophon's friend Clinias and his slave Satyrus had disappeared. The first act of the castaways was to go to worship at the temple near by, of which Clitophon, the narrator, has this to say:

At Pelusium is the sacred image of Zeus Kasios; but the statue is that of a youth, more like Apollo, so young it seemed. He has his hand stretched out holding a pomegranate, about which there is a mystical story. After praying to the god and asking for a prophetic sign about Clinias and Satyrus (for the god was said to give oracles), we went round the temple.²

Then follows a description, after the author's minute fashion, of some pictures that adorned the back chamber.

Scanty as is the information contained in this short passage, it is all that we know from literary sources about the cult-statue of the Pelusian sanctuary. Further evidence has been found in coins of Roman Egypt, and later on I shall add the testimony of four unpublished gems, three of which are certainly, and the fourth probably, of Egyptian provenance. The origin of the cult is a problem beyond the scope of this paper. What is known or reasonably conjectured about it is conveniently summarized by the learned author of *Zeus*, to whom, and to the authorities that he cites, I owe the following data.³

The epithet Kasios, given to the Pelusian divinity, is derived from another seat of the same cult, the *Κάσιον ὄρος*, a sand-dune about nine miles east of Pelusium. That cult, in turn, may have been a branch, established by seafarers, of the cult of Zeus on the Syrian Mount Kasion, a range to the south of Antioch and the lower course of the river Orontes. Since the epithet Kasios is not given to Zeus in any native Greek worship, it is likely that the god of the Syrian mountain was a Semitic

¹ For casts of the coins illustrated in this article I am indebted to the generosity of the American Numismatic Society, and in particular to the courtesy of its Secretary, Mr. Sydney P. Noe. Charles Seltman, of Queens' College, Cambridge, most kindly acted as intermediary in obtaining an impression of the gem in the Lewis Collection. For it I owe thanks to the authorities of Corpus Christi College, and of the Fitzwilliam Museum, whose technical expert made the impression. Dr. Louise Shier, Assistant Curator in our museum, made the casts of the Michigan stones, and also of that in the personal collection of President Ruthven, to whom my thanks are due for the privilege of publishing it.

² Ach. Tat., 3, 6.

³ A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 984-987; III, p. 1177.

deity whom the Greeks identified with their own mountain-god. The Semitic divinity, according to a recent investigator, was Baal Zephon.⁴

It is strange that any god who could be identified with Zeus should be represented by a youthful figure resembling Apollo; perhaps the best explanation is that when the Syrian deity was introduced into Egypt, he was identified, by that syncretism which had long worked in Egyptian religion, with a youthful god who had previously dominated the site, probably Harpokrates, the young Horus. Cook thinks that it may have been easier for Zeus to succeed Horus—should we not rather say, become fused with him?—because of the influence of Crete, where a youthful Zeus had long been recognized.⁵ Perhaps even more important are the indications of a solar character that have been detected in the Syrian cult of Zeus Kasios.⁶ This in itself would facilitate a fusion of the Syrian deity with Horus, the young sun-god of the Egyptians, and it will be remembered that solar deities are ever young.

The earliest object that can be plausibly supposed to represent the cult-statue at Pelusium is a coin of the Pelusiote nome (Plate XII, 1) struck in the twelfth year of Trajan (A.D. 109).⁷ Apparently only one specimen has been published, and it is so worn that part of the design is indistinct. It is not surprising, therefore, that Dattari's careful description, which follows, requires correction from other sources:

Harpokrates standing to left wearing the hemhem crown, his hair falling upon his shoulders, clothed with tunic and himation, which is wound round his body and caught up over the left forearm. In the left hand he holds a sceptre, in the right a pomegranate. On the ground level, Pan standing to right, chlamys flying behind him, arms raised in the act of grasping at the pomegranate held by Harpokrates.

With this coin-type we may compare a gem in the possession of President A. G. Ruthven, of the University of Michigan (Plate XII, 2). It is a red carnelian, flecked with spots of darker red, measuring in millimeters $20.5 \times 16 \times 8$. The obverse is slightly convex, the reverse very convex. The obverse shows a youthful male figure in front view, head to left, nude except for a chlamys fastened across the chest and falling down behind the left shoulder, hemhem crown on the head.⁸ The extended right hand holds a pomegranate, the left rests, at the level of the head, on a tall sceptre. Under the right arm of the god stands a child reaching with his right hand towards the pomegranate. Apparently the child's left arm was supposed to be entirely concealed by a fold of drapery hanging from the shoulder, though there is no indication

⁴ O. Eissfeldt, "Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios, und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer," pp. 1-7, pp. 30-39 (*Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums*, I, 1932).

⁵ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 986.

⁶ A. Salač, "Zeus Kasios," *B.C.H.*, XLVI, 1922, p. 178, and note 7.

⁷ Dattari, *Monete imperiali greche: Numi augg. Alexandrini*, 6345, Tav. 34.

⁸ This Egyptian headdress was evidently recognized as a mark of Zeus Kasios, as is shown by its use in connection with the name of the god even when the deity himself is not represented; see Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 987.

of a fastening below the neck. If this was not the engraver's intention, one can only say that the arm itself is represented dangling in an extremely awkward way. The adult figure is of mediocre workmanship; the child is clumsily and sketchily executed. An inscription on the reverse of this stone will be dealt with later.

A general resemblance between the design on this stone and that on the coin is obvious; and it seems to warrant treating the two together as variants of a single type (Type I); but there are also several differences. The god of the Ruthven gem is practically nude, the one on the coin wears both tunic and himation, and the way in which the latter garment is worn may account for still another difference. Since, in the design on the coin, the end of the himation is thrown over the left forearm, the elbow must remain at waist level and the hand cannot hold a tall sceptre in the usual way, at the height of the face. Consequently a tall sceptre would have to lean in the crook of the elbow, or else a short one would be substituted. What the designer of the coin-die intended is not clear. If what we see is the upper part of a tall sceptre, all the lower part but the bottom would be concealed by the himation and the leg of the figure; and the lower part of the coin is so worn that it is impossible to say whether the lower end of the staff was shown or not.

There is good reason, as will be shown later, to think that the cult-statue at Pelusium was nude except for a chlamys; and a lapidary might well be more faithful than a die-sinker to a sculptured type. If the god wore no clothing but the chlamys, the use of the tall sceptre is artistically more satisfactory and is to be expected. A difference in the treatment of the hemhem crown is explained by the cramped space on the coin. There the projections (reed-bundles) are very short, being in fact reduced to mere balls, while on the gem they are of normal height.

The abrasion of the coin makes it impossible to discuss the minor figure with any confidence, but in one respect the damaged condition of the surface seems to have led Dattari astray. The Ruthven gem, three others that are still to be described, and some coins of later date agree in showing the minor figure as an ordinary human child, not as a little Pan.

Before leaving the Ruthven carnelian, some attention must be given to its reverse, which shows that the gem was applied to a magical purpose. It may not have been intended to serve that purpose from the beginning, for some purely ornamental stones were inscribed on their reverse sides with magical words or designs a long time after their manufacture. In this case there is nothing to show whether the reverse was inscribed at the time when the obverse was engraved or later. A snake with his tail in his mouth (ouroboros) surrounds the reverse side. Enclosed within it are two long, narrow rectangles, evidently representing tablets, each containing an inscription. A still narrower parallelogram extends over the middle part of the upper tablet, as if it were a contrivance to fasten it in position; but the lower tablet has a similar appendage below. The inscriptions within these two tablets consist partly of Greek

letters, some written backwards, partly of magical characters that seem to be based on Greek letters. No sense can be made from them, nor from the minute letters *λαανμω* which are engraved under the upper tablet. Outside the ouroboros are four magical words, two above, two below; these are in Greek letters and are pronounceable, though unintelligible—*αιαναχθα αλθμαξα μελαχω αρηακω*. The first, with trivial variations, is often used in the magical formulas cut on amulets. All four belong to the well-known class of *voces magicae*, code words used by adepts in magic as secret and powerful names of the gods invoked to aid in their operations. There is no apparent reason why a magical charm should be connected with this particular aspect of Harpokrates, but the young god, both as an infant and a youth is a favorite type with amulet-makers, who were decidedly catholic in their choice of divine patrons.

Returning now to the evidence of coins, we find another, struck in the thirteenth year of Trajan, on which Dattari recognizes Harpokrates of Pelusium;⁹ but if he is right, the die-sinker has treated his subject with great freedom (Plate XII, 3). Here the god is entirely nude, and the posture is reversed: his head is turned to the spectator's right, his right hand holds the short sceptre, the left holds a fruit at shoulder height. He stands between two large rectangular bases as high as his waist. A vase (oinochoe) rests on the base at the left. On the corresponding base at the right Dattari says there is a Paniskos running towards Harpokrates. I cannot see this on the plate. If Dattari is right in seeing a diminutive figure in that position, the type may be taken for a very free adaptation of the cult-statue of Pelusium.

In the next group of objects, also thought to represent the Harpokrates of Pelusium, the type is greatly modified. I shall refer to it as Type II. Here we have first to consider a coin of Gallienus (year 15, 267),¹⁰ of which, through the courtesy of the American Numismatic Society, I am able to offer a better illustration than has been hitherto available (Plate XII, 4). On its reverse Harpokrates stands with body to front, head to right, with diadem and hemhem crown. He wears a chlamys clasped on his right shoulder and falling in front of the left shoulder and over the left arm; except for this and the buskins on his feet, the god is nude. In his left hand he holds a pomegranate at the height of his neck, and is looking at it. The right hand, extended downwards and to the left, holds an object, indistinct on this coin, which other specimens show as a leafy branch. Towards this a small child below holds up his right arm. His body is naked and chubby, and the position of the legs suggests a frisking, dancing movement. The palm-leaf at the lower right has of course nothing to do with the central type.

⁹ Dattari, 907, Tav. 14.

¹⁰ *Brit. Mus. Cat., Alexandria*, 2213, pl. 17. It is strange that in his description (p. 288) Poole does not connect this type with the Harpokrates of Pelusium, although he does refer another coin to that divinity, namely one of Hadrian (year 22), showing only a bust of Harpokrates wearing the hemhem crown, and in front of him, a pomegranate (no. 764, pl. 17; cf. introd. lxxv).

The description of this coin given by R. S. Poole differs in several details. He calls the pomegranate a vase, which is a natural error; an aryballos has a similar contour, and certain almost spherical Egyptian vessels with low lips are even more like the shape of a pomegranate.¹¹ Of the little figure he says: "At his [i. e. Harpokrates'] feet 1. Paniskos with goat's face, facing, head r., dancing, holds in r. pedum." Careful inspection of Poole's plate, together with the evidence of the New York coin, shows that the errors in his description can all be explained by the fact that the British Museum coin was less cleanly struck, and that in consequence there are misleading blurs about the head and hands of the small figure. It is likely that Poole's interpretation influenced Dattari, who describes this coin in similar terms but gives no illustration of it, and also the editor of the Hunterian Collection.¹²

Shortly afterward the same reverse type was used for a coin of Claudius II (year 2, 269), and the specimen shown here leaves no doubt that the god's right hand held a leafy branch (Plate XII, 5).¹³ How easy it is to misinterpret details of these inferior coins is shown by Feuardent's description of specimens in the Demetrio Collection of the coins of both Claudius and Gallienus. He took the god to be Mercury, and the pomegranate to be a purse; the branch he saw as a caduceus, which is shown on his illustration, a drawing.¹⁴

The same type appears again in the eighth year of Diocletian (Plate XII, 6). The coin once more makes it clear that the little figure is an ordinary child, and that the object in Harpokrates' right hand is a branch.

The three coins just mentioned show that the type that they present, whatever its relation to the Pelusian cult may be, maintained itself for about twenty-five years in the latter half of the third century.

A group of three engraved stones, clearly related to this coin-type or its model, must now be examined. First, one belonging to the University of Michigan (26102); a notation "Tuna" made by the dealer who sold it may indicate that it was found at Tuna-el-Gebel, a village of Middle Egypt on the Baḥr Yusuf west of the site of the ancient Antinopolis; but such information is unreliable and of no importance here. The stone, which is unusually large (mm. 40 × 34 × 6), seems to be limestone, dull grey with a large bluish area and some spots, both lighter and darker (Plate XII, 7). The obverse is slightly convex, the reverse flat and uninscribed. In its general appearance the obverse design strikingly resembles that of the coins, but there are slight

¹¹ A kneeling statuette of Thutmosis III found at Deir-el-Medineh holds a vase of this kind in each hand; see *Ann. du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte*, XIII, 1913, 37 and pl. X.

¹² Dattari, 5237; he describes the child as a Paniskos, but recognizes the pomegranate and the branch. The description in the *Catalogue of the Hunterian Collection* (III, 532, no. 941) almost exactly repeats that of Poole.

¹³ Another specimen is shown by Dattari, 5390, Tav. 14.

¹⁴ F. Feuardent, *Collections Giovanni di Demetrio: Numismatique, Égypte ancienne*, 2^{me} partie, 3107 and 3206 (pl. 33).

differences. On the stone the hemhem crown is taller because there is ample space for it. There is no clothing on the body of Harpokrates; the chlamys has become a mere scarf hanging over the elbow. The pomegranate is held at shoulder height, a little lower than on the coins. The child is light in build and well proportioned, suggesting that the small figure on the coins owes its heavy outlines to imperfect striking or even to poor work on the die-sinker's part. Here, small as the child is, the lines of its limbs are delicately balanced against the composition of the principal subject.

In his catalogue of *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings*, J. H. Middleton described a well-cut black jasper which seemed to belong to the series under discussion, although, since Middleton took the pomegranate for an orb, he not unnaturally conjectured that the deity might be the sun-god, thinking, apparently, of the Greek Helios rather than Horus.¹⁵ Through the good offices of Charles Seltman I have obtained an impression of this stone, which puts the connection beyond doubt (Plate XII, 8).¹⁶ Here the hemhem crown has been rendered with careful attention to details, the supporting horns, the three reed-bundles, and the disks at their tops being faithfully reproduced. The chlamys is worn as on the coin of Gallienus. Artistically considered, this gem is probably the worthiest representation of the god of Pelusium; yet it is possible, even probable, that the maker has taken a liberty with his model. Here the god is not looking at the pomegranate but in the other direction, as if his attention were caught by the child's effort to grasp the branch, though the eyes are not actually directed downward.

A still greater freedom was used by the maker of another specimen in the Michigan collection (26104), a coarsely engraved black glass paste, the surface of which has been roughened by corrosion (Plate XII, 9). Here the god's head is not only turned to the side where the child stands, but it is actually tilted forward as if he were looking at the child and teasing him with the leafy twig. But the child's posture is ill motivated, since instead of reaching up toward the twig with his right hand, he raises the left toward the god. This crude specimen is an amulet, as the inscription H XAPIC on the reverse shows. Adequate explanation of those words would require more space than the primary purpose of this article can properly claim. It must suffice to say that since $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ is in the nominative case and has the article, the words cannot be taken as a mere prayer for favor like the common phrase $\delta\acute{o}\varsigma \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu \tau\hat{\omega} \phi\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\iota$. They are better understood as an abbreviated form of an acclamation directed to the god. The

¹⁵ J. H. Middleton, *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings*, p. 75, no. 177. No illustration.

¹⁶ Since this is an impression (negative), not a cast, it was necessary to reverse the print in order to show the child in the proper position. It is well known that almost all the designs that appear on magical gems were meant to be looked at directly, not by means of a wax impression, and it is likely that in Roman times this was true of a considerable number of non-magical stones also. In illustrating gems of the later period archaeologists would do well to be guided by the proper relation of the right and left sides as indicated by the objects held in the hands. Why should an Athena be shown carrying her shield on her right arm?

phrase in full is probably ἡ χάρις τοῦ αἰῶνος, which is used of the Akephalos, the headless supreme god, here identified with Osiris, who is invoked in a formula for the expulsion of a demon in Papyrus XLVI of the British Museum.¹⁷ It also occurs in the Coptic Gnostic Treatise published by Miss Baynes.¹⁸ If the phrase is to be understood thus, it is one of the few amulet inscriptions that may have Gnostic associations. But we have also the prayer ἡ χάρις συνέστω μοι, attributed to the Ophianic sect,¹⁹ and the Christian use of χάρις, with or without the article and the added τοῦ θεοῦ is well known though not always well understood.

Thus far it appears from the evidence of the coins and gems mentioned that the artists faithfully reproduced two features of the Pelusian statue, namely, the youthfulness of the god and the pomegranate in his hand, just the two points that caught the eye of Achilles Tatius. In various other matters there are marked differences. Some of these may represent nothing more than the license that both die-makers and gem-cutters allowed themselves; for example, the clothing of the figure on Dattari's coin of the Pelusiote nome may have been due to a momentary feeling on the die-maker's part that a clothed deity presented a more majestic appearance, and hence was more appropriate for a coin-type. Yet there was no prejudice against nudity in divine types, as Alexandrian coins representing Poseidon, Hermes, Ares and Herakles abundantly prove. The changed position of Harpokrates on the Lewis gem and the Michigan paste seems to be the result of the feeling that the god should show some consciousness of the child's presence at his feet. But such differences as those between the coin of Trajan and that of Gallienus, or between the Ruthven gem and Michigan 26102, are not so readily explained.

With the data now at hand it is impossible to account for those differences by any theory that is sure to gain general consent; but certain facts and possibilities must be considered. An inscription discovered by Clédat in the course of his excavations at Pelusium refers to the foundation of a temple of Zeus Kasios at Pelusium in honor of the emperor Hadrian;²⁰ the time was 130 A.D.²¹ It is not certain, however, whether this was the first temple of Zeus Kasios to have been built at Pelusium, whether it was a new structure intended to supersede an older one, or whether the inscription refers only to a repair, restoration and re-dedication of an older building. One thing,

¹⁷ Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, I, Pap. V, p. 156. The different meanings of χάρις are well discussed by A. D. Nock (Bell, Nock, and Thompson, "Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum," pp. 27-29; *Proc. British Acad.*, XVII). The notion of power and success seems to predominate in magical texts; but as Nock says, "beauty, power, godlikeness are ideas which run into one another."

¹⁸ Charlotte A. Baynes, *A Coptic Gnostic Treatise*, p. 97 (XXVIII).

¹⁹ Orig., *contra Cels.*, 6, 31.

²⁰ J. Clédat, "Le Temple de Zeus Kassios à Péluse," *Ann. du service des ant. de l'Égypte*, XIII, 1913, pp. 83 f.; A. Salač, *B.C.H.*, XLVI, 1922, pp. 167 f.

²¹ W. Weber, *Untersuch. zur Gesch. des Kaisers Hadrians*, 246, 279.

though, is clear. If the figure on the coin of the Pelusiote nome under Trajan represents a cult-image, that image must have stood in a structure older than a temple erected in honor of Hadrian; or else it was not at Pelusium itself but was rather the cult-statue in the temple on the neighboring Mt. Kasion. It is possible that this older type is more faithful to the traditional conception of Zeus in one respect, namely that the god is given a sceptre. In any case we must associate with the type on the coin of Trajan that on the Ruthven gem, which may be truer to the original; for sculptors dislike clothing a young and vigorous body. These two agree in one point which may be important, namely the action of the child, which is better motivated in reaching for the fruit than for the leafy branch of the other type.

Even without the regnal date, the less convincing motivation of the child's gesture marks Type II (i. e., from the coin of Gallienus on) as later than Type I (coin of Trajan and Ruthven gem). But the close relation of the two is proved not only by the marks that they have in common, the Apolline figure and the pomegranate, but also by the fact that the artist of Type II took over the child as a part of the composition. This shows that the later type is not only subsequent to that shown on the coin of Trajan, but is also a successor to it. The points that remain obscure are the location of the statue shown on Trajan's coin of the Pelusiote nome—whether in an older temple at Pelusium or in the sanctuary at Mt. Kasion, and whether in the former case it continued to exist after the Hadrianic temple was built, or was somehow destroyed and only approximately reproduced in the type which is recorded from Gallienus on, though possibly as old as Hadrian's reign.

Unfortunately the evidence of Achilles Tatius about these questions is inconclusive. The fact that he mentions the pomegranate held by the god but says nothing about a branch suggests that the statue he describes resembled our Type I rather than Type II. Yet, since he seems to have written in the latter half of the third century, we should expect him or his authority to have seen the later cult-image, which, as seems likely, the coins of Gallienus and his successors represent. Could the older image have existed up to a time so near 267 A.D. that it could have been seen by Achilles Tatius or by an older contemporary who told him of it? Possibly, for the statue shown on the coin of Gallienus may have been quite new when it was first used as a reverse type; furthermore, a recent opinion which carries much weight places the composition of Achilles' work well before the end of the third century.²² But con-

²² Grenfell and Hunt thought that P. Oxy. 1250, which contains some chapters of Achilles Tatius, was probably written early in the fourth century, and consequently the composition of the romance could not be put much later than 300 A.D. Medea Norsa now thinks that the fragment was written at about the same time as P. Oxy. 412 (Julius Africanus), that is, not later than 275 (Norsa is quoted to this effect by H. Dörrie, *De Longi Achillis Tatii Heliodori memoria* [1935], p. 21). Since Achilles Tatius borrowed from Heliodorus, he must be placed after the period assigned to the latter, namely 220-250 A.D. (see the article by Münscher, in Pauly-Wissowa, VIII, 20-23; also *Heliod. Ethiop.* ed. Rattenbury and Lumb, Introd. xiv; Budé series, 1935).

jectures about the exact relation of Achilles' description to the archaeological evidence are of little use, since the romancer is an unsatisfactory witness. His failure to mention the child shows how little attention he or his informant gave to the composition, and it is not safe to argue from his silence about its details.

A suggestion may be offered about the leafy branch that the god of Type II has in his right hand. Held by a youthful divinity of Apolline characteristics, such a branch might well call to mind the laurel, which the poets often gave the Delphic god, as an appropriate attribute, when in the act of delivering his oracles.²³ Perhaps it was made a part of the new sculpture-type as a reminder of the prophetic powers that Achilles Tatius ascribes to the Pelusian deity. This addition made it necessary to re-arrange the composition; and it may have prompted gem-cutters to modify the cult-type in such ways as would make it more natural and convincing in their eyes.²⁴

CAMPBELL BONNER

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

²³ Ar., *Plutus*, 213; Call., *Hymn. in Del.*, 94; Call., *Iamb. (Oxy. Pap.*, VII, 1011, 222 f.); Lucr., 1, 739.

²⁴ Since this article was sent to the editor another specimen of Type II has come to my attention among the magical objects gathered by Mr. S. Ayvaz at various Syrian sites. The greater part of that collection was sold to the University of Michigan in 1941; but it now appears that several pieces were retained by the previous owner or sold elsewhere. In the *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*, XXV, 1942-3, pp. 105-128, R. Mousterde, S. J., published an account of the Ayvaz Collection with the title "Objets Magiques: Recueil S. Ayvaz." No. 19, described at p. 112 of this publication, with a drawing on plate VII, 19, is a haematite with a fragment broken away from the right side. The fracture caused the loss of the god's right arm and the pomegranate; in other respects the design closely resembles Mich. 26104, although on the Ayvaz stone the chlamys is partly visible, while in the Michigan specimen the god is nude. This item of the Ayvaz Collection was not included in the sale to the University of Michigan. Fr. Mousterde described it tentatively as Horus-Apollo, but did not connect it with the god of Pelusium. A long inscription on the back of the Ayvaz stone is the common magical palindrome beginning Iaeobaphrenemoun.

MATERIAL ON THE CULT OF SARAPIS

SINCE the various Graeco-Egyptian and Graeco-Roman cults have been discussed frequently in recent numbers of this journal,¹ this seems to be a suitable time and place to assemble six unknown objects relating to the cult of Sarapis. All of them are in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Sarapis, a deity who was once very widely venerated, is less thoroughly understood today than most of the ancient gods, and one of the prime reasons for our ignorance is that the total number of monuments relating to his worship is so tremendous that nothing like an adequate publication has ever been attempted. Toward such an eventual publication I am now contributing this group of objects. Individually they offer little new knowledge, but each corroborates something that was previously surmised about the images. Only after these and many more souvenirs have been studied will it be possible to answer the disturbing questions which arise whenever one considers Sarapis. Do all the works of art imitate one great cult statue? What was the date of the first statue? What were its distinguishing features? Was its sculptor named Bryaxis and, if so, was he the only sculptor of that name? Could the statue have been imported to Alexandria from faraway Sinope? Why was a deity who was politically so important for Egypt exclusively Greek in his physical manifestations? What was there about his cult to make him, in the end, influential throughout the Roman world? What rites were performed in his worship, and with what implements? What special part was played by those curious monuments, the detached feet of Sarapis? These are only a few of the queries for which answers are still to be found by scholars.

1. The first monument deserves to be known on its merits, for it is one of the comparatively few colossal works remaining from all antiquity. It is a marble head with neck, 0.52 m. tall (Figs. 1, 2).² It was purchased by Mr. Henry Walters in 1912 from a dealer who stated that it had been excavated at Baliana in Upper Egypt, and it has been at the Walters Art Gallery ever since. It is of crystalline white marble. The nose has been restored in marble. The locks above the forehead have been broken off and the mass of hair at the right of the neck has been shortened. The condition of other parts of the head is excellent.

The back and sides of the head were not worked in detail. The sketchy treatment of these parts does not necessarily imply that they were invisible. The sculptor knew

¹ Bonner, "An Obscure Inscription on a Gold Tablet," in *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 30-35, and "The Philinna Papyrus and the Gold Tablet from the Vigna Codini," *ibid.*, pp. 349-351; Levi, "Aion," *ibid.*, pp. 269-314; Dow and Upson, "The Foot of Sarapis," *ibid.*, pp. 58-77.

² Walters Art Gallery, no. 23. 120.



Fig. 1. Colossal Head of Sarapis, in Baltimore. Front View



Fig. 2. Colossal Head of Sarapis, in Baltimore. Diagonal View

that on a head of such great size, raised the appropriate distance above the ground, fine details of hair would not be easily discernible and therefore he yielded to the temptation to save labor on them. The face was the important part, since it had to be clearly visible at a great distance, and it therefore was given painstaking treatment.

Although the lower edge is slightly irregular, it appears not to have been broken but to have been cut. An original edge at just this place implies that the statue was draped and that the drapery ended a short distance from the neck. The size of the head almost requires that the god be in a seated pose.

On the very top of the head is a square cutting, 0.043 m. on a side and 0.05 m. deep, which was used for dowelling the *modius* or *κάλαθος*, the headdress usual with Sarapis and with certain other deities who had connections with the netherworld.

Since both the *modius* and the drapery were separate pieces, one should not overlook the possibility that they were of another color from the face. In that case the head would come from a rather complicated polychrome construction.³

Everywhere except on certain parts of the face, which one suspects of having been scraped, there are blotches of the common limey encrustation and a general reddish-brown discoloration. So very rich is the tone of the patina that I have been perplexed to decide whether or not there is any original coloring matter embedded in it. This is an important question, since red coloring matter was usually a preparatory ground for gilding and several other Sarapis heads show signs of gilding in antiquity.⁴ Gilding on our head would be further evidence for what may have been a fairly general practice. Unfortunately, it is impossible to be absolutely certain about the original condition of this head. Although at no point is there any red matter which could not be due to patination alone, there is still a strong probability that red pigment was once applied to hair and beard, perhaps even to the entire surface.

The most striking features, that is, the wide calm eyes and the falling locks on the forehead, are copied from the traditional rendition of Zeus, as he was established for all time by Pheidias' Olympian statue.⁵ However, the beard and mustache, and to an extent the hair, distinguish this as a Sarapis face, not a Zeus. It is characteristic of Sarapis that the locks on the forehead be five in number. The parted lips are framed by a stiff mustache which curls up into a spiral on the left cheek, but turns down on the right side. The beard is very curly, and it projects forward below the mouth in a great mass, so that in profile there appear to be two parts of the beard, an upper and a lower. When we view the beard from the front we see two parts once more, for it is long on both sides and short in the middle.

³ I know of no complete, large Sarapis statue of several materials, but there exist other detached heads which suggest such a construction. Cf. *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 539 f.; *J.H.S.*, XLII, 1922, p. 31, fig. 1; and Edgar, *Greek Sculpture (Catalogue général—du Musée du Caire)*, pl. II, no. 27432.

⁴ Brady, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, LI, 1941, pp. 61-69.

⁵ See Brunn, *Griechische Götterideale*, 1893, pp. 99 ff.

The head as a whole is impressive, and yet the effects of great plasticity and of light areas contrasting with shaded and shadowed were achieved by a lazy technique. Deep drilling separates the hair from the face, and the foremost locks on each side were separated from the others by the drill. The locks over the forehead were cut free in the same way. A couple of locks on top of the head were undercut. All the rest of the hair is only superficially blocked out.

The precise purpose of our head, is, of course, unknown. Its great size and the color scheme which we have hypothesized are enough to suggest that it may come from a cult statue. Even if this were true, the poor workmanship would militate against its being a very important monument. Possibly it came from a cult statue in a shrine or temple of slight importance.

2. The second item is a small head made of a marble which is very close to alabaster (Fig. 3).⁶ It is so smooth and so yellow that it was sold to Mr. Walters as an ivory carving. It is 0.07 m. tall, including its long neck, and it is complete except for a few locks of hair. The top of the head was sliced off so as to afford a smooth circular surface to which the *modius* was fastened by a dowel set in a round hole. The neck ends with a rounded, well finished lower surface. Like the colossal head, this small one was intended to be inserted in a statue of different material, and to wear a separately constructed *modius*. Once more we are inclined to believe in a figure of variegated color.⁷

The type is the same as the large head, though the details are much finer and the general impression more delicate. The five locks of hair falling over the face were in contact with the forehead at their tips, but higher up they were undercut. The lower parts of some of the locks at the sides were freed from the head with the drill. The hair on the back of the head and the curls in the neck were carefully cut, in contrast to the sketchy treatment of the back of the first head. The beard and



Fig. 3. Small Marble Head of Sarapis, in Baltimore

⁶ Walters Art Gallery, no. 23. 203.

⁷ For a statuette composed in this way see Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des vaticanischen Museums*, I, pl. 50, no. 225.

mustache are identical with those of the great head, even down to the curls at the ends of the mustache, but they were worked more accurately. The drill was used to make little holes at the centers of many curls. The eyes seem lively, since the corneas and pupils were marked by incision and given an upward glance by their position close to the upper lids.

3. The third object is a small bronze head, broken from a bust or statuette (Fig. 4). Including the *modius* and a small portion of the shoulders, it is 0.066 m. tall.⁸ The figure was cast hollow, with rather thin walls.

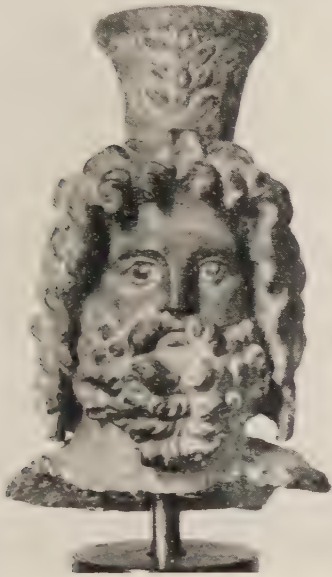


Fig. 4. Small Bronze Sarapis Head from Statuette or Bust, in Baltimore

Enough remains of the shoulders and back to prove that the statuette (or bust) was fully draped. The *modius* was cast with the head, and has a projecting ring at its base and three incised olive sprays on front and both sides.⁹ Face, hair and beard are almost standard. There are four locks above the forehead instead of the usual five, and the ends of the mustache are not clearly rendered. The curls of the beard are lumpy and the masses of loose hair beside the face were carelessly shaped. We should note that there is some slight undercutting of the locks of the forehead, though there is none at the sides. The pupils of the eyes are drilled dots, with an upward glance.

4. A fourth example is a head and bust made of blue moulded material which must be glass (Fig. 5).¹⁰ The right half of the neck and bust has been broken away, and the break passes through the round vertical hole which was used for the mounting in ancient times. The bust is of the large, fully draped type, deeply undercut with a small block reserved for support at the center of the back. In addition to the damage to the right half of the bust, a piece has been chipped from the forehead above the left eye and the tip of the nose is damaged.

It should be emphasized that this object is not made of the common Egyptian faïence, which has a blue glass coating and a core of white sand, but is blue through-

⁸ Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.1119.

⁹ See Amelung, *Rev. arch.*, Ser. 4, II, 1903, p. 197. Amelung considers that such branches represent the complete trees on other replicas.

¹⁰ Walters Art Gallery, no. 47.106. Ht. 0.079 m. Published, *Pagan and Christian Egypt* (Exhibition Catalogue, Brooklyn Museum), 1941, no. 109 (not illustrated).

out and of a smooth, homogeneous texture. However, the exterior has a coating which is more vitreous than the interior. This coating is well preserved on the left side of the neck and face, but elsewhere is preserved only in the depressions.¹¹

As is inevitable with moulded objects, the details are not clear. The face and beard are conventional. The ends of the mustache merely droop, instead of curling. The *modius* is placed rather far forward and a band surrounds the head. There are a dozen olive sprays instead of the usual three rendered in relief against the *modius*.

The curious material recalls a story, very difficult to credit, which Clement of Alexandria told in late antique times. According to his tale, the great cult statue of Sarapis at Alexandria was made of many materials, metals and stones, pulverized, stained blue, and moulded. To the mixture there was added some material which remained after the funeral rites of the Osiris-Apis bull had been performed. It is impossible to believe such a story about the great statue, though it may have been predominately blue in color. A possible basis for Clement's mistake would be a practice of moulding small imitations of the cult statue out of plastic blue material to which tiny fragments of elements supposedly endowed with religious significance were added. Our bust could

have been composed in some such way, but we may not be certain that it has a connection with Clement's statement, since it is bright blue, hardly blue-black, *κύανος*, as he described the colossos.¹²



Fig. 5. Small Blue Glass Head and Bust of Sarapis, in Baltimore

¹¹ Another glass head of Sarapis, a red one with a gray-green patina, is illustrated by Froehner, *Collection Julien Gréau, Verrerie antique*, 1903, pl. XXXII, nos. 1 and 2. Two lapis busts of Sarapis are in the British Museum, Walters, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, p. 368, nos. 3939, 3941, pl. XXXIII.

¹² Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, IV, 43 P (Loeb Library); IV, 48 (Dindorff). One may not altogether overlook a possible but rather dubious connection of this passage with Plutarch, *De Sollertia animalium*, 36, where it is stated that a statue, apparently the statue of Isis which stood beside the Sarapis, was moulded after the Kore at Sinope. On this passage see S. Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, II, 1906, pp. 338-355.

5. On a very heavy bronze finger ring, which has the long bezel typical of the Hellenistic period, is a large draped bust of Sarapis in high relief, surmounted by a head completely in the round (Fig. 6).¹³ The object is somewhat worn and has been defaced by corrosion. At a few points on the ring there are traces of gilding, indicating that the whole object was an imitation of gold. The draping of the bust and the physiognomy of the god are about as usual. The *modius* is small, perched on top of the head, and a headband passes in front of it.



Fig. 6. Bronze Ring with Sarapis Head and Bust, in Baltimore

Since this is the last of our representations of Sarapis,¹⁴ we may now summarize what these five have shown. The dating of the individual pieces is illusive. The ring, No. 5, has a bezel of a form that was usual during the Hellenistic epoch. Perhaps one might date No. 2 within the same period, on the grounds of its delicacy of workmanship. But possibly this head, and certainly all the others, were made under the Roman Empire. This might have been expected, since most of the representations of Sarapis which were previously known date from that period.¹⁵

In details, our pieces differ little from the usual run of images. The two marbles may have come from statues of variegated material, and of them the larger one must have been a seated statue. In one case color or gilding seems to have been applied to white marble. The *modius* is preserved on three examples, and is ornamented by three olive sprays on the bronze bust, with many such sprays on the blue glass bust, and is plain on the ring.

Iconographically, all the representations are very similar. Although some are weaker than others, the resemblances are close enough to mark them all as copies, more or less direct, of the face of one original. The similarity of No. 1, the colossal head, to No. 2, the miniature marble, is especially striking. The original of all these copies must have been the great cult statue at Alexandria.

This group serves to reopen the discussion of the date of the original, a matter that has been much in dispute because of the confused ancient traditions. The statue

¹³ Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.1624. Length of bezel, 0.04 m.

¹⁴ This exhausts the possible Sarapis representations in this collection except for some gems and jewelry of conventional type.

¹⁵ Cf. Walters, British Museum, *Select Bronzes*, commentary upon pl. XXI.

was believed to have been imported to Alexandria from Sinope in Pontus, according to some sources during the reign of Ptolemy I, according to others by Ptolemy II, and according to one by Ptolemy III. Clement of Alexandria, the chief writer on the subject of the statue, told this story but denied it. He said that the statue was made of moulded material as we have already described, in Egypt, by a sculptor named Bryaxis, not Bryaxis the Athenian, the well-known artist who worked on the Mausoleum, but another of the name. The earliest positively dated representation of the type of statue which we know is on a coin of Ptolemy IV. The story of the importation was generally credited throughout antiquity, as is proved by a series of coins depicting its transport issued during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.¹⁶

Artistic criticism applied to this problem has tended to corroborate the dating within the fourth century, and thereby to make an attribution to the well-known Bryaxis quite plausible. To Amelung and to Six the style of Bryaxis seemed so well established by the Sarapis that other works could be attributed to him.¹⁷ However, Lawrence compared the body of the statue with the (headless) Dionysos from the choragic monument of Thrasyllus, dated it about 300 B.C., and accepted a second Bryaxis as the sculptor.¹⁸ The representations of Sarapis which have been presented in this article add little that is new, but they have some negative weight: they show not a single feature which must positively be dated within the fourth century. After studying them and the other replicas of the face, I presume to state my personal opinion that the great statue was not made at Alexandria immediately after the founding of that city (or in Sinope before its founding), but, rather, shows all the pre-occupations of the Hellenistic age in its full flower. Although the undercut locks of hair occur on works associated with Skopas,¹⁹ their full exploitation was not achieved until long after his time. The striving for shadows around the hair and in the beard, though it is revealed to us only through copyists' techniques, suggests dramatic qualities in the original which would be in keeping with the Hellenistic spirit. The projection of the beard in two degrees seems to me to mitigate against a fourth-century date of the original. The overly placid features, which on every copy contrast with the exuberant foliage of the hair and beard, would, in my opinion, be more understandable as a reaction toward classicism from the intensity of the Skopaic tradition, than if attributed to one of his co-workers on the Mausoleum, that high

¹⁶ Roeder, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, 2nd series, vol. 2, cols. 2404, 2424. The only attribution to Ptolemy III is by Tacitus, *Histories*, IV, 84.

¹⁷ Six, *J.H.S.*, XLII, 1922, pp. 31-35 (Asklepios); Amelung, *Ausonia*, III, 1908, pp. 115-135 (Zeus of Otricoli). See also Lippold, "Sarapis and Bryaxis," in *Festschrift Paul Arndt*, 1925, pp. 115-127.

¹⁸ Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, p. 107.

¹⁹ For example, the Fogg head of Meleager, Chase, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections*, p. 89, fig. 101.

spot of emotional sculpture.²⁰ For these reasons I should be inclined to date the original Sarapis at least as late as the time of Ptolemy II, and to insist that if the sculptor was named Bryaxis, he was not the famous Athenian.

6. But the most interesting of all these Walters objects is not a representation of a god but a bronze lamp in the form of a human right foot.²¹ It may with some probability, though not with complete certainty, be connected with the Sarapis cult (Figs. 7-8).

This object consists of three parts: the sandaled foot with the nozzle before the toe and two large rings at the back; the cover which is a disc with an edge cut to fit the leg and provided with a ring at the back; and a rod which passes through the three rings so as to connect the foot and the cover. The upper part of the rod is lost and the remaining part is broken in half. The foot is realistically rendered, even down to the wrinkles on the toes, the irregularities of the strap (which passes between the great and the first toe, and surrounds the ankle), and the lifts at toe and heel under the sole at the inside of the foot. These lifts would be added by a cobbler for the benefit of a person whose ankle was inclined to turn in. The cover is plain now, but there is a small lump to prove that something was once attached at the center. The rod is decorated with an uraeus, of which the tail is 0.045 m. above the top of the lamp, the head 0.11 m.

The pivotal rod at the back is fixed firmly in the two rings which are part of the foot, but the ring which is attached to the cover moves freely about the rod. This was a necessary arrangement, for the cover, with its undercut edge, had to be raised and turned when the lamp was to be filled with oil. It is very unfortunate that the rod is broken just at the level of the cover, between the loose ring and the upper of the two tight ones. We are moved to ask whether the upper part of the rod is an original part of the object. There is, indeed, no proof of such a supposition. However, the loose part of the rod is of the same size as the part which adheres, and the parts are identical in texture of bronze and in the type of corrosion. We are justified therefore in assuming that everything we possess is original.

A representation of Zeus based upon Pheidias' great work but of the period of Praxiteles and Skopas is the head in Boston, Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, pp. 59 f., no. 25. The face, though serene, is more thoughtful and more intense than the Sarapis; one might say it is nearer to the Skopaic ideal. The hair and beard are much more restrained than the Sarapis. Amelung mentioned this contrast (*Ausonia*, III, 1908, p. 125), but did not consider it the result of a difference of date. The Boston head has been thought to come from the Mausoleum; see Caskey, *loc. cit.*; and Furtwängler in Brunn and Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur*, text to plates 572-573. Lippold, *op. cit.*, p. 120, dated the Boston Zeus before the Mausoleum.

²⁰ Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.1190, a and b; rod, no. 54.1519. Height of foot, 0.06 m.; height of rod, 0.175 m. Formerly Dattari Collection. Sale Catalogue, Paris, 1912, p. 53, no. 461.



Fig. 7. Bronze Lamp in form of Human Foot, in Baltimore



Fig. 8. Side View of the Baltimore Lamp

It is the rod with the uraeus which gives all the interest to the object. Lamps modelled after parts of the body, especially the foot, were very common in antiquity.²²

²² Babelon and Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* p. 465, no. 1084; *C.I.L.*, XV, pt. II, 1, no. 6287; Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, III, pt. II, p. 1325, fig. 4583. Two terracotta lamps in the form of a foot wearing the same kind of sandal as ours are Waldhauer, Kaiserliche Ermitage, *Die antiken Tonlampen*, pl. XLVIII, no. 504; Walters, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum*, p. 61, no. 419. Although sandals of this type are frequently worn by Aphrodite, I con-

Such a lamp might reflect no more than a whimsical mood of a craftsman. But the uraeus immediately suggests a connection with the giant detached Sarapis feet, recently studied by Dow and Upson.²³ On these monuments the uraeus is usually curled somewhere in the neighborhood of the ankle. Here it coils on a rod which rises at the back of the foot. The space between the top of the foot and the tail of the snake is great enough to accommodate a small bust of Sarapis, which would correspond in position to the busts on some of the stone feet. We have observed that something was attached to the cover, and may now suggest a bust of the god as the most plausible candidate. If the bust were placed in this position, the uraeus would appear to loom over the head of the god.

Sarapis was a familiar figure on Roman lamps, though his presence on a lamp in the form of a foot has not been previously suspected. He appears once as the steersman of Isis, represented in relief on a lamp in the form of a ship named, apparently, for him.²⁴ He appears again in relief, either complete or as a bust, on the discs of numerous terracotta lamps.²⁵ On others, and among these some lamps shaped like ships, there is a relief of his figure or bust on the handle.²⁶ Most striking of all is a group of lamps of which the handle consists of the free modelled bust and head of Sarapis, wearing his *modius*.²⁷ (Of this group, some are in place on various conventional lamps, others are detached and offer no more than a suggestion of the form of the original lamp.) The smoke rising before the god from a lamp would create an eerie, religious effect. Although Sarapis was by no means the only deity honored on lamps, his frequent presence there is evidence for the probability of his guardianship over this bronze foot. Certainly, however, there are not good grounds for connecting all foot-shaped lamps with the Sarapis cult.

The object which we have hypothetically reconstructed as having both the form of a foot and the image of Sarapis might have ethical implication, too. One has only to think of the familiar couplet from a post-Exilic psalm (Psalms 119: 105) "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path," to realize how well such

sider the lifts under the sole sufficient evidence that our lamp represents a male foot. This type of sandal is not considered by Erbacher in his dissertation, *Griechische Schuhwerk* (Würzburg, 1914).

²³ *Loc. cit.*

²⁴ Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, II, p. 403, pl. LXIII, fig. 1 and *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Lamps*, pp. 55 f., no. 390.

²⁵ Walters, *Catalogue*, pp. 142 ff., nos. 942 ff.; Broneer, *Corinth*, Vol. IV, pt. II, *Lamps*, p. 194, no. 60+.

²⁶ Walters, *Catalogue*, p. 56, nos. 391 f.; also, p. 124, no. 826.

²⁷ Walters, *Catalogue*, pp. 130 ff., nos. 862 ff. (all broken from terracotta lamps); Beger, *Thesaurus electoralis Brandenburgici*, III, 1701, pp. 440, 442, nos. I, L, M, ill. (terracotta and alabaster); *Arch. Anz.*, 1915, p. 27, and S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, V, p. 8, no. 3 (bronze, no *modius*).

an object would accord with the religious imagery and expression current in the Middle East.²⁸

DOROTHY KENT HILL

WALTERS ART GALLERY

²⁸ I should like to call attention to still another Sarapis item, a bronze statuette which is in the Baltimore Museum of Art. See *News* (The Baltimore Museum of Art), May, 1945, pp. 3-5. This seems to be the statuette formerly in the Disney Collection in England, and still earlier in the Collection of Dr. Mead. It now lacks the left hand with its attribute, and shows evidence of rather violent cleaning executed in order to remove a black lacquer, some traces of which still adhere to the back. This hand with its attribute and also a dubious "patina" caused Disney to doubt the authenticity of the statuette, *Museum Disneianum*, 1849, plate LXXI and commentary. The doubts are now dispelled. Unusual features of this Sarapis rendition are the nudity of the upper half of the body and the remaining attribute which seems, in its mutilated condition, to be a thunderbolt. The identity is established, I think, by the *modius*, which has the three olive sprays usual with Sarapis.

ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ, TITLE OF A PRIESTESS

Ἀρρήτο(ν) τελετῆς πρόπολος σῆς, πότνια Διοῦ,
καὶ θυγατρὸς προθύρο(ν) κόσμον ἄγαλμα τόδε
ἔστησεν στεφανῶ Λυσιστράτῃ οὐδὲ παρόντων
φείδεται, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς ἄφθονος ἐς δύναμιν.

Inscription from the Eleusinion at Athens, *στοιχηδόν*, ca. 450 B.C., ed. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 97-101, with photograph.¹

στεφανῶ scripsi: στεφάνω (dual) or Στεφάνω (gen. of Στέφανος) edd.

As κοσμῶ and τραπέζω are titles of Attic Athena priestesses,² στεφανῶ fits the title of an Attic Demeter priestess.

Lysistrate might be an ancestor of her namesake, the Athena priestess *I.G.*, II² 776; cf. II², 3455.

P. MAAS

OXFORD

¹ Reprinted: Karouzos in *Ἐπιτύμβιον Τσούντα* (1941), p. 568; Guarducci, *Annuario Scuola Arch. di Atene*, III-IV, 1941-2, pp. 133 f.

² Lycurgus, *Fr.* 47 Bl., and Ister, *Fr.* 16 M., both in *Harpocr. s.v. τραπέζοφορος*; cf. Hesych. *s.v. τραπέζω*. On nouns in -ῶ cf. Buck and Peterson, *Reverse Index*, pp. 24 f.

ARCHITECTURAL STUDIES CONCERNING THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS¹

IT IS indeed strange that comparatively little is known about many of the architectural features of the Acropolis of Athens. Probably the reason for the anomaly lies in the fact that archaeologists have neglected the Acropolis for the many ancient sites recently uncovered throughout the Greek world. And yet it is of importance that the architectural background against which was played much of the drama of ancient Athens should be understood as fully as possible (Fig. 1).

I. MAIN ENTRANCE OF THE ACROPOLIS

An examination of the site of the Propylaea of Mnesicles reveals the fact that there are a number of different building periods to be considered. Recent excavations and restorations have thrown much light upon both prehistoric and early classical building operations; and the same is true for the architectural activities of the time of Pericles. Happily much of the Propylaea is preserved, and this in spite of the fact that Romans, Byzantine Greeks, Franks, and Turks have, in turn, radically altered the building. In fact, it may be claimed that the various building periods on the site faithfully reflect the chief political changes through which Athens itself has passed.

1. PREHISTORIC PERIOD (Fig. 2)

As the Acropolis rock falls away precipitously at 1 and 2, Figure 2, there can be little doubt but that here the prehistoric wall occupied a position along the crest. This theory is strengthened by two facts. First, Kavvadias and Kawerau show the remains of a prehistoric structure at 3, Figure 2: it is more probable that the structure was within the walled area of the Acropolis than that it was outside it.² Second, a little excavating by the writer at 4, Figure 2, brought to light the remains of a wall which

¹ The writer has made a plaster model of the Acropolis as it looked in the latter part of the first century B.C. (after the completion of the Temple of Augustus and Roma). In gathering the data for the model, problems of such unexpected architectural interest were encountered that publication of the most important results thus obtained will justify, it is hoped, the restoration of certain portions of the model. The model is illustrated above, p. 2, Fig. 2 (cf. p. 74, Fig. 1).

The writer is under great obligation to Bert H. Hill, former Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, for generous aid and encouragement in the preparation of this article. To Professor John Meliades, Ephor of the Acropolis, special thanks are due for his kind permission to make test excavations in five places on the Acropolis.

² Kavvadias and Kawerau, 'Η Ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, Πίναξ Β'.

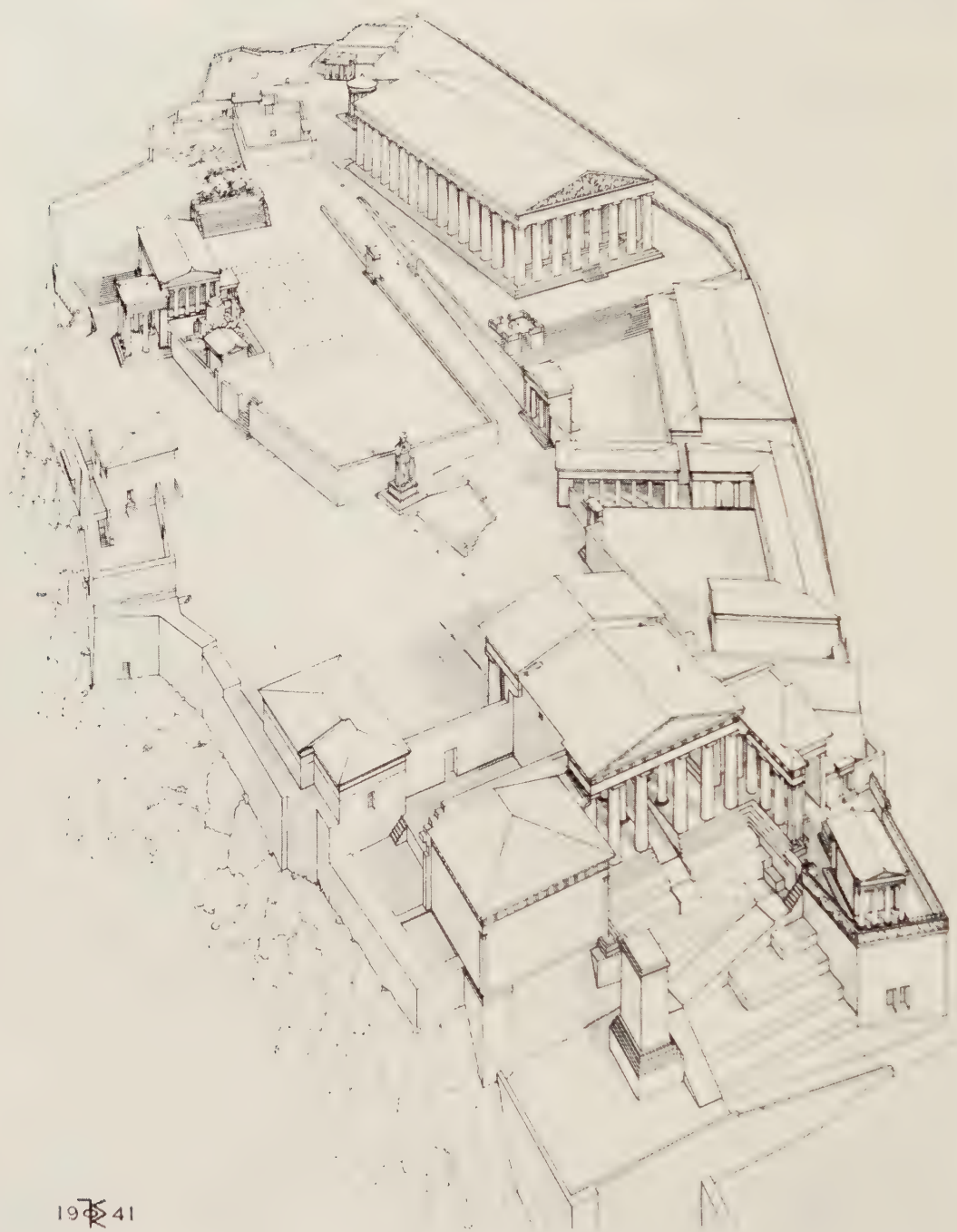


Fig. 1. Bird's-Eye View of the Acropolis: Restoration of the Latter Part of the First Century B. C.

was like the existing sections of the prehistoric circuit wall of the Acropolis. The stones at 4 are *in situ*. They are of Acropolis limestone and laid in a mortar of mud. All the sherds from the mortar date from prehistoric times. To the southeast of 4 lies a well-known section of the prehistoric circuit wall—we refer to wall 5-6, Figure 2.

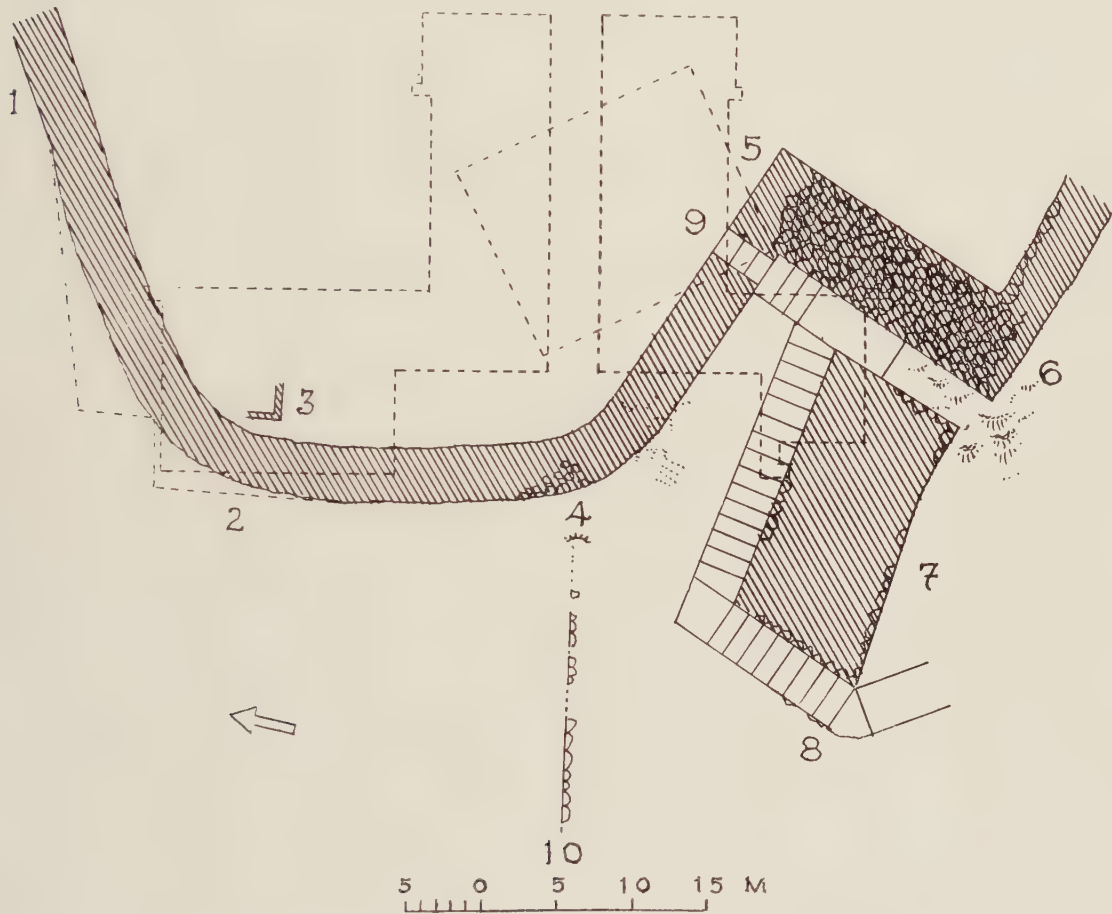


Fig. 2. Plan of the Main Entrance of the Acropolis in Prehistoric Times

Its unusual thickness is undoubtedly due to the comparatively gentle slope of the Acropolis rock to the west of it, for here was the only fairly good approach to the Acropolis, and here, consequently, we should expect to find a strong defensive wall. A thick wall defies the battering-ram, and upon its broad terrace a large number of defenders can be concentrated. In one place the wall is preserved to a height of 4.54 m. above the Acropolis rock, but the original height of the wall may well have been considerably greater.

The bastion at 7, Figure 2, is an even clearer indication of the protection deemed

necessary for the main entrance of the Acropolis. When the Nike Temple and its bastion were recently reconstructed, the plan of the prehistoric bastion within the fifth-century bastion was definitely ascertained (cf. 1, Fig. 3).³ The original height of the bastion is not preserved, however.

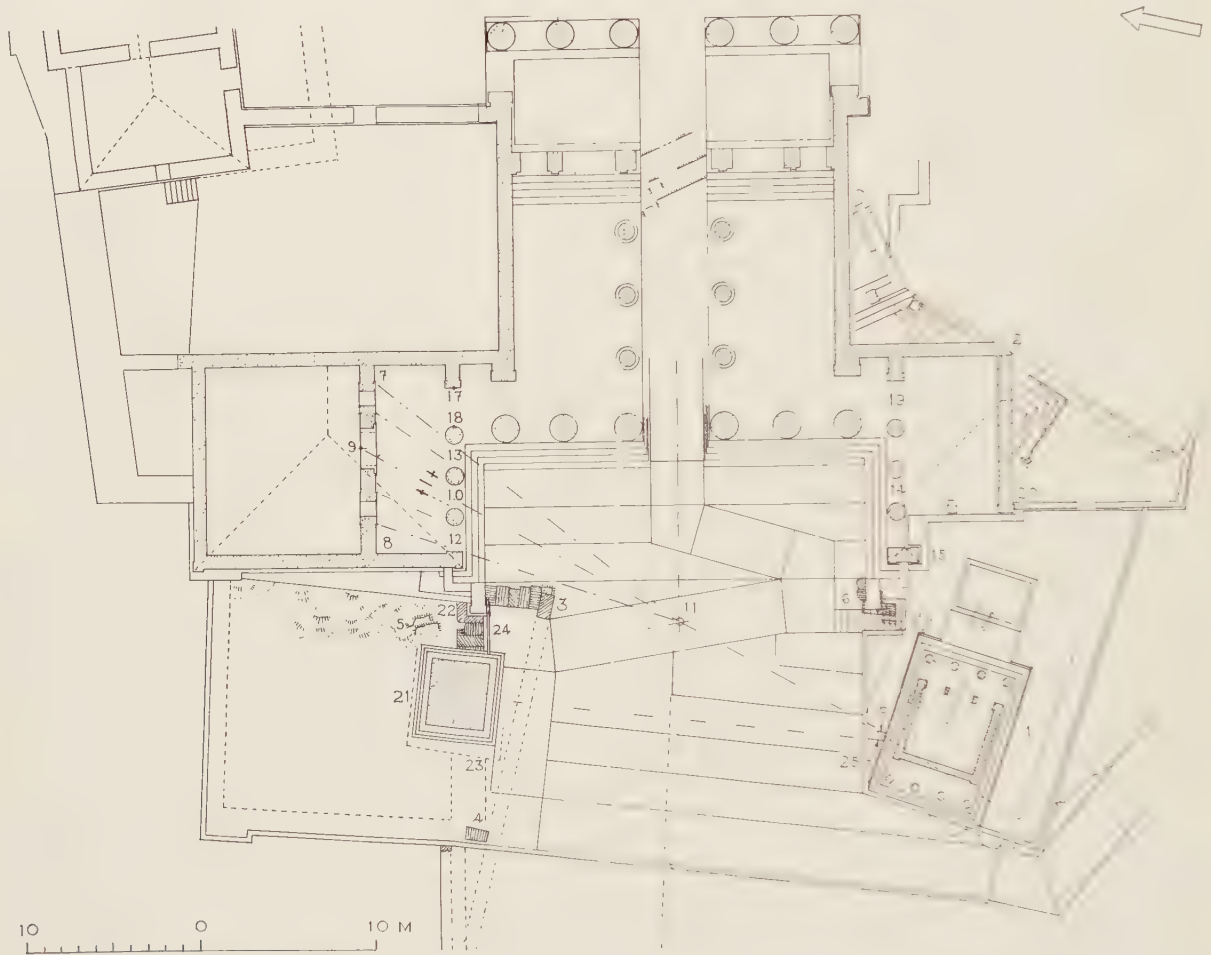


Fig. 3. Propylaea: Plan

Remains of a ramp of the same period as that of the prehistoric bastion are still to be seen at 8, Figure 2.

The gate itself would probably be located where it could be best protected, that is at 9, Figure 2, for attackers would in that case be forced to advance the greatest distance while under fire from three directions. The system of defense is almost

³ Gabriel Welter, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1939, pp. 1-22.

identical with that of the two principal gates at Mycenae, a fact which gives us a rough indication of the date of the Athenian example.⁴

There is a difference in level of 8.34 m. between points 8 and 9 of the ramp, Figure 2, while the developed horizontal distance between the same points is *ca.* 33 m. These two measures give an excessive grade of 25% for a ramp without steps. The maximum permissible grade for pedestrians should not exceed 14%. The difficulty may be overcome by introducing low steps. Those shown in Figure 2 have risers 0.15 m. high and treads 1.25 m. wide, and the treads themselves have a grade of 10%. Sacrificial animals could have conveniently used such a ramp.

The Athenians who built the gate of the Acropolis of the prehistoric period had no idea of making a beautiful entrance—good defense was their sole preoccupation.

Wall 4-10, Figure 2, does not belong to the same period as that of the prehistoric circuit wall of the Acropolis. It is a polygonal wall built of Acropolis limestone, with fairly well-cut joints. It may date from either the sixth or seventh century B.C. The northern face of the wall is dressed to a plane. The southern face was left rough, a fact which signifies that the wall was built to support a terrace. The top of the wall was probably considerably inclined, the inclination roughly following the slope of the Acropolis rock beneath it. If the wall was inclined, it is likely that the terrace it supported was also inclined or else constructed in a series of small terraces. What was the reason for the terrace? Two purposes may be suggested: (1) To aid in the defense of the entrance to the Acropolis. To the north of the terrace the Acropolis rock falls off rapidly for a height of three or four meters: the wall and its terrace would strengthen considerably the natural defense at this point. (2) To eliminate dangerous accidents to those who might fall from the ramp leading to the entrance gate by raising the ground at the foot of the ramp to somewhere near the level of the ramp itself.

2. 437 B.C. (Figs. 4 and 6)

There is a good deal of evidence for the appearance of the entrance of the Acropolis in 437 B.C., the year in which Mnesicles began to build his famous Propylaea.

The foundation at 1, Figure 4, of wall 1-2 is of squared poros blocks. They have a different orientation from that of the Mnesiclean Propylaea above them; hence they indicate a wall earlier in date than the Propylaea. To the east of 1, the Acropolis rock is dressed for the wall shown running eastward from 1. At 2, Mnesicles utilized the foundations of the circuit wall of the period under consideration for the western foundations of his "Picture Gallery." From 2, the circuit wall can be traced in a northeasterly direction by rock cuttings: then it turned to the east, at 3, along the crest of the Acropolis.

⁴ Steffen, *Karten von Mykenai*.

There is an indication that the upper portion of wall 5-6, Figure 2, was rebuilt in this period. For the wall of Mnesicles' Propylaea is cut at an angle at 2, Figure 3, to fit against the lower part of the prehistoric wall: the cutting is irregular for a height of 4.85 m. above the floor of the Propylaea; for all but 0.64 m. of that height



Fig. 4. Main Entrance of the Acropolis in 437 B. C.: Plan

the cutting still fits the irregularities of the prehistoric wall. But above the 4.85 m. level the cutting is regular and 0.25 m. to the east of the cutting below. Evidently, when the southwest wing of the Propylaea was built, its southeast corner was set against an existing wall the bottom portion of which belonged to the prehistoric wall, while the upper portion was a wall with a well-dressed face set back somewhat from the face of the prehistoric wall. We may conjecture with a fair degree of plausibility that the Persians destroyed, in 480 B.C., the upper portion of the prehistoric wall, and that

Cimon rebuilt the destroyed portion in ashlar when he erected the south wall of the Acropolis.⁵ Some idea of the height of the ashlar wall may be had from the fact that the cornice block over the southeast corner of the southwest wing of the Mnesiclean Propylaea was cut with an angle to fit against the ashlar wall. Moreover the ashlar wall was probably not as thick as the original wall—such a thick wall was no longer necessary from a military point of view and would have been costly. In addition, a thinner wall appreciably increased the area of the sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis (6, Fig. 4). The thickness of the wall was perhaps not far from that of wall 3-2-1, Figure 4.

Were walls 3-2-1 and 4-5, Figure 4, provided with crenelations? It is difficult to answer this question, for, although crenelations were in use long before the period under consideration, they were not always thought necessary—parapets were often deemed sufficient.

The prehistoric bastion at 7, Figure 2, lost in this period some of its defensive character. Upon it was built a small temple in poros, with an altar in front of it (7, Fig. 4). The temple and its altar give us the level of the terrace—it was 1.395 m. below the level of the terrace of the fifth century. No evidence was found during the rebuilding of the bastion to show that the level of the terrace was below the level of the prehistoric terrace, although this may well have been the case.

The ramp 8, 9, 10, 16, Figure 4, is gentler than that of the prehistoric period: it has a uniform grade of *ca.* 14% and thus requires no steps.

Block 3, Figure 3 is *in situ*. It is not parallel to the blocks immediately north of it. If the direction of block 3 be followed westward, a block *in situ* is encountered at 4, Figure 3 (block 12, Fig. 4), with its south face in the same plane with the north face of block 3. Moreover, if the direction of block 3 be followed still further westward, the orientation of a Pisistratid altar at 13, Figure 4, is found to agree with that of block 3, Figure 3. From these data we may gather that there was a wall at 9-14. It probably replaced wall 4-10, Figure 2: in other words, the terrace which wall 4-10 supported was enlarged toward the north. The eastern portion of the terrace—a horizontal portion—was buried when Mnesicles built his approach to the Propylaea in the second half of the fifth century B.C.⁶

There are rock cuttings at 5, Figure 3 (also shown at 15, Figure 4) which are probably to be associated with the period under consideration. They occur about half way up the ramp and may have been intended to receive a wall which supported a small terrace, for here was an excellent place for people to wait while other people were passing on the ramp. There is a remarkable view from the small terrace; to combine beauty with utility has always been a sign of the good designer. The un-

⁵ G. P. Stevens, *The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis of Athens*, pp. 24-27 = *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 466-469.

⁶ W. B. Dinsmoor in *The Archons of Athens*, fig. 2, illustrates this terrace.

expected direction of the northern wall of the small terrace is due to a peculiarity in the formation of the Acropolis rock beneath the wall. The writer believes that the terrace dates from the time of Cimon.

Farther up the ramp, at 10, Figure 4, a number of poros blocks protrude from beneath the foundation of the Mnesiclean Propylaea (cf. 6, Fig. 3). The fact that they have a different orientation from that of the Propylaea is proof that they antedate the Propylaea. As a matter of fact, they have the same orientation and the same technique as the blocks at 1, Figure 4, already mentioned, and may well have been associated with them. The blocks at 6, Figure 3, are foundation blocks, and their level is correct for their location in the foundation of the ramp at this point.

The propylon at 16, Figure 4, affords an illustration of the way the study of archaeology advances. In 1904 Charles H. Weller published an excellent article about this gate.⁷ More recently William B. Dinsmoor has added to our knowledge by excavating at 17, Figure 4, and finding rock cuttings for the northwest wall of the propylon. Result: The propylon should be restored with a façade of four columns, not with a façade of two columns as Weller believed.⁸ Little is known about the interior of the propylon. But there must have been some arrangement for doors. Perhaps the plan of the propylon resembled that of the central portion of Mnesicles' Propylaea (cf. Figs. 3 and 4). In yet another way the two propylaea probably resembled each other. The level of the rock cutting for the stylobate of the east façade of the propylon shows that the columns here were raised three steps above the columns of the west façade (cf. Figs. 3 and 4). We cannot start with a well-proportioned portico and take three steps out of the height of its columns and still have a well-proportioned portico. Granted that the order of the eastern portico was the same as that of the western portico (as in Mnesicles' Propylaea), all portions of it—the eastern portico—would then be raised three steps, the height of three steps probably corresponding to the height of the architrave, so that there might be some alignment between the two orders (the architrave of the east aligning with the frieze of the west). Furthermore, it is likely that the entire eastern portico, not the order alone, was thus raised; this is what Mnesicles did in the case of his Propylaea (cf. Figs. 3 and 4).⁹ Figure 6 gives an idea of how such a raised eastern portico would look in perspective.

For information concerning the "exedra" at 18, Fig. 4, the reader is referred to Weller's article cited above. He discovered three rock-cut steps in front of a pre-

⁷ C. H. Weller, *A.J.A.*, VIII, 1904, pp. 34-70.

⁸ *A.J.A.*, VIII, 1904, p. 57, fig. 4 and pl. VIII. From what is left of the southwest anta we can calculate the height of the columns at ca. 4.714 m. Further, T. Wiegand shows a Doric entablature in his *Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen*, pl. XIII, 4, which has a correct axial unit of the triglyphs for our four-column façade. Scholars the world over are looking forward with eager interest to a publication of Dinsmoor's exhaustive studies on the Propylaea.

⁹ R. Bohn, *Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen*, pl. 7.

viously known marble bench. The southwest wing of Mnesicles' Propylaea was built over much of the steps of the "exedra" and consequently hides them, but if we imagine two additional rock-cut steps, and also suppose a step at the junction of the "exedra" and the bastion, a proper connection can be made between the propylon and the bastion by way of the "exedra" (cf. Fig. 4). What a marvellous reviewing stand the "exedra" would make for the Panathenaic officials!

The back of the "exedra" is composed of large slabs of marble probably taken from the metopes of one of the early temples on the Acropolis.¹⁰ On two of the slabs, perhaps those near the middle of the "exedra," was cut the famous Hecatompedon inscription—famous both for the important archaeological information it gives us and for the beauty of its lettering.¹¹ When some of the fragments of the inscription were first found, the letters were still picked out with vivid red paint; unfortunately the color has now almost entirely disappeared. The date of the inscription is 485 B.C.¹² The chief purpose of the inscription was to inform the visitor of certain prohibitions on the Acropolis.

The Sanctuary of the Graces, 19, Figure 4, appears in this period in fairly well-defined form. There are traces of the northeast wall of the precinct, against which the "exedra" was built; and there is the start of the northwest wall of the precinct at the west corner of the "exedra."¹³

At 20, Figure 4, are a number of poros blocks partly buried beneath the Propylaea of Mnesicles. They have a different orientation from that of the Propylaea, thus showing that they antedate the Propylaea. What did the blocks support in 437 B.C.? The four-horse chariot which Herodotus saw on his left as he entered the propylon?¹⁴ He was a native of Halicarnassus, but he is known to have traveled extensively from ca. 464 to ca. 447 B.C. and even to have been settled in Athens from ca. 447 to 446 B.C. Thus, as Mnesicles' Propylaea was not started until 437 B.C., Herodotus had opportunities to see the chariot.¹⁵ Both the width and the depth of the plinth upon which the chariot rested are known accurately within a range of error of no more than a few centimeters: from the size of the plinth we may judge that the horses and charioteer were

¹⁰ T. Wiegand, *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen*, p. 110.

¹¹ *I.G.*, I², 3-4. For an illustration of the inscription consult J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*, pl. 10, no. 19. Bert H. Hill has been working on the inscription for a number of years. He has many interesting results to publish.

¹² According to B. H. Hill the date is certain.

¹³ C. H. Weller, *A.J.A.*, VIII, 1904, pls. I and V.

¹⁴ Herodotus, V, 77.

¹⁵ Dates connected with the chariot:

507 B.C. Chariot set up probably to commemorate a victory over the Boeotians and Chalcidians. It may have been located on the site of the Promachos.

480 B.C. Chariot carried off, or destroyed, by the Persians.

446 B.C. A new chariot with a new plinth set up in front of the Propylon.

446 B.C. Herodotus saw the new chariot.

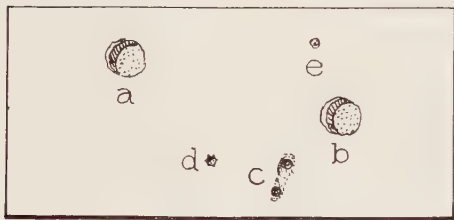


Fig. 5. Group from the Approach to the Propylaea: Restoration

approximately life size.¹⁶ There are cuttings of the pre-Mnesiclean period to the west of 20 (cf. Fig. 4), but they are too small for the pedestal of the quadriga. Site 20 is an excellent one for the monument, because the ramp on the south side of it is parallel to it, and because the ramp wound around it so that three of its sides could be well seen. Moreover, in agreement with what Herodotus says, it was on the visitor's left, and thus not for one, but for three stretches of the ramp. It occupied the position we would choose for a monument which was to dominate the approach to the propylon.

In ca. 450 B.C. two equestrian groups commemorating the Athenian cavalry were set up probably outside the propylon. Later on, Mnesicles placed them on either side of the approach to his Propylaea, at 6 and 24. Figure 3, perhaps not far from their original positions (cf. Fig. 4, 10 and 11 and Fig. 6). So much has been published about these famous groups and their vicissitudes, that an attempt will be made here only to justify the restoration of one of the groups, that shown in Figure 5.¹⁷ The base we see today at 6 in Figure 3 is made of bluish Hymettian marble, a kind of marble not generally used for such purposes until after the time of Mnesicles; nor is Mnesicles likely to have used an inferior building material like this in such a conspicuous position.

437 B.C. If 20, Fig. 4, was the position of the chariot when Herodotus saw it, then the chariot must have been removed when Mnesicles built his Propylaea, for the foundations of the Propylaea almost cover the foundation blocks proposed above for the chariot. Mnesicles, therefore, may have moved the chariot to a position between the Promachos and the Propylaea, where Pausanias saw it in the 2nd century A.D. There is a large rock cutting, suitable for the monument, about 8 m. to the northeast of the east portico of the Propylaea, ca. 150 A.D. Pausanias speaks of the chariot after describing the Promachos (I, xxviii, 2).

¹⁶ G. P. Stevens, *The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis of Athens*, pp. 62-64 = *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 504-506.

¹⁷ Pausanias, I, xxii, 4; J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, vol. II, p. 255; *Δελτίον*, 1889, pp. 179 ff., for an illustration of the cuttings in the under side of the base; *I.G.*, I², 400 for the inscription shown in Fig. 5.

Moreover, the base does not quite fit the Mnesiclean pier beneath it. The base is, therefore, probably a copy of the original base. And the restored base of Figure 5 is in turn probably a restoration of a copy. The cuttings in the base show that the group was made of bronze, not marble. The cuttings "a" and "b," Figure 5, were for two of the horse's hoofs; the remaining two hoofs were raised; that is, the horse was in action. As the cuttings "a" and "b" are contained in one half of the base, the horse was not centered over the pedestal—there was room for some other object over the other half of the base. At "c" are cuttings for the foot of a man, doweled at the ball and the heel of the foot, and at "d" a cutting for the other foot of the man, doweled at the ball only. Cuttings "c" and "d" plainly tell us that a man was standing above them, that he was facing the horse, and that he had his left heel raised. The standing figure was undoubtedly an athletic young groom, with his attention centered in holding a spirited steed.¹⁸ If there was a groom, there was probably no rider, for one man would be sufficient to care for the horse. A second figure unnecessarily complicates the composition. A section of the Panathenaic frieze shows an almost identical group.¹⁹ The groups of the Propylaea were both symbolic and decorative. In modern times we find examples of "horse-tamers" in many places in Europe. They are similar in action to the groups of the Propylaea, but they are generally purely decorative.

So much is now known about the approach to the Acropolis in 437 B.C. that a fairly accurate restoration of it can be made (Fig. 6).

If Figures 2 and 4 are compared, it will be observed that the prehistoric entrance to the Acropolis has undergone a radical change. A decided element of beauty has appeared. Here we have a good example of the remarkable artistic awakening of the Athenian people.

3. 420 B.C. (Fig. 7)

The propylon of 437 B.C. was replaced by the Propylaea of Mnesicles. The new structure was started in 437 B.C. and practically finished in 432 B.C.; but, as the Nike Temple and its bastion (Fig. 3, 1) are such important parts of the composition, the date of the completion of the temple, namely, *ca.* 420 B.C., may be considered as marking the end of the new building period.

Only a few salient features concerning the Mnesiclean period will be discussed here.

Reference has already been made to the fact that the bastion at 7, Figure 4, was transformed in this period. It was originally built of rough polygonal blocks. Now its exterior was encased with ashlar of Piraeus stone. The operation considerably

¹⁸ There is an additional cutting at "e," Fig. 5. It is so rough that it may not belong to the period of the other cuttings; if it does, it was perhaps used in doweled a small trophy to the base.

¹⁹ G. Fougères, *L'Acropole, Le Parthenon*, pl. 76, 25.

increased the area of the bastion (cf. 1, Fig. 3). Furthermore, the terrace was raised 1.395 m., and the small temple in poros was replaced by a bigger and more handsome temple in marble. Thus the elements of the previous period reappeared enlarged and beautified.

The Propylaea and the new Nike bastion caused a complete re-arrangement of the ramp (cf. Figs. 4 and 7). We have seen that *ca.* 14% is a maximum grade for a ramp without steps, and that low steps 0.15 m. high may be inserted from time to

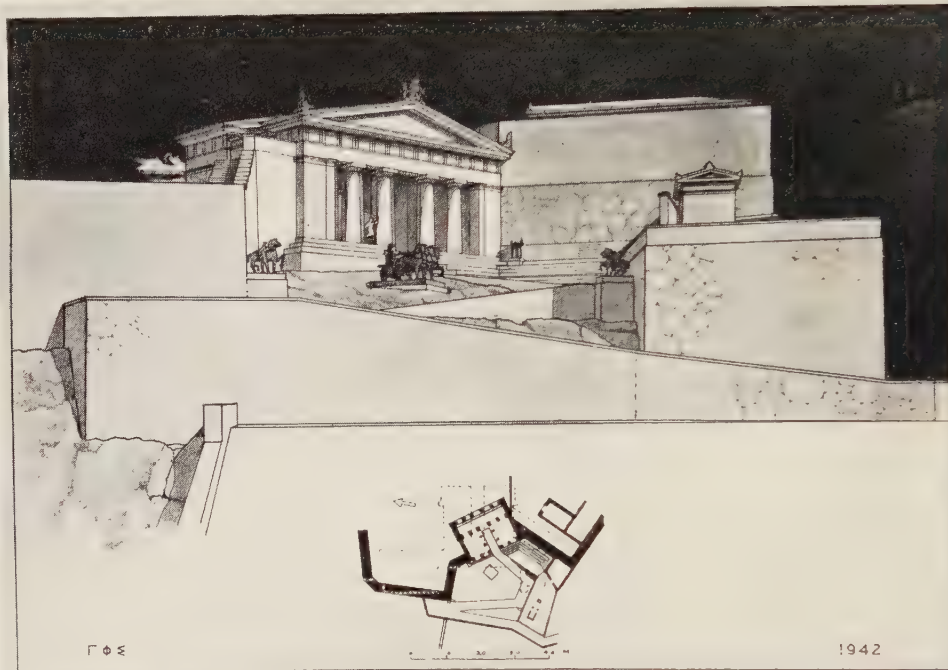


Fig. 6. Main Entrance of the Acropolis in 437 B. C.: Restoration

time in a ramp without making the ascent too difficult for sacrificial animals. If we use such a ramp between 1 and 2, Figure 7 (the level at 1 is that of the Acropolis rock; the level at 2 is that of the floor of the Propylaea) we find the five following checks upon its correctness.

- 1) The development of the ramp will have to be of the length shown in Figure 7.
- 2) Mnesicles built a good sized terrace at 4, Figure 7. The western wall of that terrace shows how far to the west the ramp extended; this distance toward the west is needed for the development of our ramp. Let us explain the matter more in detail. All the walls of the terrace were of poros like the poros employed elsewhere by Mnesicles. The wall which supports the "Picture Gallery" at 5 is built of ancient poros blocks dressed as shown in Figure 8. The same sized blocks and the same

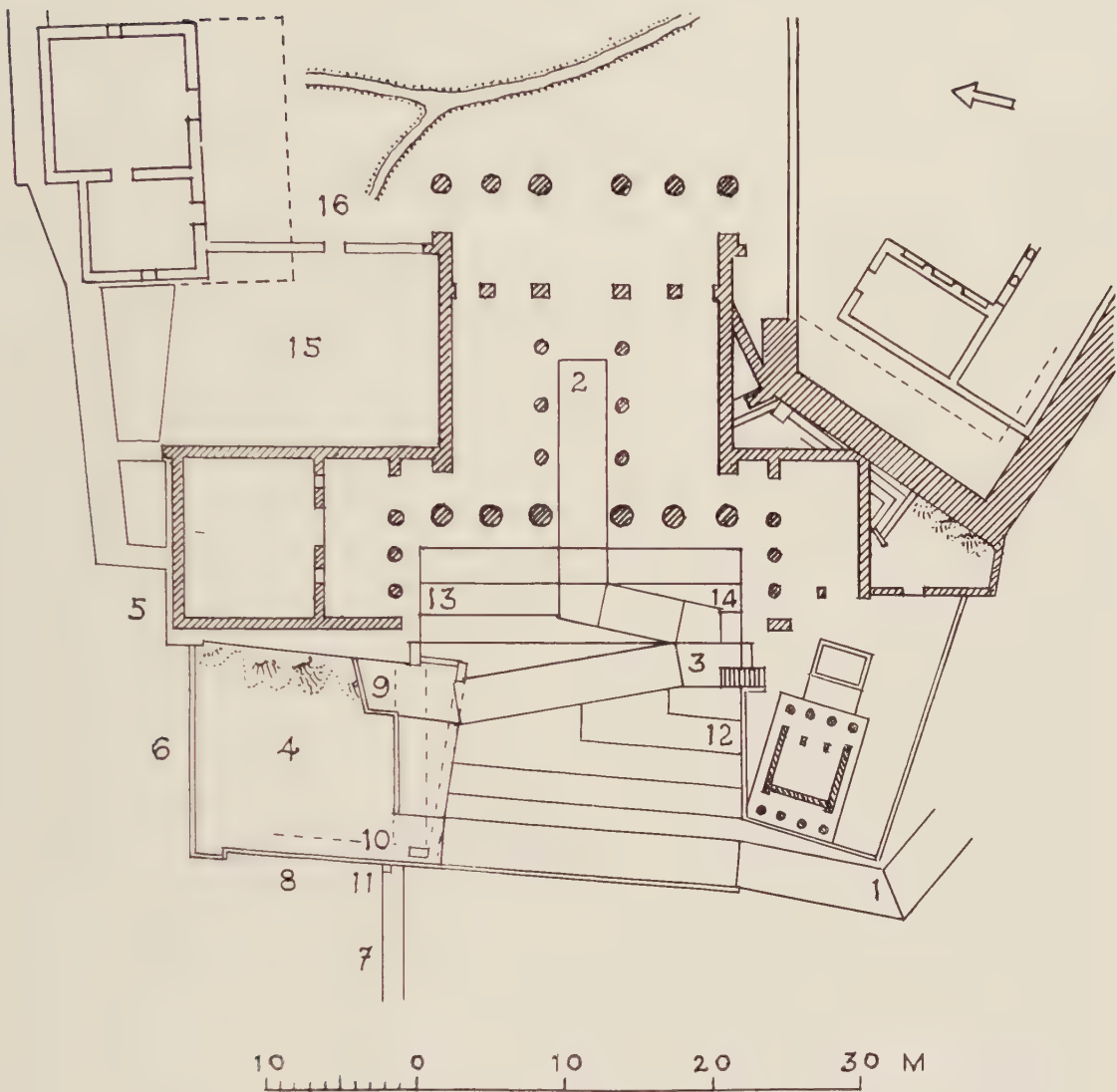


Fig. 7. Propylaea in 420 B. C.: Plan

technique appear at 6 and 7 (north side).²⁰ Furthermore, near the base of wall 6 is an inscription running across four blocks: the inscription dates from the 4th century B.C., possibly earlier.²¹ It follows that the wall is at least as early as the inscription. The western face of wall 8 was rebuilt in modern times, but, in spite of this, the rebuilt

²⁰ Walls of this type do not seem to have been in use in Athens later than 330 B.C. (cf. W. Wrede, *Attische Mauern*).

²¹ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 223 and fig. 18. It is B. H. Hill who has kindly supplied the writer with information upon the date of the inscription. He comes to his conclusion from the character of the letters.

portion gives us the position of the face of the original wall. Wall 9-10, which is perpendicular to the Propylaea, was needed to support the new ramp. Both sides of this wall are roughly finished—they were intended to be buried.²² At 10, wall 8 and wall 9-10 have certain consecutive horizontal joints which align, a condition we should not be likely to find unless the two walls were contemporary.²³ But the interior angle of these two walls has a bond of only 0.12 m. for the courses excavated: however, the exterior angle, which is modern, may have had a better bond. At 11 an ancient block protrudes 0.26 m. from wall 8. At first glance the block does not seem to be *in situ*, as there is some brickwork beneath it. But, unless there were a good reason, the restorers of wall 8 would not be likely to insert a sole protruding block

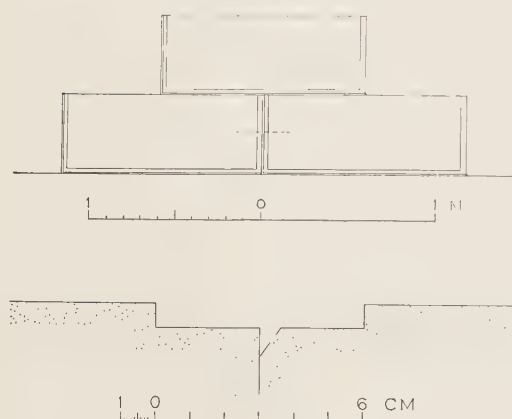


Fig. 8. Finish of Poros Blocks in the Foundation of the "Picture Gallery," North Side

in a wall which was otherwise rebuilt with its western face in a true plane. We therefore believe the block to be *in situ*. If *in situ*, it shows that wall 8 and wall 7 were bonded together. If they were bonded together, they were contemporaneous. Thus walls 5, 6, 7, 8 (on the inside) and 9-10 are, in all likelihood, of the same date. As there can be no doubt but that Mnesicles built wall 5, it follows that he was very probably responsible for the other walls as well. The point we wish to make is that wall 8, built by Mnesicles, was needed for the proper development of the ramp shown in Figure 7.²⁴

3) It is now known that the so-called monument of Agrippa was erected in 174 B.C. (the monument will be discussed in the section on the "Propylaea, 174 B.C.," pp. 89 ff.; in what immediately follows, however, it will be necessary to anticipate some of the conclusions reached in that section). The visible portion of the monument is built of Hymettian marble. On the north side of the base is a well-defined euthynteria; but below the euthynteria the foundation is constructed entirely of conglomerate. The euthynteria establishes the level of the terrace in 174 B.C. within a few centimeters, the conglomerate being, of course, underground. The level agrees with the level required by our ramp (cf. Fig. 10).

4) If we look at the south side of the monument, we find that conglomerate has

²² The writer excavated for a depth of five courses on the north side of the wall and for a depth of three courses on the south side.

²³ The alignment takes place for the five courses excavated by the writer (see footnote 22).

²⁴ The small staircase now connecting the terrace with the Klepsydra dates from the second century after Christ (cf. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 225).

again been employed in the base, but this time in a stepped formation and above the level of the euthynteria of the north side of the monument. The ramp covered the stepped formation, thus concealing the conglomerate.

5) As we ascend the ramp we have selected, we find that the platform at 3, Figure 7, coincides with the underside of the bottom step of the small staircase leading to the Nike bastion (cf. Fig. 3, 6).

Thus there are five checks upon a ramp the sections of which have a uniform grade of 14%.

Mnesicles replaced the inclined wall 12-14, Figure 4, with another inclined wall, namely 11-7, Figure 7. The new wall had the same orientation as that of the Propylaea. The early inclined plane seems to have been retained to the west of the first big run of the ramp (cf. Fig. 7), but the Pisistratid altar at 13, Figure 4, was probably buried at this time.

There are traces at 12, 13 and 14, Figure 7, which show that the ramp had a series of supporting terraces. They fulfilled two purposes: (1) upon them, without doubt, stood votive offerings. Between 13 and 14 the Acropolis rock rises to such an extent that, were it not for the terraces, even small votive monuments would have had rock-cut foundations probably with the orientation of the Propylaea. There are no such rock cuttings. We should not expect to find rock-cut foundations elsewhere, for the rock shelves off rapidly toward the west. (2) If a person happened to slip off the ramp, he would fall no great distance.

Mnesicles' Propylaea and its approach is a model of good design. It strongly influenced the arrangement of later propylaea elsewhere. For example, the visitor to Lindos on the Island of Rhodes finds the same general disposition of ramp, votive monuments and propylaea. In both places the large mass of the propylaea was the leading feature in the composition, while the great number of small votive monuments acted as an exceedingly pleasing foil.

Mnesicles was a talented designer. To illustrate this point two of the many ingenious features which he introduced into his building may be cited. The first feature is aesthetic in character. When we examine wall 7-8, Figure 3, we find that the door and windows are not symmetrically placed in the wall; nor are they symmetrically placed in regard to the columns in front of them.²⁵ Why was this so? When the ancient Greek visitor reached 11, Figure 3, the door of the "Picture Gallery" 9, Figure 3 appeared to be on the axis of intercolumniation 10, Figure 3. And if he looked from 11 toward the windows of the "Picture Gallery," they, too, appeared to be in the middle of the intercolumniation 13 and space 12. As about a metre of the wall beneath the windows was visible, the latter frankly continued to look like windows. Furthermore, Mnesicles, for the sake of symmetry from 11, took great pains to repeat

²⁵ Cf. G. W. Elderkin, *Problems in Periclean Buildings*, pp. 1-13.

the colonnade 13-10-12 at 14, although this required an isolated and otherwise meaningless pier at 15. He wanted to have his building look its best from point 11, for people coming up the ramp would instinctively pause for a good look at the building when they reached the main axis of the building—that is, when they arrived at 11. If line 9-10-11 be prolonged, it meets the euthynteria of the Nike Temple at 16, Figure 3. Here, too, is a place from which the Propylaea could be well seen, this time by people who had plenty of time to gaze. Naturally, Mnesicles would wish his building to look



Fig. 9. "Picture Gallery" from the Nike Bastion

well from such a vantage place. Figure 9 gives the reader an idea of how the door and windows look from this point. Now let us suppose that the reader is standing at 16. If he will glance under his feet, he will find an ancient scratch on the pavement, put there to mark the station point—it is 3.42 m. from the west end of the euthynteria of the temple. The second feature is both practical and aesthetic in character. The practical advantage was the following: We have just seen that sight-line 10-11, Figure 3, determined how far eastward door 9 should be pushed. The reader will note that the distance 17-18 is bigger than the intercolumniations 13 and 10, and still bigger than the space 12.²⁶ The "Picture Gallery" was visited by many people. The shifting of the door eastward and the spreading of the space 17-18 undoubtedly eased the circulation from the central portion of the Propylaea into the "Picture Gallery."

²⁶ The distance from 17 to 18, Fig. 3, is 1.788 m., while the width of the intercolumniation at 13 is 1.457. The difference is 0.331 m. Perhaps the difference was intended to be one Attic foot, namely, 0.328 m.

The same principle holds good for the space 19—increasing the width of the opening aided the circulation to the Nike bastion. The aesthetic advantage was the following. By increasing openings 17-18 and 19 the western arrises of columns 18 and 19 were brought into line with the western arrises of the six columns of the central portion of the Propylaea (cf. Fig. 3): the operation greatly improved the general appearance of the western façade of the Propylaea.

At 20, Figure 3, we find a cutting in the anta for the coping of the wall which bounded the Precinct of the Graces on the west. The top of the cutting is 2.17 m. above the floor of the Propylaea, or 2.56 m. above the pavement of the sanctuary itself. The cutting measures 0.11 m. in height, 0.43 m. in width and 0.11 m. in depth. The wall has the same orientation as that of the Propylaea but not that of the wall it replaced: it must, on that account, be considered a Mnesiclean adjustment (cf. Figs. 4 and 7). Moreover, the new wall caused little change in the area of the space enclosed. The precinct does not seem to have been tremendously important—the rites, secret in character, were only occasionally performed.²⁷

The area at 15, Figure 7, was intended to be covered, but there is no proof that a roof was actually constructed over it. The space was probably a service court with a reservoir beneath it.²⁸ The level of the area seems to have been approximately flush with the level of the ground at 16, Figure 7, an arrangement which would facilitate the storing and removing of heavy materials such as scaffolding, hoisting machines, chains and the like. There must have been storage space somewhere on the Acropolis for such materials while not in use. It is unthinkable that unsightly objects would be left lying about on the Acropolis where visitors and worshippers could see them.

If we compare Figures 2, 4 and 7, we note that the plans greatly differ. By the time of Pericles order and beauty have supplanted the original idea of defense; Athenian civilization has fully blossomed.

4. 174 B.C. (Fig. 10)

The so-called "Monument of Agrippa" makes its appearance in 174 B.C., for it bears a partially effaced inscription of that date on its western face (Fig. 3, 21 and Fig. 10, 1).²⁹ The monument is parallel to the bottom course of the foundation of the "Picture Gallery" (cf. Fig. 3). An important factor determining the orientation of the monument may have been the terraces between it and the Nike bastion, for the monument and the terraces had the same orientation (cf. Fig. 3). The visible portion of the monument, as has been said, was made of a blue-gray Hymettian

²⁷ Harrison and Verrall, *Myth. and Mon. of Ancient Athens*, pp. 373-385.

²⁸ For the fifth-century date of the wall of the east side of the area consult G. P. Stevens, *The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis of Athens*, p. 70 = *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 512.

²⁹ The date is according to the views of W. B. Dinsmoor (cf. *Les Guides Bleus, Grèce*, 1932, p. 30).

marble. The lower portion of the base supplies us with a good deal of valuable information.

North side of the base. Here, as already hinted on page 86, there is a euthynteria the under side of which is at level 135.87 m., the upper side at 136.20 m. The

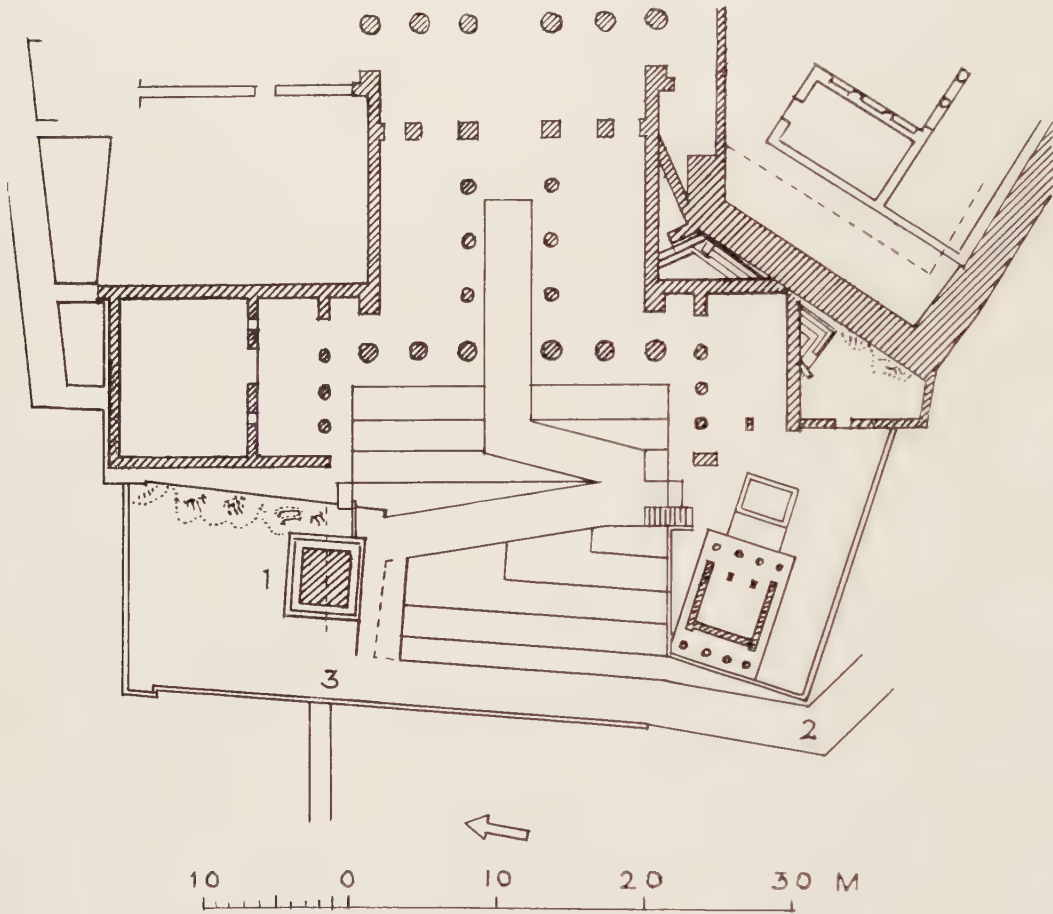


Fig. 10. Propylaea in 174 B. C.: Plan

masonry above the euthynteria has a drafted band on its right and left edges and a corresponding band immediately above the euthynteria itself. The euthynteria projects *ca.* 0.12 m. from the drafted bands. A mediaeval wall has hidden the masonry beneath the euthynteria until recently. The Greek archaeological authorities kindly permitted the writer to remove enough of the mediaeval wall to establish the fact that the entire foundation beneath the euthynteria is built of conglomerate. As conglomerate is used for foundations *under ground*, it is evident that, when the monument was put up, there was a terrace which hid the conglomerate, and, further, that the

level of the terrace was somewhere between 135.87 m. and 136.20 m. Level 136.06 is the level required at the top of the first portion of the ramp—portion 2-3, Figure 10.

South side of the base. As already stated (cf. pp. 86-87), the conglomerate foundation was stepped to agree with the inclination of the ramp immediately to the south—only marble was visible from the side of the ramp. The base above the ramp was once adorned with votive offerings—probably stelae and tablets—for there are many dowel cuttings here, placed somewhat irregularly. On the other hand, there are no dowel cuttings on the remaining three sides of the monument. Some of the votive offerings may, of course, have been put in place many years after the monument was erected.

East side of the base. The fourth and fifth courses below the steps of the shaft of the pedestal are partly constructed of poros. From the beginning, then, the base had three different kinds of stone in it: Hymettian marble, conglomerate and poros—an unusual feature. The writer was permitted to excavate the south side of wall 22, Figure 3. There is no bond between the three top courses of the wall and the monument, but the fourth course runs under the monument, proof that the monument is of later date than the wall. Both the north and the south faces of wall 22 are rough, showing that they were originally intended to be hidden. There are traces at 24, Figure 3, of a stone parapet, 0.08 m. wide. It rose to the lower torus of the set of moldings at the bottom of the shaft of the monument. The existence of the parapet indicates that the small terrace to the north of it—at 9, Figure 7—was no longer functioning when the parapet was put up. The “Monument of Agrippa” was erected over the western part of the small terrace. This meant the demolition, in any case, of the western wall of the terrace. Little of the terrace would then be left; moreover the monument would largely cut off the fine view from the terrace. Furthermore, the larger terrace at 4, Figure 7, deprived the small terrace of much of its usefulness. For these reasons it seems probable that the builders of the monument removed the whole of the small terrace.

West side of the base. The lowest courses were rebuilt in modern times (1865 and 1914), but it is highly probable that the restorers reproduced the general lines of the original base. There is a notable peculiarity in the bottom courses—they are not parallel to the courses in the upper part of the base (cf. Fig. 3). Moreover, the lowest courses project just far enough to the south to touch the base courses of wall 3-4 (cf. Fig. 3, 23). From all the above data, then, we gather that the “Monument of Agrippa” was set up parallel to the bottom course of the foundation of the “Picture Gallery” and with the orientation of the terraces between the monument and the Nike bastion, and that the monument straddled wall 22-4, and was laid against wall 3-4.

The “Monument of Agrippa” encroached somewhat upon the ramp. Figure 10 illustrates the small adjustment which would be required to meet the new condition—

the ramp is shown slightly pushed to the south. Steps about 0.15 m. high may also have been employed to help the adjustment.

The "Monument of Agrippa" was deemed sufficiently important in antiquity for its axis to be scratched on the pavement of the Nike bastion (Fig. 3, 25). The scratch occurs at a distance of 3.065 m. from the west end of the euthynteria of the Nike Temple. This is a second indication that the area of the Nike bastion north of the temple was a place of vantage where people would be sure to gather.

It is difficult to say whether the "Monument of Agrippa" enhanced the approach to the Acropolis or detracted from it. By the time the monument was set up undoubtedly many others had already been erected in its immediate neighborhood—under such conditions the monument would not look so isolated and so conspicuous as it does today. But even today its very mass in a way balances that of the Nike bastion about the axis of the Propylaea. We must remember that in 174 B.C. good building traditions in Athens had not entirely disappeared.

5. A.D. 50³⁰ (Fig. 11)

In the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41 to 54) Mnesicles' zigzag ramp was replaced by a monumental staircase for which there is ample evidence (Fig. 11).

An entrance for pedestrians was made on the axis of the Propylaea, at 1, Figure 11, but its disposition is unknown, as constructions of later date completely destroyed or buried all traces of the original arrangement. We may be fairly certain, however, that the Roman gate was an important one. The reason for arriving at this conclusion is as follows. Walls 2 and 3 have inclined courses, the inclination being as much as 25½%. An earthquake of the intensity to which Greece is not infrequently subjected would tend to make the courses of the walls slide downward to the west. Thus we are led to imagine a mass of masonry (dating even from the time of Pericles), such as a tower, for example, at the foot of each inclined wall. We have, then, a central passageway flanked by massive constructions, the whole occupying the width of the monumental stair. The ensemble thus acquires considerable architectural importance.

Sacrificial animals used the old approach at 4, Figure 11, and were taken up a central inclined plane especially designed for them (cf. Fig. 11).

The monumental staircase was the cause of an alteration in the small stair leading to the Nike bastion (cf. Figs. 7, 3 and 11, 5).

From an artistic point of view we may question the appropriateness of a monumental staircase, for the informality of the Mnesiclean approach must have made an exceedingly pleasing contrast to the formality of the building itself,—a contrast which is lacking in the Roman scheme.

³⁰ Discussions of mediaeval and later transformations of the Propylaea fall outside the scope of the present article. They are being undertaken by John Travlos, a talented Greek architect connected with the staff of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

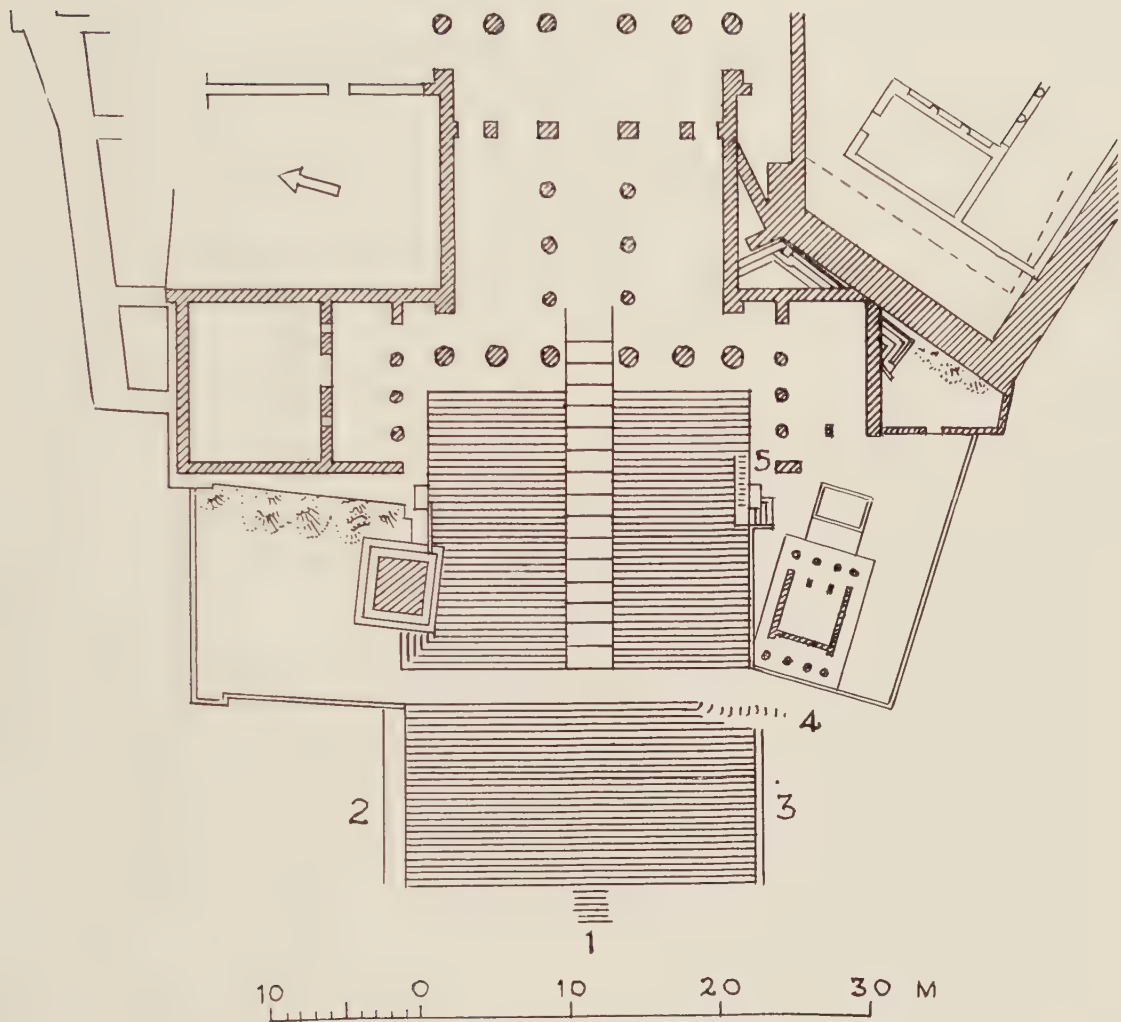


Fig. 11. Propylaea in A.D. 50: Plan

II. ERECHTHEUM

1. CECROPIUM (Figs. 12, 13, 14)

The location of the Cecropium—the place where Cecrops, a mythical king of Athens, was buried—is known to have been at the southwest corner of the Erechtheum (Fig. 12).³¹ The evidence at the site today is confined to the east and south sides of the precinct.

East side (Fig. 13). Here the proof is clear, that, when the Erechtheum was built, it was fitted against something older than itself—something so sacred that it

³¹ *I.G.*, I², 372.

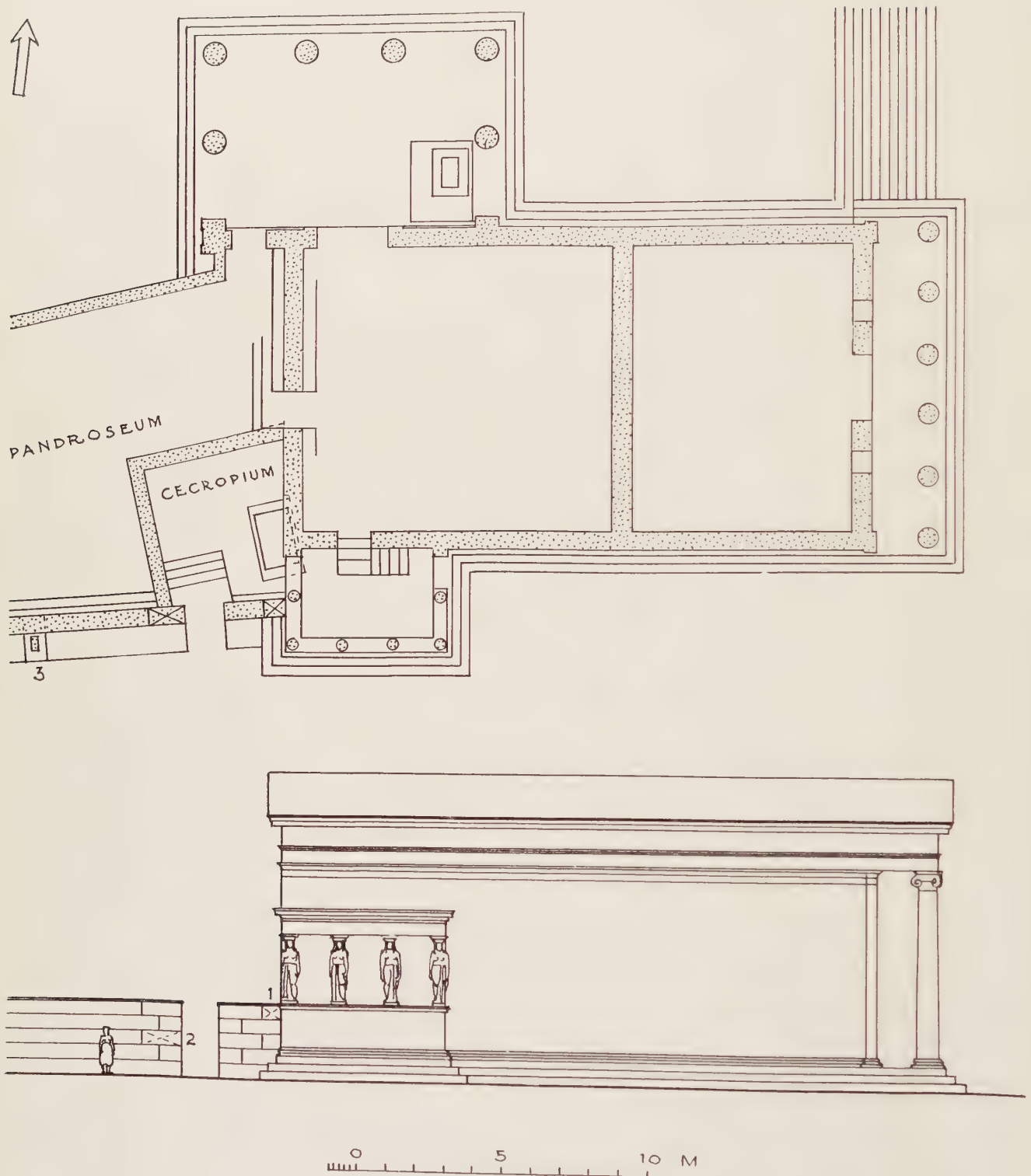


Fig. 12. Erechtheum, Plan and South Elevation: Restoration

could not be moved out of the way.³² The big three-course lintel (cf. Fig. 13) spans a niche which is sufficiently large to receive a side of the monument of the hero, but not deep enough to receive the entire monument (cf. Fig. 12). The face of the orthostate below 1-2, Figure 13, is roughly dressed and has a number of depressions which look as though they had been cut to fit against blocks of some kind. Above 1-2 the wall is well finished. This leads us to conclude that the floor of the Cecropium was at 1-2. This would leave a little more than 2 m. of fill between the Acropolis rock and 1-2 for the burial of the actual body of the hero. At 3 is a raised surface, which was

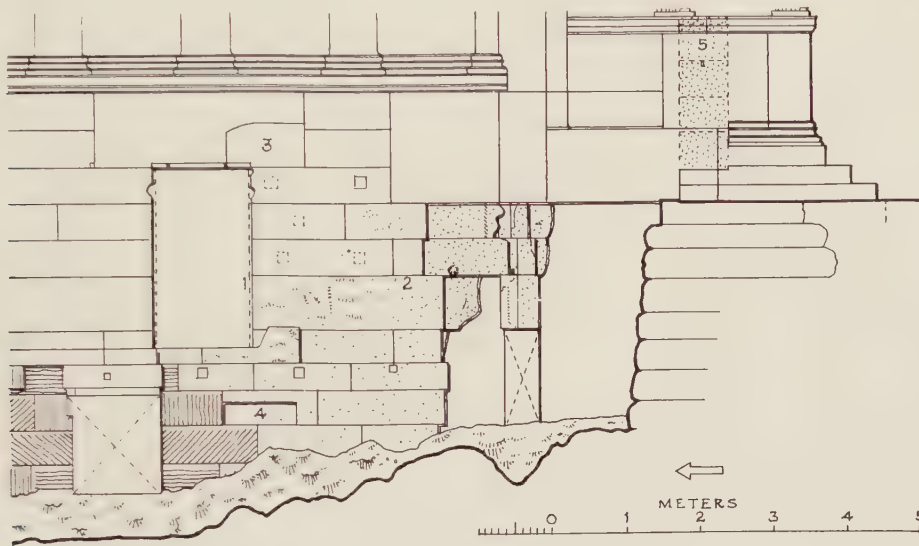


Fig. 13. Southwest Corner of the Erechtheum, Seen from the West:
Actual Condition

left when the final dressing was given to the outside face of the western wall of the Erechtheum. The block at 4 is cut to fit against a pre-existing block. Also, the door leading into the Erechtheum was enlarged 0.11 m., probably in church times—0.055 on each side. We may explain 3, 4, and the enlarging of the door in the following way. The raised surface at 3 gives the profile of the coping of the abutting wall, but only on the north side of the abutting wall; it was not thought necessary to carry the final finish of the west wall of the Erechtheum downward along the south face of the abutting wall, as this portion of the west wall of the Erechtheum could not be seen from the Pandroseum. Instead, the final finish was carried horizontally southward from the top of the coping and was stopped at the first opportunity, namely, at the first vertical joint encountered (cf. Fig. 13). From Figure 13 one might imagine that the coping was not well balanced over the wall beneath it. But we must

³² Paton and Stevens, *The Erechtheum*, pp. 127-137.

remember that originally the south jamb of the door was somewhat farther to the north. Furthermore, as the back of the niche under the big lintel is perpendicular to the north precinct wall of the Pandroseum, we are probably correct in making the abutting wall at 3-4 parallel to the north precinct wall of the Pandroseum, or, in other words, perpendicular to the back of the niche. Under this condition the abutting wall makes a considerable angle with the west wall of the Erechtheum; and, consequently,

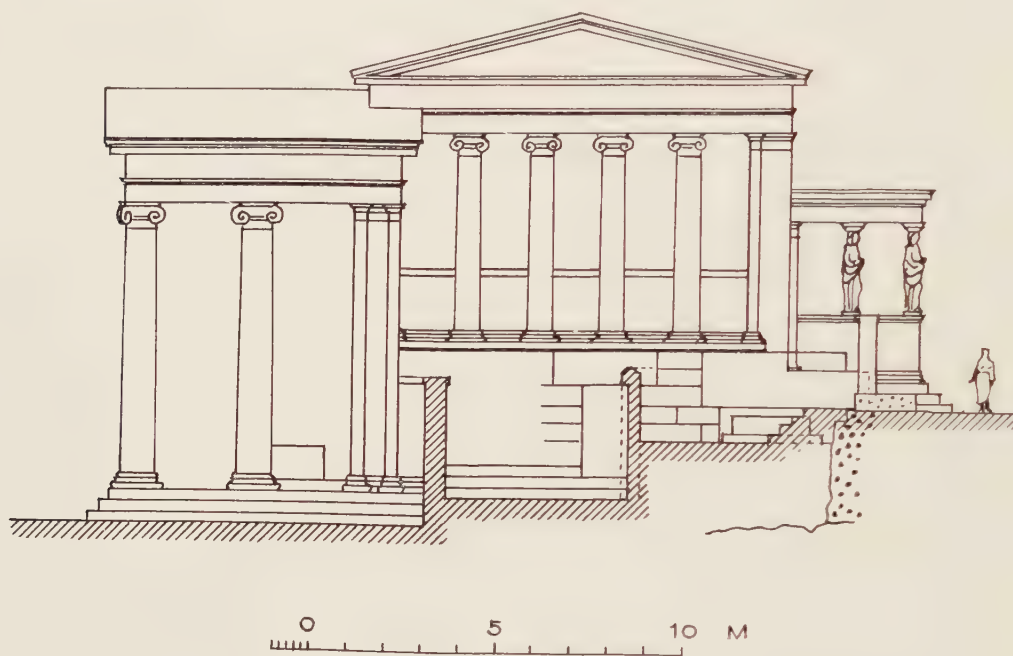


Fig. 14. West Elevation of the Erechtheum, Showing the Tomb of Cecrops:
Restoration

at no great distance from the Erechtheum the coping would have a full bearing upon the wall beneath it (cf. Figs. 12 and 14). Cutting 4, Figure 13, indicates the place where the foundation of the early wall abutted against the Erechtheum.

South side. At 5, Figure 13, are unmistakable traces of the southern wall of the precinct.³³ Two blocks of the wall can be located as shown at 1 and 2 in Figure 12, 1 with certainty and 2 with a fair degree of probability.³⁴ Just how far west the wall was carried cannot be determined. The last indication of it is at 3, Figure 12. Here is the only stylobate block still *in situ* of the Old Temple of Athena. On the top of this block is a trace of our wall, and, furthermore, there is a sunken area in the top of the block for a votive monument which was backed up against our wall. The sunken

³³ Paton and Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-134.

³⁴ For details of the two blocks consult Paton and Stevens, *op. cit.*, footnote on page 133.

area postdates the Old Temple of Athena, as a column of the temple stood directly over the sinkage.³⁵

With the data contained in the two preceding paragraphs we may attempt a restoration of the Cecropium (cf. Figs. 12 and 14).

2. THE PAVED AREA EAST OF THE NORTH PORTICO (Figs. 15-18)

At the time the Erechtheum was built, the area east of the North Portico of the temple was, as we shall see, flagged with thick slabs of Pentelic marble. The pavement rested upon a solid foundation of poros blocks (cf. Fig. 15).³⁶ As no other pavement in the vicinity of the Erechtheum was, so far as we know, constructed with such lavishness and care, we must attach to the area a special significance.

Figure 15 represents the present condition of the area. At "A," the steps along the foot of the northern wall of the temple turn north. And on the northern face of the podium of the East Portico of the temple are clear traces of other steps running north. There is no doubt that a flight of steps, starting at the podium, led up from the paved area to the level in front of the temple. How far north did this flight of steps run? At least as far north as the poros foundations extended. The northern face of the flagging stone at "B" is well finished. This lack of anathyrosis shows that the block had no block in contact with its northern face; that is, block "B" probably gives us an indication of the northern extent of the paved area. Note that the northern extent of the poros foundations of the paved area supports this supposition (cf. Fig. 15). As for the flagging stones along the south of the area, they are parallel to the steps and run under the steps the usual amount.³⁷ Moreover, they break joint regularly with the joints of the steps and the wall. All the southern flagging stones, with the exception of "C," have anathyrosis on their northern faces. The northern face of "C" is broken, and portions of it project *ca.* 0.085 m. to the northward of the other flagging stones. Perhaps the projection can be accounted for by supposing that there was a monument (an altar?) immediately north of "C"—some monument whose base did not extend as far south as the northern face of the other flagging stones. The above data concerning the present condition of the paved area are meager.

Let us now examine the Acropolis wall north of the flagged area (Fig. 16). The southern face of the wall, the face we are particularly interested in, is much weathered. And, to make matters worse, we find that the wall was restored a number of times.

³⁵ *Antike Denkmäler*, vol. I, 1891, pl. I, bottom figure.

There is another stylobate block lying near the one *in situ*. It has a cutting for a somewhat similar votive monument with its back against the precinct wall. The original position of the block cannot be determined.

³⁶ Paton and Stevens, *The Erechtheum*, Text, pp. 15-18 and pls. I, II, V and XIV; L. B. Holland, *A.J.A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 402-425.

³⁷ Paton and Stevens, *op. cit.*, Text, fig. 1.

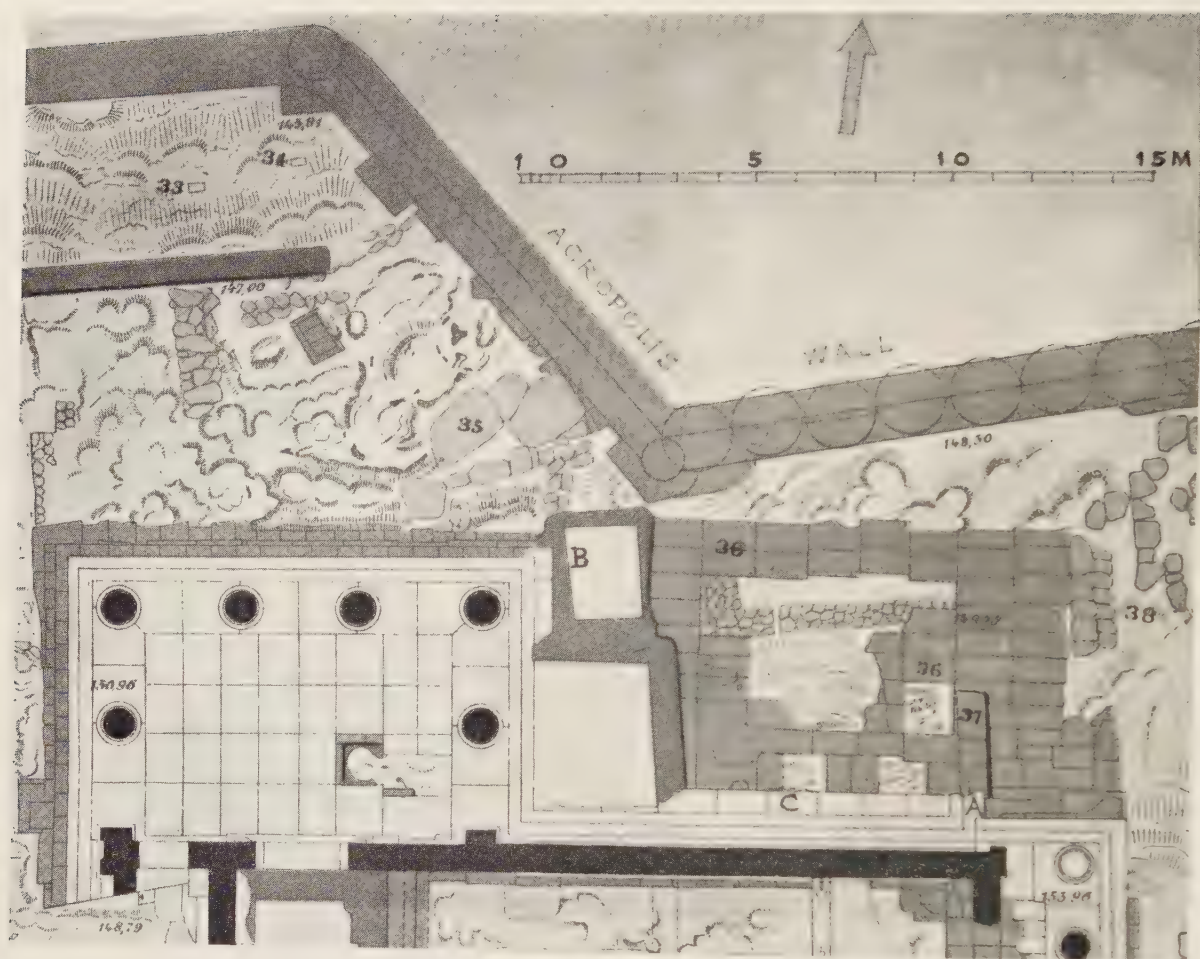


Fig. 15. The Paved Area East of the North Portico: Plan, Actual State

Kavvadias and Kawerau, *Ἡ ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως. Πίναξ Γ'*

From the drums upward the wall itself certainly dates from a time soon after the Persian sack of the Acropolis (480 B.C.), for the drums come from the Earlier Parthenon.³⁸ The unfluted column at "F" does not belong to the original wall—it dates from a Hellenistic or a Roman period. The block at "G" may be coeval with the column. But "G" is backed up with brickwork which can only be mediaeval or Turkish. And, finally, the whole wall was consolidated in modern times by the Greek Government.

In the following paragraph, we plan to discuss evidence derived only from the south side of the original wall.

³⁸ A. Tschira, "Die unfertigen Säulentronnmeln auf der Akropolis von Athen," *Jahrbuch*, LV, 1940, pp. 242-264.

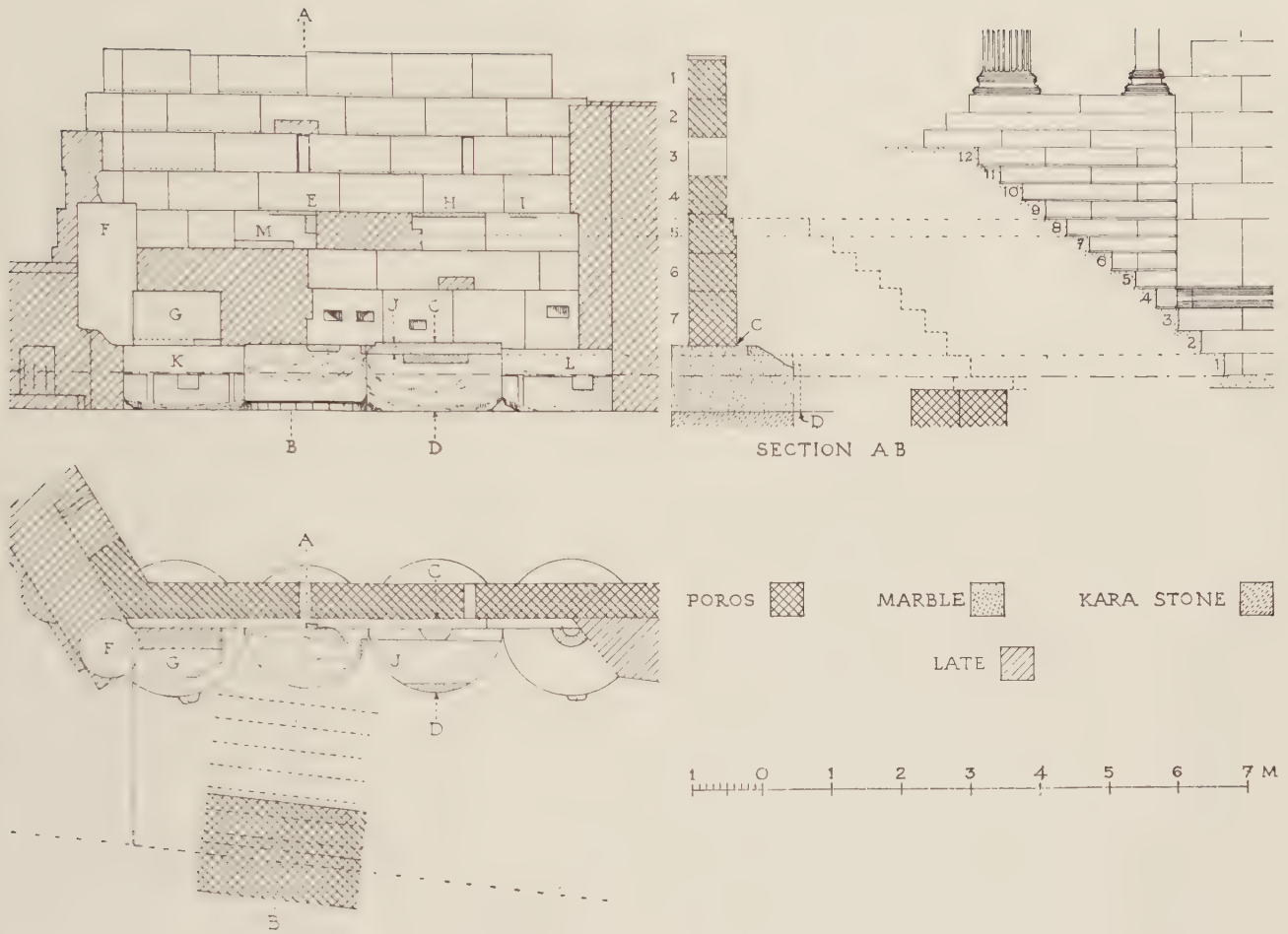


Fig. 16. Actual Condition of the Acropolis Wall North of the Paved Area: Plan, Elevation of South Face, and Section. Restoration of the North Face of the Podium of the East Portico

Upon close examination of the wall we find that:

- 1) There is no proof to show that a course of blocks rested upon course 1 (Fig. 16). The wall probably rose no higher than it does today.
- 2) Courses 1 to 4 inclusive have their southern faces dressed as exposed faces.
- 3) The small windows in course 3 are original, for the jambs are well dressed through the entire thickness of the wall.
- 4) Courses 5, 6 and 7 are thicker than the courses above, and their southern faces are not dressed as exposed faces—the faces were originally concealed from view.
- 5) The cutting at “E” is of exceptional importance.
 - a) It is of Greek workmanship.

b) Its height is equal to that of one of the upper steps of the flight of steps running northward from the podium of the East Portico (cf. steps 5 to 12 inclusive, Fig. 16).

c) It aligns accurately with the eighth riser of the flight of steps running northward from the podium (cf. Fig. 16). In order to make the alignment, the top of course 5 of the Acropolis wall had to be notched as shown in Figure 17. The notching is preserved for *ca.* 0.50 m. to the west of "E" (the notching may have extended even farther to the west); the notching also appears at "H" and "I" to the east of "E."

d) The northern face of cutting "E" is not parallel to the Acropolis wall; it is parallel to the Erechtheum.

e) The western face of cutting "E" is perpendicular to the Acropolis wall.

In other words, the step whose riser is numbered 8 in Figure 16 ran northward from the podium, and then westward, leaving a trace at "E."

6) The horizontal portion of the cutting at "J" aligns with the bottom of the second step of the flight of steps running northward from the podium (cf. Fig. 16); an indication that a course corresponding to that second step was carried northward as far as the Acropolis wall.

7) The dressing of the marble drums at "K" and "L" shows that the builder of the flagged area considered that the portions of the drums below the floor of the flagged area could be left rough. This means that a course corresponding to the lowest step of the big flight of steps was carried to the north wall, and then westward to cover "K."

Now we are ready to attempt a reconstruction of what surrounded the paved area. To the west and south of the area we have a flight of three steps—the steps are actually there. Along the east of the area ran a flight of twelve steps extending northward at least as far as the poros foundations went; the courses corresponding to steps 1, 2 and 8 touched the Acropolis wall for a considerable distance. Exactly what happened on the northern side of the paved area is difficult to say, but, aided by the evidence in the last paragraph, we may make a shrewd guess: There was a flight of eight steps parallel to the Erechtheum and aligning with the eight bottom steps on the east side of the paved area (cf. Fig. 16). It seems probable, also, that the first riser of the steps against the northern wall was in line with the riser of the bottom northern step of the North Portico, for in that case the first step of the flight against the Acropolis wall not only had a proper poros foundation throughout its length, but

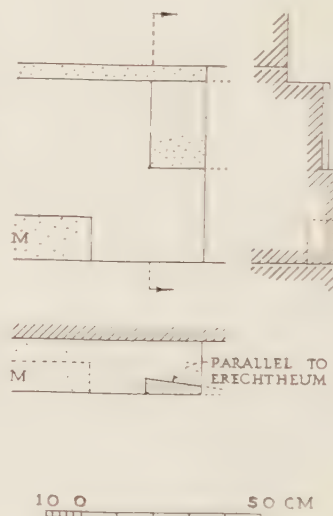


Fig. 17. The Cutting at "E."
Fig. 16, in Detail

also was so placed as to give the same width to the north and south border stones of the paved area (cf. Fig. 18). When we make a drawing which includes all the evidence, we find that there was a wedge-shaped platform against the Acropolis wall eight risers above the paved area (cf. Fig. 18), running at least 0.50 m. to the west

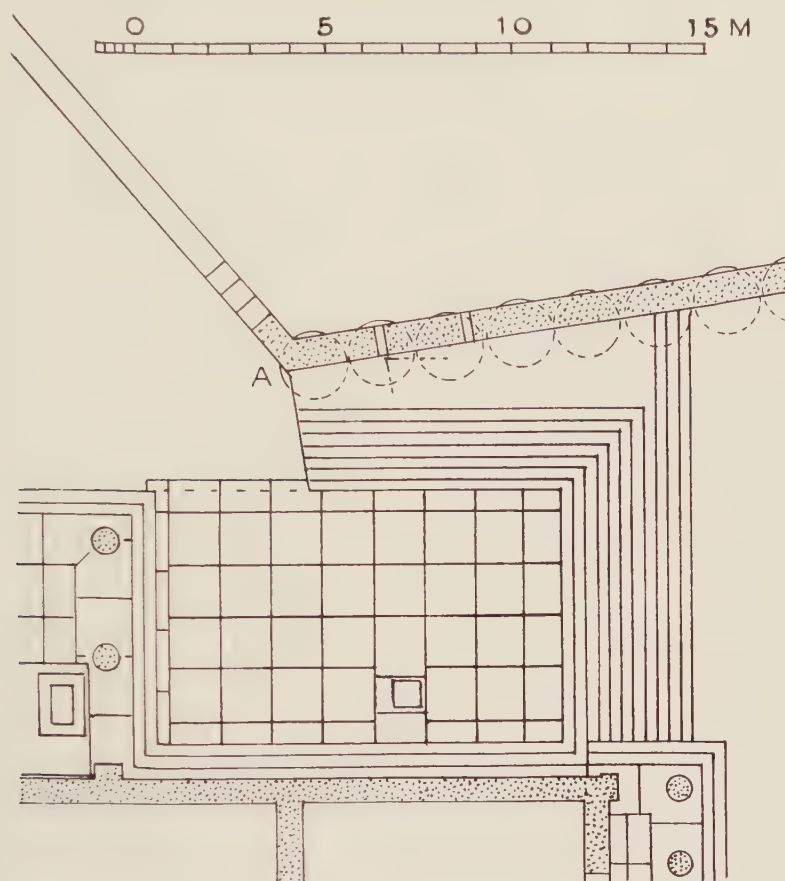


Fig. 18. Restored Plan of the Paved Area

of cutting "E" (Fig. 16). The fact that the western face of cutting "E" is perpendicular to the Acropolis wall seems to indicate that the western face of the steps against the Acropolis wall was perpendicular to the Acropolis wall. If this was so, then the flight of steps probably ran as far west as the angle where the Acropolis wall turns to the northwest (cf. A, Fig. 18).³⁹ In spite of the meagerness of the evidence, we believe that the reconstruction is fairly accurate.

³⁹ The cutting at "M," Figs. 16 and 17, does not seem to belong to the original scheme. Block "G," Fig. 16, has a cutting along its lower southeast edge, which may be contemporary with the cutting at "M."

It is tempting to try to find a place in the restoration for the marble thrones inscribed with the names of the priests who officiated at certain altars within the Erechtheum.⁴⁰ The thrones may have been placed on the eastern side of the flagged area, near the pavement in the traditional Greek manner. It is equally likely, if not more likely, that the thrones were placed on the northern side of the area, for here there is some evidence of fairly early date for a special architectural treatment of the steps (cf. note 39). Unfortunately there is not enough proof to assign the thrones definitely to the area.



Fig. 19. Frontal View of the Porch of the Maidens (Caryatids)

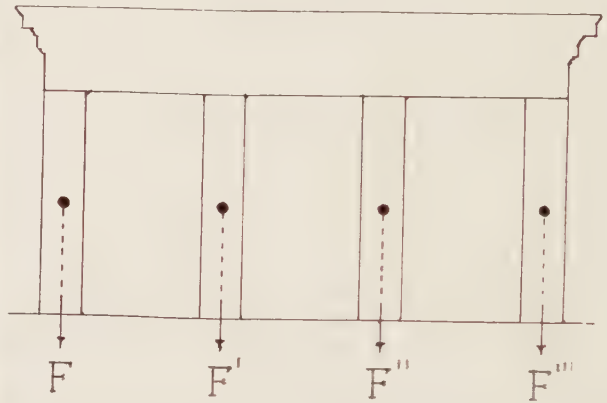


Fig. 20. Schematic Representation of the Frontal View of the Porch of the Maidens; Equal Weight on Both Feet of the Maidens

The significance of the paved area? There are examples of somewhat similar areas at both Knossos and Phaestos, but we are not entirely sure what the areas were used for. And the same mystery envelops the Erechtheum area. The most likely answer to our question is that religious ceremonies (perhaps dating back to a remote antiquity) were performed on the site of the paved area certainly as late as the fifth century B.C., and possibly even later, with spectators using the steps so that all might see. (Cf. Elderkin, "Cults of the Erechtheion," *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 113-125.)

3. POSE OF THE CARYATIDS OF THE ERECHTHEUM⁴¹ (Figs. 19-25)

Did the artist, by posing the Caryatids as we see them today (Fig. 19), give greater or less stability to the portico than if he had posed them with the weight on the other foot? Look well at Figure 19.⁴² Do not the Caryatids, considered as sup-

⁴⁰ Paton and Stevens, *op. cit.*, Text, pp. 484-485.

⁴¹ There is an interesting article on the Caryatids of the Erechtheum by K. Ronczewski in the *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, pp. 174-183.

⁴² The Caryatid east of the southwest-angle Caryatid is a cement copy of the Caryatid in the British Museum. The one behind the Caryatid of the southeast corner is largely restored.

ports, seem to tip outward from the axis of the Porch? You will surely say that the Portico would look more stable if the maidens were posed on the other foot. Can this peculiar fact be explained? We believe that it can.

Let us suppose that instead of Caryatids we have rectangular piers (cf. Fig. 20). It is evident that Figure 20 schematically represents the relation between the weight of the maidens, F , F' , F'' , F''' , and the portico as a whole, *provided the Caryatids are posed with both feet carrying equally the weight of the body*. But this is not the pose of the maidens. The maidens to the west of the axis of the porch (including the maiden behind the angle maiden) carry their weight upon the right foot; the reverse is true for the maidens on the east side of the axis of the portico (cf. Fig. 19). When we throw our weight upon the right foot, for example, the weight of our body is transmitted to what we are standing upon chiefly through the right foot—the weight of our body is no longer transmitted symmetrically about both feet. This point is illustrated for a Caryatid in Figure 21 where we suppose that the vertical black line passes through the center of gravity of the maiden. However, the eccentricity of the transmission is not excessive. Figure 21, in addition, shows that the resultant pressure upon the capital of each maiden from the weight of the marblework above acts vertically downward through the axis of the capital and is, like the weight of the maiden, eccentrically transmitted to the plinth of the maiden. We have, then, two eccentric loads upon the plinth, one caused by the weight of the maiden, the other by the weight of the marblework above the capital. It will suffice to show that the eccentric loading caused by the weights of the maidens made the portico less stable than if the loads had been as shown in Figure 20, for, if this point can be established, it will be obvious that the loads from the stonework above the capitals only add to the instability of the portico.

To return to a simplified portico of piers: Figure 22 represents the unsymmetrical transmission of the weights of the piers to the podium for the case of poses like those of Figure 19 (the actual poses of the maidens). If this transmission is true for a portico of piers, it is equally true for a portico of maidens.

Now let us imagine that the poses of all the maidens are reversed. Figure 23 illustrates this condition. Figure 23 represents a more stable portico than Figure 22, because, in Figure 23, all the piers are inclined inward (as they rise from the podium) and they thus prop up—buttress—the portico. Their action is like that of the well-known inclined columns at the angles of the Parthenon, which certainly help to brace the colonnades against movements of the porticos due to earthquakes. The piers of Figure 22, on the other hand, have no such buttressing effect. Piers which tip outward (as they rise from what they rest on) contribute to the instability of a portico. Thus, if the poses had been reversed, the porch would have been more stable.

Why did the Greek artist who designed the portico select a pose which gave less stability to the portico than another pose which would have given more stability?

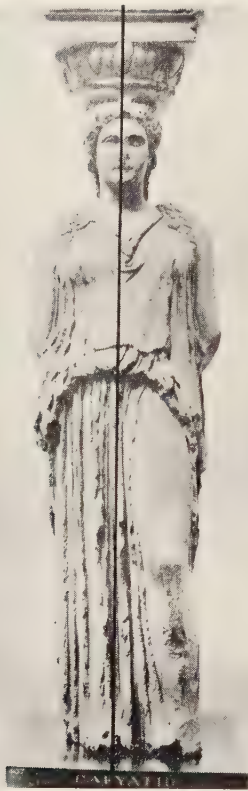


Fig. 21. Caryatid in the British Museum. The Inked Line is Vertical

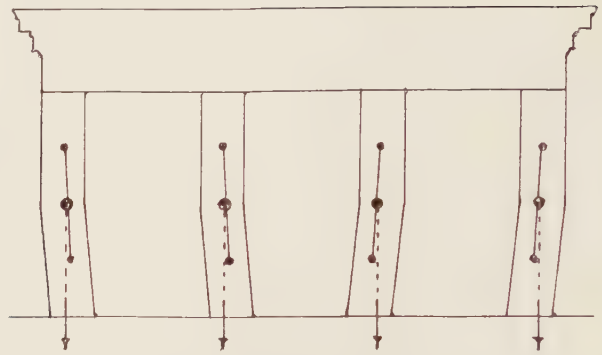


Fig. 22. Schematical Representation of the Frontal View of the Porch of the Maidens:
Actual Pose of the Maidens

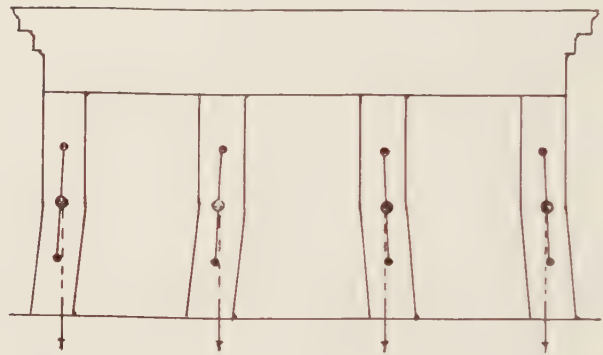


Fig. 23. Schematical Representation of the Frontal View of the Porch of the Maidens:
Pose of the Maidens Reversed

We have seen that the weight of the maidens was not transmitted excessively eccentrically to the plinths beneath them (cf. Fig. 21). Moreover, the weight of the marble architraves plus the weight of the marble ceiling was so great in relation to the combined weights of the six maidens, that the difference in pose made very little difference in the stability of the portico. In other words, the designer felt at liberty to select the pose he thought the more suitable *from artistic considerations*. We admit that the frontal view of the portico (cf. Fig. 19) is weak. But, as soon as the observer moves away from this one position, he begins to see the portico in its three dimensions. In general the ancient Greek artists appreciated the fact that the three dimensional view was more important than the frontal view—the Parthenon is an excellent example of this point.⁴³ In the case of the Porch of the Maidens, the view from the

⁴³ G. P. Stevens, *The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon* (*Hesperia*, Suppl. III), pp. 3-4.



Fig. 24. Three-Dimensional View of the Porch of the Maidens; Actual Pose of the Maidens

From *Arch. 4uz.*, 1922, fig. 2, p. 182



Fig. 25. Three-Dimensional View of the Porch of the Maidens; Pose of the Maidens Reversed

southeast, that is from the direction of the open space to the west of the great Altar of Athena, was especially important. And the view from the southwest was no less important, provided either that the Old Temple of Athena had actually been removed by the time the Erechtheum was designed, or that there was a general belief that it would eventually be removed. The artist in all likelihood said to himself "I must

make the portico look its best from about a 45° angle, seen from either southeast or southwest." By posing the Caryatids as he did, the three Caryatids at each angle of the portico had rigid straight legs on the outside of the Portico. You feel that the legs are full of vigor because they carry weight—are under strain. They appear more capable of holding up the marblework above than if the legs had been bent. Further, the tunics over the rigid legs are treated with vertical folds resembling the fluting of columns. Thus all the Caryatids, seen from the outside of the portico, somewhat resemble columns: they seem like sturdy architectural supports, in harmony with the other architectural members of the porch (cf. Fig. 24).

What would have happened if the artist had selected the other pose? The bent legs would have been on the outside of the portico, where everyone would have seen them well (Fig. 25). Bent legs look weak. The maidens could not, apparently, have carried the weight of the cornice and ceiling so easily as they seem to do with the pose the artist actually employed (cf. Figs. 24 and 25).

Are the laws of mechanics to overrule aesthetic considerations? This question has confronted the artist of every age. Provided aesthetic considerations outweigh mechanical considerations—the more they outweigh them the better—the true artist always has, and always will, cast his vote in favour of the aesthetic consideration.

GORHAM P. STEVENS

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
AT ATHENS

THE PEDESTAL OF THE ATHENA PROMACHOS

THE FOUNDATIONS of the base of the Athena Promachos statue which once stood on the Acropolis of Athens lie about forty meters to the east of the Propylaea and almost on the axis of that great building (Figure 1).¹



Fig. 1. The Athena Promachos

As the Promachos statue was erected to commemorate the battle of Marathon, or possibly the Persian Wars in general, it is likely that the dedicatory inscription referred to this fact and that trophies won in the battles against the Persians were

¹ When E. Beulé wrote his great book *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, he reported (II¹, p. 307) as an already established fact the assignment of certain foundations and rock cuttings to the pedestal of the Promachos monument; compare also W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², pp. 234-235; G. Lippold, *R.E.*, s.v. Pheidias, cols. 1924-1925; C. Picard, *Manuel d'Archéologie Grecque*, II, pp. 338-342. W. B. Dinsmoor assigned (*A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, p. 128, fig. 1) a fragment of an ovolo moulding to the capping course of the pedestal; compare also L. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, p. 19 and plates C, 2, and IX, 6; G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 495, note 3, and 496, fig. 46. G. P. Stevens examined in detail the architectural remains (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 491-499, and figs. 42-49), and the present report is a continuation of his study based on the attribution by A. E. Raubitschek of two inscribed blocks to the lowest marble course of the pedestal (*A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 109); compare also *B.S.A.*, XL, 1943, p. 32; M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.*, LXII, 1942, p. 59, note 154.

arranged around the statue. The purpose of this joint report is to present the evidence for this statement.

Figure 2 shows the actual condition of the foundations of the base today. The following information can be deduced from the poros blocks and from the rock

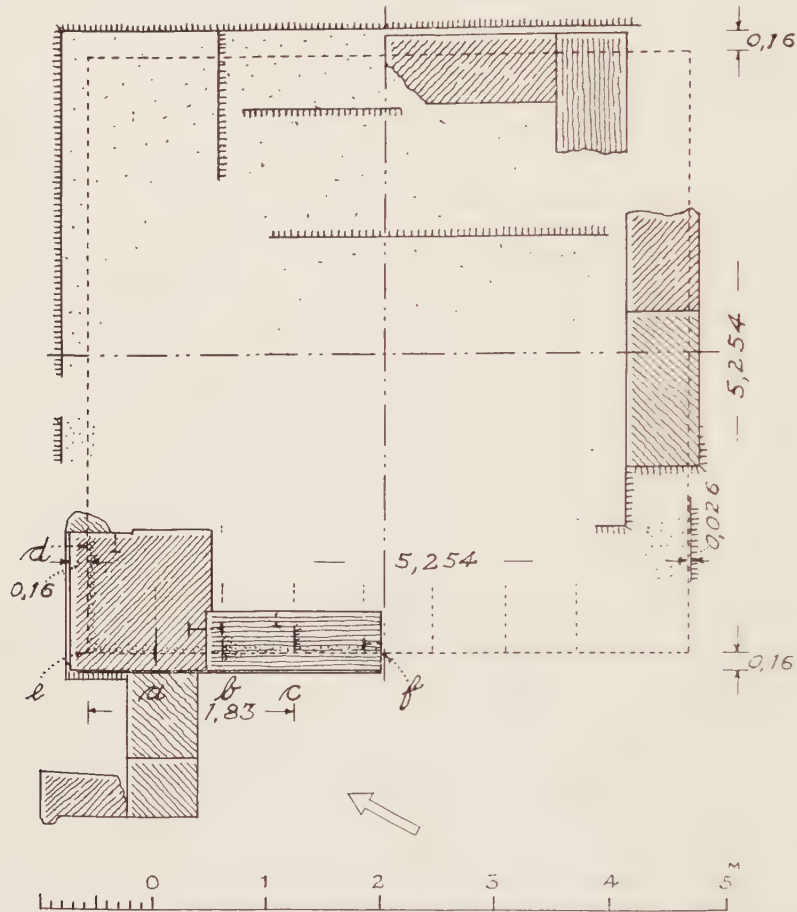


Fig. 2. Detailed Plan of the Base of the Promachos: Actual State

cuttings. At *a*, *b*, and *c* are traces of the positions of three joints of the course above the poros foundations. The blocks of this upper course were *ca.* 0.61 m. wide. At *d*, *e*, and *f* are traces of a weather line which indicates that the course above was set back *ca.* 0.16 m. from the edges of the poros foundations. From this set-back and from the rock cuttings near the southwest corner and on the east side of the base, the plan of the upper course can be shown to have been a square with a side of *ca.* 5.26 m. (almost exactly 16 Attic feet). There is no evidence preserved on the poros blocks indicating that the course above was doweled to the foundation. The clamps

of the foundations are of the double-T type common in the fifth century; they are 0.30 m. long and sealed with lead.

A reconstruction of the upper course would therefore require blocks of *ca.* 0.61 m. width which have no dowel cuttings on the under sides; they should, moreover, fill

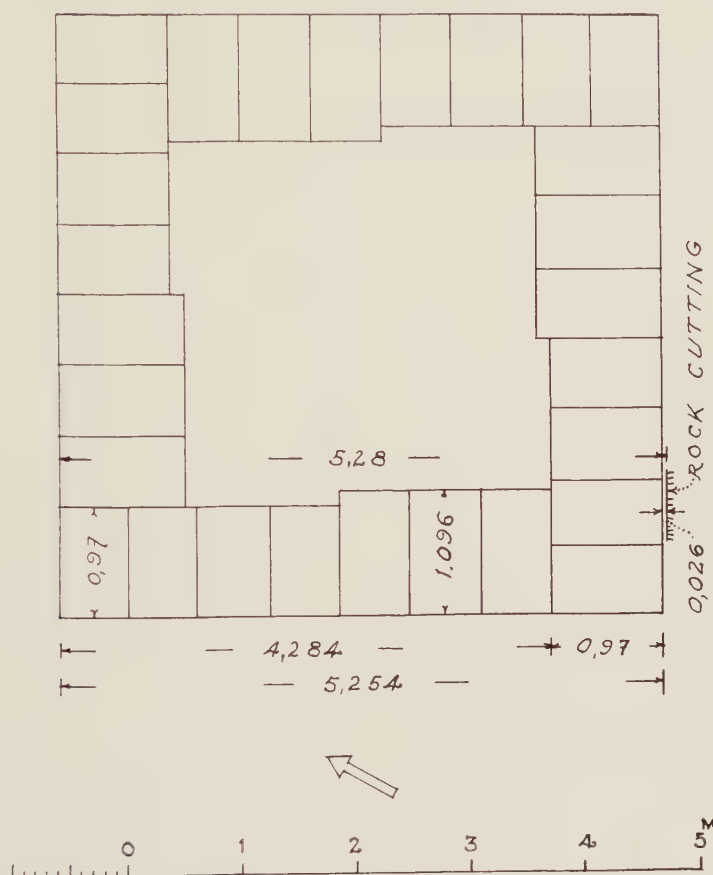


Fig. 3. Plan of the Platform of the Base of the Promachos: Restoration

the space of *ca.* 5.26 m., a distance which cannot easily be divided by 0.61 m., the width of the individual blocks (Figure 3).

Stevens assumed (see note 1) the existence of a platform surrounding the Promachos statue, because the poros foundations seemed too big for the statue. The attribution to the pedestal of three marble blocks strongly supports this assumption; moreover, we shall be tempted to suggest that this platform was used as a podium upon which trophies, and perhaps inscribed stelai, were exhibited.

Two of the three blocks in question were noticed by Beulé who reported (*op. cit.*, I¹, p. 321, note 3):

Au sud de ce vaste piédestal [west of the Parthenon] . . . il y en avait un autre qui devait occuper aussi une place considérable. Il n'en reste que deux assises en marbre pentélique, d'une grande dimension et qui cependant ne contiennent que trois lettres sur leur face. Il faut dire que ces lettres, d'une forme archaïque, ont plus d'un décimètre de hauteur.

More than twenty years later, the two blocks were said to be in the north wing of the Propylaea. There they were examined by U. Koehler and subsequently published by A. Kirchhoff who stated (*I.G.*, I, 361): *Utramque ad idem monumentum pertinere e pluribus tabulis iuxta collocatis compositum manifestum est*. It may be doubted, however, whether the blocks were ever brought into the Pinakothek because another twenty years later H. G. Lolling reported (*Κατάλογος*, no. 307): *Κεῖνται νῦν δυτικῶς τοῦ Παρθενῶνος*. In contrast to Beulé and Koehler, Lolling erroneously claimed that the blocks were of Parian marble. He also assumed that the two slabs were part of a large pedestal, and he observed that the lateral faces and the backs show anathyrosis, and that there are two deep dowel holes on top of each block, one behind the other. He suggested a restoration for the inscription on block A [*ἀν*]έθε[*κεν*]; this block, incidentally, was also mentioned by B. Tamaro (*Annuario*, IV/V, 1921/22, no. 74). The two blocks, here called A and B, are now lying about half way between the west façade of the Parthenon and the sanctuary of Artemis; it therefore does not seem likely that they have been moved much since Beulé first noticed them.

The two cuttings on top of A (Figure 4) seem suitable for the ends of posts or for some kind of big dowels. There are no dowel holes on the bottom. The inscribed face as well as all the other vertical faces is carefully picked within a frame of narrow smooth margins. This dressing, erroneously called anathyrosis by Lolling, is employed on several monuments dating from the first quarter of the fifth century,² but it undoubtedly was never employed on surfaces which were to be in contact with others. The same kind of dressing, however, can be observed on unfinished building material of the period preceding the Persian Wars, and especially on the protective surface of the blocks and column drums of the older Parthenon.³ It hardly seems mere chance that the northern and western euthynterías of the older Parthenon were made of marble blocks which have the same height and show the same surface dressing as those of A and B.⁴

Block B (Figure 5) is in all respects similar to A. It is, however, somewhat longer and slightly higher than A. The slight variation in height may be significant because the two blocks increase in thickness towards the right, and B which, according to its inscription, is to be placed further to the right than A, is the thicker of the two

² See J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 484; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 359, no. 2; A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 163, note 7; *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 57, fig. 3.

³ See B. H. Hill, *A.J.A.*, XVI, 1912, p. 544, fig. 11; A. Tschira, *Jahrbuch*, LV, 1940, pp. 250 and 253, fig. 4.

⁴ As a matter of fact, the heights of these euthynterías blocks vary between 0.269 m. and 0.30 m.; they were obviously intended to be one foot in height.

blocks; a similar increase, incidentally, is also found on C, the third block attributed to the monument. It may be suggested that this increase in height is not accidental but that a slight slope was discovered on the foundation after the marble blocks were set into place. In order to obtain a perfectly horizontal surface for the podium, the marble slabs were dressed slightly wedge shaped.⁵

Stevens attributes a third block, C, to the same monument (Figure 6); this block



Fig. 4. Block A



Fig. 5. Block B

now lies north of the Propylaea near the base with the inscription *I.G.*, I², 606. Instead of inscription, the narrower face of the block shows traces of a boss; it cannot belong to the back of one of the inscribed blocks because in that case its thickness would increase in the wrong direction. The presence of two relatively small dowel holes, rather than the large ones on A and B, may indicate that C is part of a statue base of which only the right part is preserved; the two dowel holes would in that case belong to the left foot of the statue.

When the joints marked *a*, *b*, and *c* (Figure 2) are spaced across the west side of the foundations, it appears that the jointing of the course was not symmetrical about the axis of the base (Figure 3); this fact also supports the assumption that the marble

⁵ It seems that the smooth margin on the upper front edge of A is narrower than on B which is thicker. This process was called *ἀπεργασία*; see L. D. Caskey, *The Erechtheum*, p. 334, note 1.

blocks were re-used building material. Figure 7 shows how blocks similar to A, B, and C might have been used in the platform construction.⁶

A few final remarks may be devoted to the inscription (Figure 7) and to the date of the whole monument. The three letters preserved on B (Figure 5) seem to belong to the preposition ἐκ which was followed by the genitive of the article τ[—]. Among public dedications (the size of both the letters and the blocks indicates the official character of the monument) this preposition is regularly used with reference to

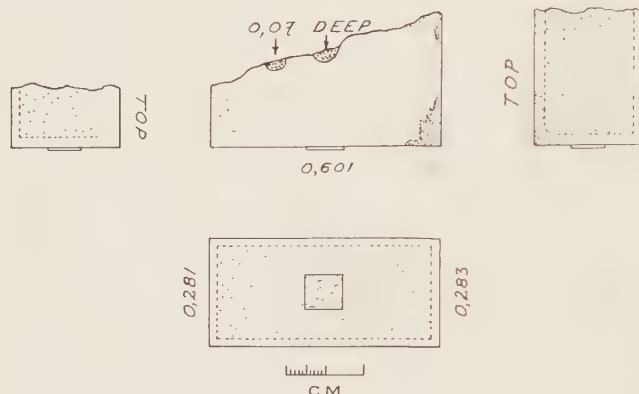


Fig. 6. Block C

victories.⁷ The restoration ἐκ τ[ὼν Μηδικῶν] is based on the use of the phrase τὰ Μηδικά by Herodotos (IX, 64, 2) and Thucydides (I, 14, 1) and on the occurrence of exactly the same phrase in Aristophanes (*Lysistrata*, line 653). According to this restoration, the Promachos statue, if indeed the inscribed blocks belong to this monument, was an Athenian thank-offering not only for the victory of Marathon but also for other victories won against the Persians prior to the erection of the statue.

The date of the erection of the Athena Promachos statue had to be deduced from various literary sources⁸ until W. B. Dinsmoor identified the building accounts of this monument.⁹ The nine (or more) annual building accounts were all engraved

⁶ The total distance across the base, 5.254 m., is obtained by adding to the width of seven average blocks (7×0.612 m.) the length of A (0.97 m.).

⁷ See T. L. Shear, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, pp. 140 ff.; G. M. A. Richter, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 200, note 10.

⁸ Demosthenes, XIX, 272; Pausanias, I, 28, 2; VII, 27, 2; IX, 4, 1. Compare E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, pp. 133 f.; G. Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*, III, 1, pp. 449 f.; C. Picard, *L'Acropole, Le plateau supérieur*, pp. 12 f.

⁹ *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, pp. 126 ff. Subsequent contributions were made by B. D. Meritt, *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 473 ff.; *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 362 ff.; E. Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 264 ff.; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 76; A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 12 ff.

at the same time, that is, when the statue was finished. They can be dated, according to the letter forms, *ca.* 455 B.C., possibly as early as 458 B.C. Thus the work on the statue may have begun about 465 B.C., that is just after Kimon's decisive victory over the Persians at the river Eurymedon.

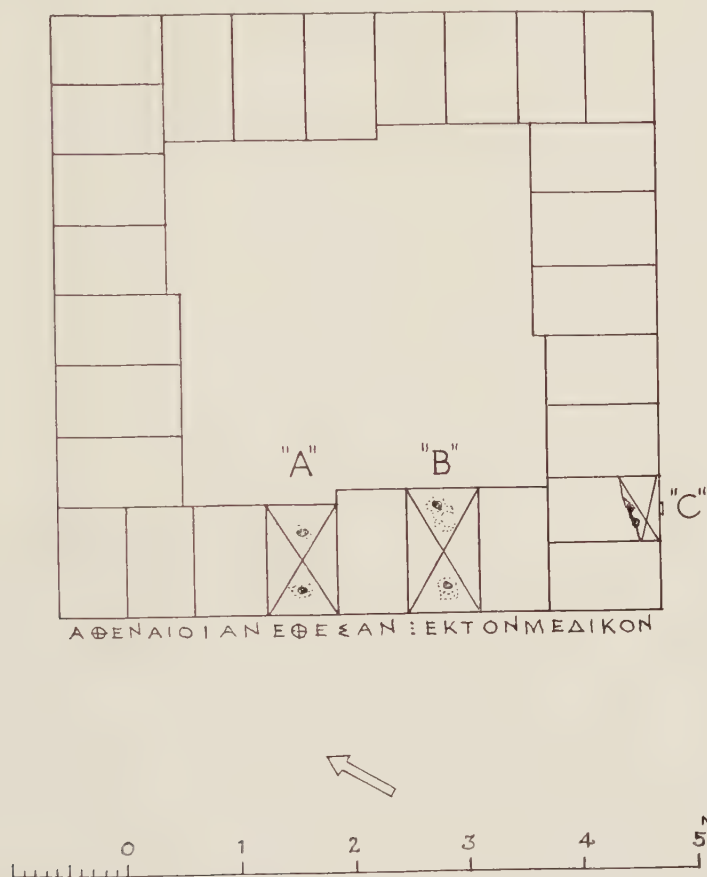


Fig. 7. Inscription on the Base of the Promachos:
Restoration by A. E. Raubitschek

The letter forms of the inscription on A and B (see Figures 4 and 5) support a date at the beginning of the second quarter of the fifth century. The only two characteristic letters preserved are epsilon and theta. The theta with upright cross is customary in archaic times but it occurs also after 480 B.C.¹⁰ The epsilon, however, with its short horizontal strokes belongs undoubtedly to the two decades following 480 B.C.¹¹ Both letter forms are found on another Athenian War Memorial, the in-

¹⁰ See A. E. Raubitschek, *B.S.A.*, XL, 1943, p. 32.

¹¹ See R. P. Austin, *Stoichedon*, p. 6, note *; E. Loewy, *Sitzungsber. Ak. Wien*, 216, Abh. 4, 1937, p. 14.

scription on the stylobate of the Athenian portico at Delphi.¹² Pheidias is said to have made the statue, and this artist was already active shortly after the battle of Salamis.

The top surfaces of A, B, and C clearly indicate that no other blocks rested upon them, and that certain metal or wooden objects, preferably poles, were fastened in the dowel cuttings. Stevens suggests that the poles may have supported trophies. It is reasonable to assume that the Promachos statue was surrounded by the spoils of the victories which the monument commemorated.

A restoration of the memorial may now be attempted (see Figure 1). Whatever rested upon the platform undoubtedly gave interest to the monument as a whole. This interest, added to the key position of the statue in the entrance court of the Acropolis, to its colossal size, and to the artistic skill of its artist, made the monument the dominating feature in the court.

YALE COLLEGE

A. E. RAUBITSCHKE

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
AT ATHENS

GORHAM P. STEVENS

¹² A good photograph of the inscription is published by Hoyningen-Huene, *Hellas*, p. 38; see also *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 3, fig. 7, facing p. 82. For the inscription, see M. N. Tod, *Greek Hist. Inscr.*, pp. 21 f., no. 18; W. B. Dinsmoor, *Studies in the History of Culture*, pp. 194 f.

AN INSCRIPTION FROM MYCENAE

A SMALL, thin slab of poros stone was found in 1933 by the *phylar* Aristoteles Tsetsekos on his property in the locality known as "Asprochoma"¹ near Mycenae. It is broken at the left and below, and it has been chipped in places at the right. The top and right side are smooth, while the back is rough-picked. The smooth front face bears the inscription shown in Fig. 1.

Maximum preserved height, 0.11 m.; maximum preserved width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.02 m.

Height of letters, 0.01-0.015 m.; spacing of lines, 0.01-0.015 m.

Nauplia Museum inventory number, 2907.

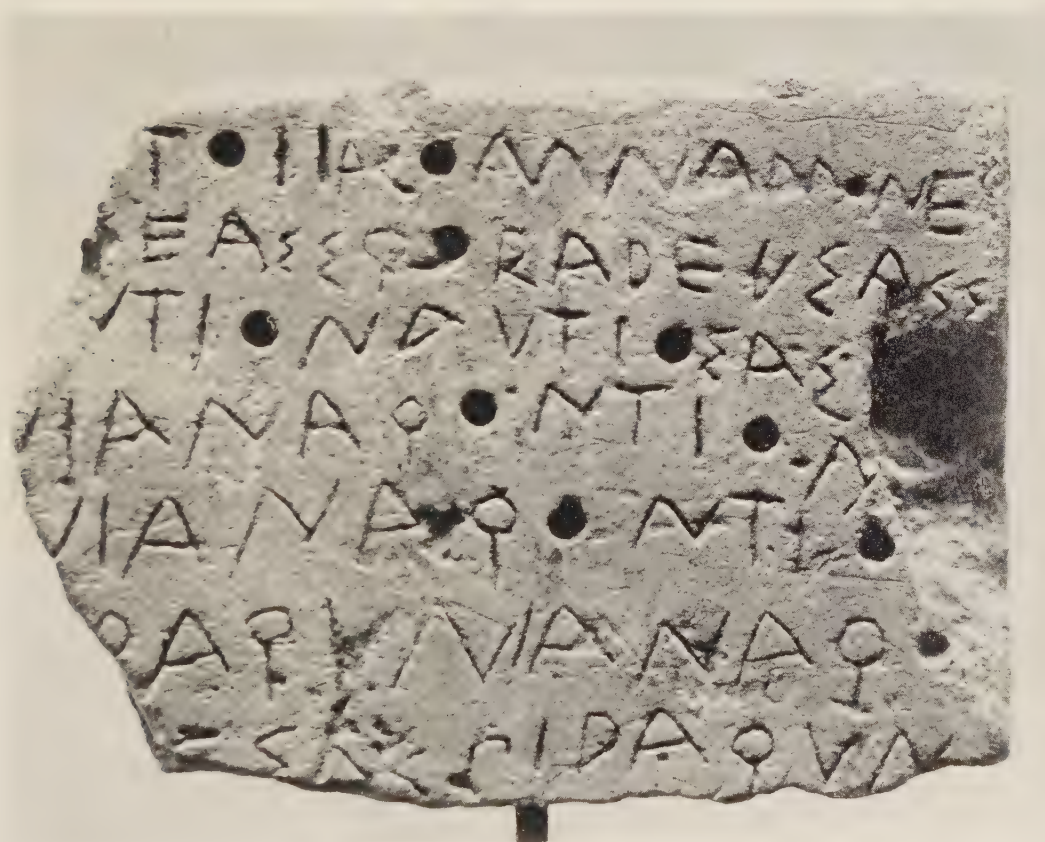


Fig. 1. Inscription from Mycenae

¹ Steffen, *Karten von Mykenai*, Blatt 1.

τὰδε ἀνέθεσαν ?] τοὶ Ἱερομνάμονες
 τοὶ ἐς Περσῇ· Ἀν[?]ῆας Σφοραδεὺς ἀσ<σ>
 πίδα, ὑνίαν, ἀφ[?]ντιον· Βύτιος Ἀσ...
^{ca. 6} ἀσπίδα, ὑν[?]νίαν, ἀφόντιον·^{ca. 7}
 5^{ca. 8} ἀσπίδα, ὑν[?]νίαν, ἀφόντιο[ν· .]
^{ca. 12} ἀσπίδα, ὑνίαν, ἀφ[?]ν
 τιον·^{ca. 13}]ες ἀσπίδα, ὑνν[?]ί
 [αν, ἀφόντιον· —————]

It is not possible to determine how many lines the inscription originally had, because, as already stated, the stone is broken away below. There are now preserved on the stone the right-hand parts of seven lines, each of which originally had approximately 27-29 letters, as can be deduced from line 3 in which the number of missing letters can be fixed with relative certainty at 13, thus giving a line of 29 letters.

The shapes of the letters allow us to date the inscription in the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. (and in any case before 468 B.C., the year in which Mycenae was destroyed), that is, contemporary with or slightly earlier than *I.G.*, IV, 517 (from the Heraeum) with which it has the following characteristics in common: M and N with legs of approximately equal length, the letter V, and finally A with widely spreading legs and with the cross-bar placed more than half way down. It is, however, later than *I.G.*, IV, 493 (from Mycenae), which dates from the end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century B.C., and in which the right leg of the M and the N are shorter than the other legs and the A has its legs closer together as in the earlier inscriptions of the Argolid.

A peculiarity of our inscription is the shape of the omicron. Instead of simply indicating the outline of the circle, the entire center is cut out. This is the only example from the Argolid of this kind of omicron.

Line 1. The restoration of the first part of this line is difficult. We should expect to find here the reason for the listing of the weapons. It is certainly not a case of listing weapons which are being handed over by one Hieromnemon to another, for in such an event the form would have been different. In other words, a restoration such as *παρέλαβον*] τοὶ Ἱερομνάμονες... is excluded because the same list of weapons is repeated under each Hieromnemon, and only if we assume that they represent an equal number of successive years could this interpretation be correct, and even then they should not all have been written on the same stone. And were no new weapons dedicated in the course of the years? It seems more probable that here, as in *Jahreshefte*, 1911, Beiblatt, p. 141, and *I.G.*, IV, 517, we have to do with votive offerings of the Hieromnemones. There they dedicate as a group, whereas in our inscription each one dedicates the same things separately to the deity or hero to whose worship they were devoted.

Why, however, do the Hieromnemones dedicate the weapons? Their office has no very close connection with military matters, and the first thought that occurs to one is that we perhaps have to do with booty which they are dedicating to the gods, a circumstance which is very common in antiquity. It would be very rash to attempt to carry this line of thought further and try to connect these dedications with victories won by the people of Mycenae. Their only known victories at this period are those over the Persians which they shared with the rest of the Greeks, and we know that they took part in the battles of Thermopylae and Plataea ² as an independent city. It seems better, however, to interpret it in the light of a passage in Polyaeus, *Strategica*, III, 8. According to this, at the time when Archinus was tyrant in Argos the old weapons were dedicated to the gods after new ones had been issued by the city, “καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἦν τοῖς Ἀργείοις δεδογμένον.” Perhaps this was an old custom in the Argolid, and if so it may be that our inscription should be connected with it.

Ἀνέθεσαν]: I have restored this form rather than the shorter ἀνέθεν because approximately 12 letters are required to fill the vacant space.

Ἱερομνάμονες: There is no aspirate. This is clearly not a stonecutter's error since we find the word written in the same way in other contemporary or earlier inscriptions of the Argolid. See *I.G.*, IV, 493, and 517, line 3: *Jahreshefte*, 1911, Beiblatt, p. 141.

Line 2. Τοὺς Περσῆ?]: I have restored this from the inscription *I.G.*, IV, 493, from Mycenae. There, as in our inscription, the Hieromnemones appear as more than a single person, and since we do not know of any other Hieromnemones from Mycenae, the proposed restoration may stand. It is unlikely, however, that these Hieromnemones can be the same as those mentioned in inscriptions from the Heraeum ³ because the latter are always four in number and are chosen from the three Dorian tribes and the fourth tribe Hyrnathia, whereas in our inscription the names of at least five Hieromnemones appear belonging to divisions smaller than the phyle (phratry?). It may be noted that the stone seems to have been found *in situ*. One can see on the spot foundations made of large, solid blocks belonging to a building with which our inscription was probably connected. Further, our inscription belongs to a period when Mycenae could have had influence over the Heraeum, but Argos could not have had influence over Mycenae. It is the period after the disaster suffered by the Argives at Sepeia at the end of the sixth century B.C. when the city's power was severely crippled.

Δυ]φέας or Νι]φέας.

Σφοραδεύς. The name of one of the political (?) subdivisions of the Mycenaeans.⁴

² Herodotus, IX, 28, 4, and 31, 3: *Syll.*³, 31, line 19.

³ *I.G.*, IV, 517, 516, 521, line 6: *Jahreshefte*, 1911, Beiblatt, p. 141, no. 11.

⁴ Unfortunately, the name of only one phratry (?) has been preserved; of another (line 3) we have the first letters, and of a third (line 7) we have the last letters. The name of another

It seems to be derived from the plant of the same name, *σκόροδον*, which was called *σκόραδον* in the Doric dialect. Compare *σκοραδᾶν* (genitive plural) in *Docum. Ant. dell' Africa Italiana*, I, 1933, p. 139, no. 40, line 22 (= *S.E.G.*, IX [1938], p. 43). On the derivation of the names of the clans in the Argolid, see M. Guarducci, *Mem. Linc.*, 1938, pp. 124 ff.

Lines 2-3. *Ἄσ<σ>|πίδα*]. The second sigma is probably due to carelessness on the part of the stonecutter, for the word appears below with only one sigma.

Line 3. *Βύτιος*. The first letter of the word is B and not A as one would think. We find it with the same shape in other inscriptions from the Argolid, namely, *I.G.*, IV, 514, line 1; *ibid.*, 554, lines 2, 6; *Hesperia*, 1939, p. 167, line 6; *B.C.H.*, 1910, p. 331, lines 21, 23, 25; *ibid.*, 1913, p. 281, line 16. The name, a parallel form to *Βύτις*,⁵ appears here for the first time in this form. Compare also the name *Κίθιος*,⁶ and contrast *Γνᾶθις*,⁷ on roughly contemporary inscriptions from the Argolid.

Lines 4-5. Here we seem to have an exception: That is, whereas in the other lines we always find the name of the dedicator and the phratry to which he belongs written before the thing dedicated, here the name alone and not the phratry was written. Since the space that remains vacant for this cannot contain more than 9-11 letters, we can only suppose that it is a stonecutter's error. It is possible, of course, that the word *ἄσπίδα* was left out, in which case there would be room for the name of the clan.

Line 6. At the beginning of this line the upper part of a letter like ϑ or R is preserved. It cannot be ϑ, however, since it is followed by A. If it be taken as ρ, then the word must be restored as [*φάρετ*]ρα, and we must assume that the stonecutter omitted the final ν, since there is no other name for a weapon whose accusative singular ends in -ρα<ν>. It is more probable, however, that here too the word *ἄσπίδα*

phratry is known to us from the inscriptions *I.G.*, IV, 497, lines 5-6, and 498, line 11. The preservation of others, in addition to their historical and linguistic importance, would perhaps have helped us in the question of the relations between the Dorians and the earlier inhabitants of Mycenae. For it is surprising that none of the three Dorian phylae is mentioned in any of the preserved inscriptions from Mycenae. In an inscription (*I.G.*, IV, 517) from the Heraeum, for example, where the whole administration was in the hands of the Argives, the Hieromnemones were chosen from the three Dorian phylae, and from the fourth phyle, the Hyrnathia, to which the earlier inhabitants of Argos belonged, whereas at Mycenae the Hieromnemones were chosen from the phratries. Perhaps, however, and this seems equally probable, our Hieromnemones are those of the Achaean hero Perseus. His worship and his Hieromnemones are attested for Mycenae, as has already been said, and perhaps along with his worship the old method of choosing Hieromnemones remained. The suggestion that the inscription comes from a period of political change at Mycenae and shows the influence of a democratic constitution seems unlikely, for we have no evidence for a change from oligarchy to democracy at Mycenae, although of course it cannot be excluded.

⁵ *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, fasc. 5, no. 9, II B, line 8.

⁶ *I.G.*, IV, 492, line 7.

⁷ *Jahreshefte*, 1911, Beiblatt, p. 141, no. 11, line 3. On an inscription from Attica of approximately the same date we read *Γναθίος*, *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, 1927-28, p. 132.

was written, since this is just what is required, and that the δ varied a little from the form of the other two (lines 2 and 7) just as these vary between themselves.

γυνίαν. The form *κυνία* is Aeolian and is found only in Alcaeus (Frag. 137 [Reinach]: *πᾶσα δ' Ἄρηι κεκόσμηται στέγα λάμπραισιν κυνίαισιν*. Frag. 58: *καὶ χρυσοπάσταν τὰν κυνίαν ἔχων*). It seems unlikely, however, that we have here a linguistic remnant of the earlier population. It is rather a case of the change of ϵ to ι before the vowels α and \omicron (dunkle Vocale) and the diphthong *ου*, a phenomenon which is met with in other Doric dialects, for example that of Crete, Sparta, and the neighboring cities such as Corinth.⁸ In the very closely related and almost exactly similar dialect of Epidaurus we also find examples of the change of ϵ to ι , for example: *Θιάρης*,⁹ *Θιαίων*.¹⁰ And the change occurs in Argos: *Θιός*,¹¹ *Θιοδέκτας*,¹² *Θιοκρ*-,¹³ *Θιοφάν*-,¹⁴ and *Θίωv*¹⁵ in contrast to *Θεός*.¹⁶

MARCELLUS T. MITSOS

EPIGRAPHICAL MUSEUM, ATHENS

⁸ Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekte*, II, 221.

⁹ *I.G.*, IV² 1, 191, line 2, 192, line 1, 197, 102, line 49.

¹⁰ *I.G.*, IV² 1, 130, lines 107, 109, 112.

¹¹ *B.C.H.*, 1909, p. 451, line 11.

¹² *Mnemosyne*, 1916, p. 65, line 2.

¹³ *Mnemosyne*, 1919, p. 161, No. 6, line 6.

¹⁴ *I.G.*, IV, 530, line 18.

¹⁵ *Mnemosyne*, 1916, p. 220, line 32.

¹⁶ *Mnemosyne*, 1916, p. 220, line 5.

SOME BLACK-FIGURED POTTERY FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES XIII-XXIV)

IN THE course of ten campaigns of excavation in the Agora of Athens a considerable amount of black-figured pottery has been found. Much of it has already been published either in Dr. Shear's general excavation reports in *Hesperia* and the *American Journal of Archaeology* or in special articles in *Hesperia* by various members of the excavation staff. A great deal, however, is still unpublished. The purpose of this article is to present some of the better and more interesting of these unpublished pieces.

This article is based on notes and photographs made in Athens and sent to America before the war. I have re-worked the notes so as to put them in shape for publication and have added a few references to recent literature. This was done in Princeton in the spring of 1944 when I was able for a short time to enjoy the facilities of the Institute for Advanced Study and the University's Marquand Library.

This is a preliminary publication. The selection of pieces is rather a random one and includes only items on which I happen to have notes. There are other pieces in the Agora collection which might well have been included. My notes are not always as full as I should have liked, and the studies of many of the pieces are by no means exhaustive. Nevertheless, times being what they are, it seemed better to publish what I had rather than wait for a possible opportunity of improving it.

Most of the pieces are Attic black-figure, but I include also some fragments of sixth century B.C. pithoi with relief decoration and two unusual, non-Attic fragments of the early part of the same century. As a matter of record I give rather full details as to the provenience of each piece. The number preceded by a P which immediately follows the heading of each piece (e. g., P 2071) is the Agora inventory number and should be quoted whenever reference is made to any of the pieces published here.

1. Fragments of an early Panathenaic amphora. A, Athena. B, athletes (pentathlon). Plates XIII and XIV, 1.

P 2071. Estimated height of figured panels 0.21 m. Found on May 24, 1933, and April 8, 1938, in a deposit of the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. just east of the "Primitive Bouleuterion."¹

¹ For the "Primitive Bouleuterion" see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 117-127, and *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 8-15. The fragments were found in the layer of dug bedrock resting on level 52.88

The vase is very fragmentary. Thirty fragments make up to eleven, of which three can be assigned to the obverse, eight to the reverse. On the obverse (Plate XIV, 1; only the two figured fragments are shown) is Athena facing left, carrying a shield and brandishing a spear. No trace remains of columns or of an inscription, though not enough of the panel is preserved for either to be definitely excluded. The upper part of her sleeveless peplos is covered with a thick coat of added red, the lower part is decorated with incision. The heads of the snakes on her aegis are shown full face. Her flesh is done in added white, a good deal of which has been rubbed off, and details on it are indicated by fine incision.² Her shield is decorated with a twelve-pointed star, the points being alternately red and white. The dots on its rim are alternately white and incised. The glaze used for drawing both here and on the reverse has fired very unevenly black to light brown, giving a mottled appearance. The added colors are laid on the glaze. On the black glaze below the panel are two red lines which encircled the vase.

On the reverse (Plate XIII) are athletes engaged in the three characteristic events of the pentathlon, the javlin throw, the diskos throw, and the jump. The scene is very fragmentary and the relative positions of the various fragments are not certain. The panel is bordered above and below by a single line of dilute glaze and at the sides by a single line of added red. The javelin thrower was probably at the left side of the panel and the fragment with the thighs in a striding position and the fragment with the heel in the lower left corner of the panel are probably his. His head with its red hair and beard is well preserved; its execution reveals to us an artist of the first rank (detail Plate XIII, 2). Both arms are bent back to the level of the head. Note that the outlines of face and beard and most of the arms are incised, also that the hair is long and falls down onto the shoulder behind. The fragment with the diskobolos and the jumper probably comes just to the right of the javelin thrower at the centre of the panel. The diskobolos is striding to the right and apparently is looking back over

shown in Section CC, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 120, fig. 64. The pottery from this layer is of the first half of the sixth century B.C. and earlier. There are quite a few fragments characteristic of the second quarter of the century but nothing that need be much later than the middle of the century.

Fragments of another Panathenaic amphora were found in this layer (Agora Inventory No. P 13249). Almost none of its figured decoration is preserved, however; only the toes of Athena's left (forward) foot, two snakes of her aegis with their heads shown in profile, and two bits from her body. Enough blank panel is preserved, including a large section of the lower right corner and a considerable area to the left of Athena's toes, to suggest that there were no columns. An inscription is not excluded, however. The panel of this amphora is bordered all around with a line of dilute glaze. A fragment of the foot of the vase (red line at bottom of outer face), part of one handle, and part of the raised ring (added red) at the junction of neck and body are also preserved.

² This does not show in the photograph. There is one line which starts under the nose, outlines the upper lip, and passes onto the face where it curves slightly upward giving a "smiling" mouth. A slightly curving line on the neck indicates the necklace, and the ankle is marked by an open hook.

his shoulder. He holds the diskos in his left hand close to his head, one of the preliminary movements in the throw. The diskos was white. His hair is red. A fragment preserving part of a right foot with the heel slightly raised, part of the line of dilute glaze at the bottom of the panel, and part of the pair of red lines on the black glaze below the panel probably goes with this figure. The jumper, whose head and shoulders are missing, is running to the right, bending over forward and swinging his halteres in front of him. Traces of added red are preserved on the halteres. There was probably another javelin thrower at the right side of the panel. This is suggested by a fragment which preserves some of the right edge with part of the added red line which borders it. This fragment has a diagonal line on which are two incised lines and which perhaps represents a javelin. It is worth noting in this connection that the two other known Panathenaic amphorae with a representation of all three of the characteristic pentathlon events both have a second javelin-thrower.³ It is also possible, however, that there was a trainer at the right side of the panel and that the diagonal line on the fragment in question was part of his staff. Two small fragments remain unaccounted for. One preserves part of an arm and may belong either to the diskobolos or to the second javelin-thrower, the other preserves a bit of reserved panel and a scrap of glaze at one corner.

The vase represented by these fragments was one of the finest of the early Panathenaic amphorae. Style and circumstances of finding place it in the years around or just before the middle of the sixth century B.C. It cannot, of course, be earlier than 566 B.C., the year in which the Panathenaic festival was reorganized, for it has representations of gymnastic contests which are said to have been first introduced in that year; but it will not be much later either. As it seems slightly more developed than the earliest Panathenaic amphorae, we shall probably not be far wrong in dating it in the fifties of the sixth century B.C.⁴

2. Fragments of a Panathenaic amphora. A, Athena. B, foot-race. Plate XIV, 2 and 3.

³ E. N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, figs. 107-8; *Athletics of the Ancient World*, figs. 139 and 148. The former, British Museum B 134, is re-published in *C.I.A.*, III, He, pl. 2, 2.

⁴ The most recent discussions of early Panathenaic amphorae and their date are to be found in G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi*, p. 128; and in *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 441 f. (Beazley); cf. also H. R. W. Smith, "The Hearst Hydria," *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, I, pp. 246 and 250. The best photographic reproduction of the figured panels of the Burgon amphora (British Museum, B 130) is in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume of Plates, I, p. 287. Other early Panathenaic amphorae are represented among the Acropolis fragments: see Graef-Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, I, nos. 912-921 and 1042-1046. Cf. also the fragment Athens, National Museum 761, Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, fig. 90, at p. 134.

P 9529. Found on March 23, 1937, in a late Roman well in Section X. Maximum dimension of fragment *a*, 0.124 m.

Three non-joining fragments are preserved. Fragment *a* gives the upper left corner of the panel on the reverse of the vase with the head of a sprinter and the fingers of his left hand which he is swinging violently forward and upward. His hair and beard are red. Part of the red line that bordered the left edge of the panel, and part of the raised ring decorated with added red that marked the junction of the body and the neck of the vase are preserved. Fragment *b*, which also belongs to the reverse, preserves a hand and parts of the bodies and legs of two runners. Fragment *c* preserves some of the picture on the obverse with part of Athena's right (back) foot and a corner of her long peplos. Her foot was white and her peplos, or at least its lower border, was decorated with small incised crosses. Some of the dilute glaze line at the lower edge of the panel and some of the pair of red lines on the black glaze below it are preserved.

3. Fragments of a Panathenaic amphora. A, Athena. B, athletes. Plate XIV, 4.

P 5302. Maximum dimension of fragment *b*, 0.077 m. Found on April 6, 1935, in fill of the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. in Section B'.

Five fragments are preserved. Fragment *a* (not illustrated) is from the obverse and preserves the upper left corner of the panel with a simple maeander across the top and part of the tail of the cock on the column. Fragment *b* (Plate XIV, 4) is from the reverse and preserves part of the head, one shoulder and an arm of a man. He is probably running, in which case the object in the foreground may be the arm of another runner. His beard is red. All outlines are incised except the crown of the head. The three other fragments merely preserve unfigured parts of the panel. There is streaky, dilute glaze on the inside of all the fragments.

The drawing is very fine. For the style, compare the Panathenaic fragments by the Kleophrades painter, Graef-Langlotz, *op. cit.*, nos. 1048-1050; Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, p. 129.

4. Fragmentary Panathenaic amphora. A, Athena. B, chariot. Plates XV, and XVI, 1 and 3.

P 10007. Preserved height, 0.50 m.; diameter, 0.42 m. Found on April 21, 1937, in a well of the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. in Section IIΘ (well at 78: NΣT).

The vase has been mended from many fragments and the missing parts of the body filled out in plaster. Nothing of the mouth, neck, handles, or foot is preserved, and many fragments are missing from the figured panels and from the rest of the body. At the top of the body on B part of a band of tongue pattern is preserved. At the bottom of the body is a reserved band decorated with rays.

A. Athena faces left and carries a shield. Her head, shoulders, and arms and some of her body are missing. Parts of both columns surmounted by cocks are preserved. By the top of the left-hand column is part of the first letter of the inscription, set sideways, its bottom towards the column: Τ[ΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΗΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΩΝ]. The device on the shield, a Nike moving left, carrying an olive wreath, is done in added white, a good deal of which has worn off. Her hair is red laid over the white. The wreath was also apparently red, but laid directly on the glaze. Details are rendered by incision. Her eye is in profile, an acute angle with a dot (?) in the upper, outer part. Elsewhere added colors are used as follows: red for the cocks' combs, for widely spaced dots on the rim of the shield, and for the borders of Athena's garments; white for Athena's feet (note that the left foot was only outlined in glaze before the white was added).

B. A charioteer wearing a long white chiton with red belt and red shoulder straps drives a quadriga to the right. The scene is very fragmentary. Note that the charioteer's body was only outlined in glaze before the white was applied.

The vase belongs to the Robinson group (Beazley, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 450-453) as a comparison of the Athenas and the cocks will show. Beazley notes (*ibid.*, p. 452, bottom) that the Panathenaic amphora, London, British Museum, Inv. 1903.2-17.1, which he assigns to the Kuban group, has a point of contact with the Robinson group. A further point of contact between the two groups is furnished by the unusual shield device of our vase, which it shares with one of the Robinson vases (see text to *C.V.A.*, Robinson Collection, fasc. 1, plate XXXII, 1) and also with the London vase. Two other vases with this device are listed in the same chronological group with the above by A. Smets.⁵ They are unpublished, but when a comparison can be made they too may prove to belong either to the Robinson or to the Kuban group.

5. Amphora fragment: mounted warrior. Plate XVI, 2.

P 2037. Maximum dimension, 0.095 m. Found on May 23, 1933, in a deposit of the sixth century B.C. inside the porch of the Hellenistic Metroön.

A single fragment preserves some of the upper part of the body of an amphora. A little of the black glaze above the panel appears at the top of the fragment, and on the interior the glaze inside the neck is preserved for a distance of some 0.02 m. Of the figured scene there remain the head, shoulders, one arm, and perhaps part of the other of a warrior, and a bit of the mane of the horse he is riding. In his hand he carries a short stick the full length of which is preserved. His helmet, tunic, stick are

⁵ *L'Antiquité Classique*, V, 1936, p. 96, nos. 87 and 88. No. 87 is Marseille 3067. No. 88 was formerly in the Paris market (Segredakis). The only other instance of this shield device that I know of is on the Acropolis fragment, Graef-Langlotz, *op. cit.*, no. 941, pl. 57.

red (on the free, projecting part of the last the color is laid on the clay ground, elsewhere over glaze). The tunic is bordered by a row of white dots, and there is a white dot at either corner of the eye, an unusual feature.⁶ The outlines of arm and stick are incised. The clay is buff to pinkish buff in color. The glaze, which was rather unevenly applied, is dull black to brownish.

6. Fragmentary neck of a neck-amphora. A, winged daemon (Daedalus ?). B, lotus and palmette. On the lip, geese. Plate XVII, 1-3.

P 4727. Preserved height, 0.125 m.; diameter at lip, 0.188 m. Found on February 23, 1935, in a well of the early sixth century B.C. in Section B' (well 1; the "Naucratic" fragment, No. 34 below, is from the same well).

Eleven joining fragments preserve about half the lip, much of the neck including its full height, and the stub of one of the handles. The lip flares sharply outward and on its upper surface is a procession of geese. On its outer edge, between rounded ridges decorated with added red, is a "running-dog" pattern. On one side of the neck is a winged figure running to the right and looking back. He carries an adze in his right hand and wears a short chiton with short sleeves. Added red is used for his forehead hair (?), for the upper part of the wings, and for the chiton. On the other side of the neck is a lotus-and-palmette design. The inside of the neck is glazed black and there is a broad red band at its upper edge. The handle, to judge from the stub that remains, was flat in section.

The winged figure is probably Daedalus: compare the similar figure on the black-figured olpe, Athens, National Museum, 16285 (*J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, p. 191 and plate 13 b), and see Beazley's comments on it in *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 43, note 9. I have no note as to whether the figure on the olpe is male or female, but to judge from the photograph it could be either. Another winged figure, certainly male, carrying an adze appears on the Boeotian tripod kothon, Athens, National Museum, 12037 (Nicole, *Catalogue*, no. 872, and plate V). A winged male figure carrying a double-axe is depicted on a Boeotian imitation of a Corinthian alabastron in Bonn (B. Schweitzer, *Herakles*, fig. 16; *Arch. Anz.*, 1933, p. 12, no. 3). On both these last vases the man carries a fillet in his left hand.

⁶ I note that white is used for dots on the corners of the eyes of the gorgons on the Nessos amphora (cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 347, note 1). The white dots on the border of the tunic recur on the plaque from the North Slope of the Acropolis which has been attributed to the Nessos painter, and the profile of our warrior is not unlike the profiles of Perseus and the Harpies on that painter's Aegina krater (for references to the above vases see *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 39). The lack, or at least seeming lack, of filling ornament, however, places our fragment somewhat later than the vases attributed to the Nessos painter, and in any case the resemblances noted are hardly sufficient for an attribution, especially in view of some obvious differences.

7. Amphora fragment: lions. Plate XVII, 4.

P 3703. Preserved height, 0.21 m. Found on April 25, 1934, and March 21, 1938, in deposits of the early to middle sixth century B.C. in the area of the Hellenistic Metroön.

Six joining fragments preserve part of the panel of an amphora. Above is a double palmette chain with red for the hearts of the palmettes. In the panel two lions stand opposed looking back over their shoulders. Their manes are red. The pupil of the right-hand lion is red, that of the left-hand one a small incised circle. The rosettes in the field between the lions have red hearts. A glaze line borders the panel above and below, and two red lines are to be seen on the black glaze immediately below the panel.

8. Neck and shoulder of a large amphora. Shoulder, Lapiths and Centaurs. Plates XVII, 5, and XVIII.

P 13126. Preserved height, *ca.* 0.22 m.; diameter, at neck 0.275 m.; diameter estimated at shoulder as preserved, *ca.* 0.54 m. Found on June 1, 1938, in a well of the archaic period in Section OA (well 8; cf. No. 28, below). A preliminary notice of this vase has appeared in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 232-33, fig. 30.

A considerable number of joining fragments preserve one handle and about half the neck and shoulder of a large amphora. It is decorated on one side only. On the neck are rays pointing downwards, below which is a lotus-and-palmette band. On the shoulder is a figured zone depicting a battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs, and below this is a zone of linked buds. There was probably a figured panel below this on the body. Added red is freely used for helmets, hair, beards, shields, rocks and other details, for the hearts of the palmettes and lotuses and for the tips of the buds. Its disposition can be seen in the drawing published in *Hesperia*, *loc. cit.* I have no record of added white being used.

This vase is unusual in several ways. Its unusually large size harks back to the colossal amphorae of the seventh century. Like many of them, and unlike its contemporaries, it has decoration on one side only. And it has a zone of figured decoration on the shoulder which is quite exceptional in a vase of this shape.

9. Olpe. Siren. Plate XIX, 1.

P 12527. Preserved height, 0.185 m.; diameter, 0.137 m. Found on May 6, 1938, in a well of the early sixth century B.C. in Section AA; see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 229, where this vase is mentioned and an early horse-head amphora that was found with it is illustrated (fig. 25).

The vase has been mended from many fragments, and the mouth, handle and fragments of the body are missing. In a panel bordered with added red on the side

of the body is a siren. There is a single rosette in the field in front of it and another behind it. Added red is used for the face, neck, wing, and alternate feathers. There are the usual two small reserved triangles on the opposite side of the body.

On early olpai of this type see the references given by Beazley in *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 42, note 8.

10. Fragments of a large shoulder-lekythos. Body, hunter's return. Shoulder, Herakles and Amazons. Plate XIX, 2.

P 13127. Preserved height of fragment with hunter, 0.107 m. Estimated height of figures on body, 0.11 m.; of figures on shoulder, 0.065 m. Found in a well of the sixth century B.C. in Section OA (well 6, lower fill; cf. Nos. 13 and 30 below).

The vase is very fragmentary. Thirty-six fragments are preserved which make up to fifteen; nine of these are figured, six unfigured. The photograph published here, Plate XIX, 2, shows only the more characteristic figured fragments. The three at the right are in their approximate relative positions, the other two are not.

The vase was a large shoulder-lekythos, probably around 0.30 m. high, with figured decoration running all the way around the body.⁷ The scene on the body is a hunter's return. At the right stand two draped men with their dogs. In the centre are horses with two women standing beside them. There were also a chariot and a driver. Nothing remains of these, but their presence is indicated by the reins preserved on one of the fragments. At the left, following behind the chariot, is the hunter, accompanied by his dog and carrying his game on a pole over his shoulder. The scene on the shoulder of the vase shows Herakles fighting the Amazons. The hero pursues one Amazon who turns back to defend herself, while behind him is a second Amazon apparently facing left and engaged in combat with someone else.

Added red is used for broad surfaces and for occasional details both on the garments and on the animals, and there are two red lines which encircled the vase just below the picture. White seems not to have been used. The women's flesh is black and there is no sign of its ever having been white.⁸

This vase is one of the earliest of the shoulder-lekythoi. It is a bit more developed than the earliest example, which Miss Haspels rightly dates shortly before 560 B.C. (*A.B.L.*, pp. 7 ff.), and probably was made sometime in the fifties of the sixth century B.C.

11. Shoulder-lekythos. Body: men, youths, and riders. Shoulder: men, youths, and animals. Plate XX, 1-4, and 6.

P 15376. Height, 0.117 m.; diameter, 0.073 m. Found on June 2, 1939, in sacri-

⁷ On this type of decoration see C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*, p. 99.

⁸ On this see Haspels, *A.B.L.*, pp. 30 f.

ficial pit III in the cemetery in Section NN together with the band-cup published below as No. 20. On this cemetery see the preliminary reports in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 302-304; and X, 1941, p. 1.

One side is preserved unbroken, the other has been mended from many pieces and the missing parts restored in plaster. The surface has been unevenly discolored by the fire of the sacrificial pit.

The subject and most of the details are clear enough from the photographs. Some things, however, do not show. Under the handle there is a draped, standing figure with a spear facing left. Over the tail of the right-hand horse is a bird in flight, visible in the photograph but only partially preserved. The riders wear short, tight, sleeveless jackets done in added red which has disappeared leaving only a trace. Added red, now gone except for traces, was also used for many details, e. g., hair, decoration on clothes, rows of dots on reins of second horse (these perhaps white), breast of nude youth at left, and the comb and wattles of the cock on the shoulder. Parts of some of the figures on the shoulder are not visible in the photograph (Plate XX, 4) because they are hidden by the mouth. At the left is a draped standing man, at the right a youth running and looking back over his shoulder. The latter is being pursued by an animal. There are imitation letters in the field.

This vase is another early example of the shoulder-lekythos and must have been made in the years around the middle of the sixth century B.C. The rays above the foot are unusual in a lekythos (Haspels, *A.B.L.*, pp. 21 and 42).

12. Lekythos fragments. Body: man with flower. Predella, youths and riders. White ground. Plate XXI, 1-3.

P 5002. Preserved height, *a*, 0.08 m.; *b*, 0.043 m.; *c*, 0.082 m. Found on March 12, 1935, and February 22, 1938, in the area to the south of the Tholos. Fragments *a* and *b* were in fill of the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C., fragment *c* in disturbed fill of the fifth century B.C. some metres distant.

These fragments are from a large, unusually elaborate lekythos. The drawing is first-rate work of the end of the sixth century B.C., and the vase once bore an artist's signature, either a potter's or a painter's, of which the last three letters are preserved on fragment *a*. It should be possible to find other works by the painter of this excellent piece. The predella, or narrow figured zone below the main picture, is quite exceptional on a lekythos.

Fragment *a* is from the lower part of the body. It preserves some of the main picture: the toes of a human foot, and three letters of an inscription, --- ΖΕΝ, which may have been either [ΕΠΟΙΕ] ΖΕΝ or [ΕΛΡΑΦ] ΖΕΝ. Below this, part of a narrow zone with figured decoration is preserved showing a youth walking behind a horse. He wears a red fillet and a himation which leaves his right shoulder bare, and he

carries a spear. There is a red line along the upper edge of the black glaze below the picture. Fragment *b* is from the same part of the vase and shows, in the predella, part of a horse and rider with a bird flying behind. Following them part of another figure, probably a youth, is preserved. Fragment *c* comes from the upper part of the body and preserves the turn of the shoulder. It shows a man holding a flower to his nose. Added red is used for the upper line of his beard, his wreath, the borders of his garment and single dots decorating it, and for the stamens of the flower.

13. Fragment of krater rim. On upper surface, sphinx and floral ornaments. Plate XXI, 4.

P 13123. Maximum dimension, 0.083 m. Found on May 31, 1938, in a well of the sixth century B.C. in Section OA (well 6, lower fill; cf. No. 10 above and No. 30 below).

A single fragment preserves some of the broad, flat-topped rim of a column krater. There is a raised band at the inner edge of the top, and a little of the glazed interior of the vase is preserved. The figured decoration is on the top of the rim. Preserved are the head and some of the wing and foreparts of a sphinx sitting facing an elaborate double lotus and palmette ornament. Added red is used lavishly. On the sphinx it is found on the face, breast and wings, and on the two hair bands; on the floral ornament it is used for the heart and alternate petals of the palmette, for the calyx and petals of the lotus, and at the four junctions of the stems in the centre.

Mrs. Karouzou has attributed this fragment to Sophilos (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXII, 1937, p. 134, note 1). It does not appear in Beazley's re-shuffling of her list (*Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 39), but is perhaps closest to the vases he has given to the Komast X painter (*ibid.*, p. 45).

14. Handle plate of column krater. Male head. Plate XXI, 5.

P 10202. Width, 0.10 m. Found on May 12, 1937, in disturbed fill near the Tholos.

Added red is used for the face and for a line at the edge of the krater. The beard and the tip of the nose of an earlier sketch in which the head was set somewhat lower can be made out.

15. Handle plate of column krater. Male head. Plate XXI, 6.

P 206. Width, 0.098 m. Found on February 11, 1932, in disturbed fill in Section Δ.

Added red is used for the face and perhaps also for the pupil of the eye. The lips are parted either in song or lament.

16. Handle plate of column krater. Male and female heads. Plate XXI, 7.

P 198. Width, 0.092 m. Found on February 3, 1932, in disturbed fill in Section ΣT.

Added red is used for the man's hair and the woman's fillet. The woman's face and neck were white, though much of this has disappeared. Her large eye and arching eyebrow, rendered by light incision in the added white, can be made out. Around the outer edge of the handle is a "running-dog" pattern. There is a band of added red at the top of the inside of the krater.

17. Fragment of chalice. Decorative patterns. Plate XXII, 1-2.

P 6582. Preserved height, 0.10 m.; diameter at rim, estimated, 0.148 m. Found between March 16 and April 3, 1935, in a well of the mid-sixth century B.C. in Section B' (well 3).

The fragment is made up of a number of joining pieces. A small section of the handle has been restored in plaster. The profile of the body is almost completely preserved (see drawing, Plate XXII, 2), but there is no trace of the stem or foot. Each of the three black bands on the exterior has a pair of red lines at its upper and at its lower edge. Alternate tongues and the hearts of the palmettes are also red. There is black glaze on the interior. It is decorated with six pairs of lines in added red. The first pair is at the lip and the other pairs are placed at equal intervals down to the lowest preserved point of the vase. The walls of the vase are very thin.

For the shape compare the chalice by Sophilos from Vourva.⁹ Our vase lacks the slight offset at the level of the handles, which, however, occurs in another fragment very similar to ours from the excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 248, no. 54, and p. 262, fig. 25). Style and circumstances of finding suggest a date in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C.

18. Kantharos fragment. Herakles and pigs. Plate XXII, 3.

P 13245. Height, 0.073 m. Found on April 1, 1938, in a deposit of the sixth century B.C. in the porch of the Hellenistic Metroön.

A single fragment preserves part of the lip and wall of a deep cup, doubtless a kantharos. The lip is plain, the wall gently concave. At the bottom of the fragment the start of a projection is preserved. Compare the profiles of kantharoi and the discussion of the shape in Caskey-Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, pp. 14-18. The figured zone is bordered above by four, below by three glaze lines. Herakles pursues two pigs and has caught one by a hind leg. In the

⁹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XV, 1890, pl. XII, 1; *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, V, p. 117 and fig. 5 on p. 123; *Ath. Mitt.*, LXII, 1937, p. 134 and plate 59, 2; *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 50, no. 10.

background is a tree. The teeth of Herakles' lion skin are white, and there is a small patch of red under the tail of the left-hand pig.¹⁰ The glaze both inside and out is a fine, lustrous black. The drawing is very delicate. Note that the eyelashes and moustache are rendered by finely incised lines.

The subject is curious. One thinks at once of the Erymanthian Boar which Herakles is sometimes represented as seizing or holding by the hind legs.¹¹ None of the representations of this scene, however, corresponds very closely to the one on our fragment so far as I can make out from the publications. Then too, our animals lack the bristles along the back which are usual in representations of boars. And finally there are two animals, whereas the Erymanthian Boar is always represented alone. Have we here the Boar with an otherwise unknown mate, or with his mother, the sow of Krommyon? Or has this scene nothing to do with the Erymanthian Boar? Perhaps it is best to think of it as another hitherto unknown episode in Herakles' long and varied career.

19. Kylix fragment with potter's signature. Plate XXII, 4.

P 10203. Maximum dimension, 0.075 m. Found on May 13, 1937, in a deposit of the mid-sixth century B.C. north of the Tholos.

A single fragment, broken all around, preserves part of the wall of a kylix with good black glaze on the inside. On the outside are the lower parts of two draped standing figures. The disposition of the red and white can be clearly seen in the photograph. An inscription, painted in dilute black glaze, runs vertically between the two figures. It reads: --- ΟΥΕΑΣΕΠ ---, that is, ---ολεας ἐπ[οίει]. There is a speck of dirt on the pi which shows up white in the photograph. No known potter or painter has a name ending in ---ολεας, and the ending itself, as it stands, is unusual. It is probably to be read ---ο + λεας, with the last part a variant of or a confusion for an ending like -λεως, -λαος, or -λās (cf. F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen*, pp. 281-285). I have restored the verb in the imperfect rather than in the more common aorist because the space seems to require it. A date in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. is indicated by the style and the circumstances of finding.

20. Band-cup. A and B, animals. Plate XX, 5.

P 15377. Height, 0.125 m.; diameter, 0.208 m. Found on June 2, 1939, in sacrificial pit III in the cemetery in Section NN together with the lekythos published above

¹⁰ The photograph shows what appears to be a patch of white under the belly of the right-hand pig. My notes say nothing of any white here and it may be that this is only a patch of dirt or an illusion caused by the lighting.

¹¹ *A.J.A.*, XXVIII, 1924, p. 320, nos. 35-40. No. 35 is now republished in *C.V.A.*, Cambridge, Fasc. 1, pls. XVI, 4 and XVII, 4; no. 38 is now *C.V.A.*, Bologna, III, He, pl. 38, 3.

as No. 11. On this cemetery see the preliminary reports in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 302-304, and X, 1941, p. 1.

The vase has been mended from many pieces. Part of the rim and fragments of the wall are missing. It is a typical band-cup (*J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, pp. 167 f. and 187 f.). In the handle zone on either side is a panther between two grazing deer, and there are palmettes at the handles. Added red is used for the necks of the animals and for stripes on their bodies, for the hearts of the palmettes and their central petals.

21. Band-cup fragment. Dancing man. Plate XXII, 5.

P 60. Maximum dimension, 0.035 m. Found on July 17, 1931, in a deposit of the sixth century B.C. in the area of the Hellenistic Metroön.

A single fragment, broken all around, preserves part of the figured zone of a band-cup with a nude man dancing. His hair is red.

22. Kylix fragment. Interior, man. Plate XXII, 6.

P 12. Maximum dimension, 0.081 m. Found on June 16, 1931, in a deposit of the sixth century B.C. in the area of the Hellenistic Metroön.

Two joining fragments preserve part of the bowl with some of the interior medallion and its decorative border. In the medallion the head and shoulders of a man are preserved. He holds a spear, of which only the tip remains. Added red is used for his hair and his close-fitting, short-sleeved tunic as well as for alternate tongues in the border. Behind his head are the first two letters of an inscription, painted in glaze: ΘΟ ---. The exterior of the kylix has alternating bands of red and black, varying in width.

23. Fragment of a kylix foot with the signature of Nikosthenes. Plate XXII, 7.

P 7902. Diameter of foot, 0.09 m. Found on May 26, 1936, in a well of the late sixth century B.C. in Section HH (well at 51: AZ).

A single fragment preserves slightly less than half the foot. The upper surface, the outer edge, and the inside of the stem as far as preserved are covered with lustrous black glaze. The bottom is reserved. Painted in black glaze at the inner edge of the bottom are the letters ΝΙΚΟϚ, that is, ΝΙΚΟϚ[ΘΕΝΕϚ ΕΡΟΙΕϚΕΝ]

The fragment is from a "Droop cup." It is the second example of a cup of this class with the signature of Nikosthenes, Beazley having drawn attention to the first in a note in *J.H.S.*, LV, 1935, p. 81.

24. Fragments of a "kothon." Dionysiac scene. Plate XXII, 8.

P 13426. Height of figured zone, 0.033 m. Estimated diameter of central open-

ing, 0.09 m. Found on June 8, 1938, in a well of the archaic period in Section Ψ (well at 32: ΣΤ).

Four fragments are preserved which make up to two. The full profile of the turned-down rim is preserved on fragment *a*. It extends down 0.029 m., and its exposed face is glazed. The figured decoration is in a single narrow zone on the top of the pot around the central opening. There is no ledge for a lid. On fragment *a* are a dancing maenad, traces of a second dancing figure, and the back of the head of Dionysos with his ivy wreath. On fragment *b* are part of a dancing maenad and a dancing satyr. Added red is used for the maenads' sleeveless peploi, the panther skins over them being left black. It is also used for their fillets and for the satyr's hair and beard. The maenads' flesh is left black and they have the male eye (cf. Haspels, *A.B.L.*, p. 21).

There is not enough preserved to determine the exact form of the vase and to decide what sort of foot it had and whether or not it had a handle or handles. For the various possibilities see *J.H.S.*, XXXI, 1911, pp. 72-99, and Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, s.v. plemochoe, pp. xxii f. and 21 f. Our piece is unusual in having decoration of human figures on the top instead of pattern or animals. The drawing is fine, vigorous miniature work of the mid-sixth century B.C.

25. Fragment. Amazonomachy. Plate XXIII, 1.

P 13125. Height, 0.02 m. Found on May 31, 1938, in a well of the archaic period in Section OA (well 3).

A single fragment, broken all around, preserves part of the wall of a kylix or other open vase. The legs and one hand of a man running to the right can be made out, and, at the bottom, the helmet of a fallen figure. The latter is doubtless an Amazon and her name appears, written in glaze letters, between her head and the man's legs: ΠVKIΛA. The doubtful letter at the beginning is probably the first letter of the name, less likely the second. I have suggested rho, but alpha, delta and sigma are also possibilities.

26. Fragment. Apollo. Plate XXIII, 2-3.

P 10507. Height, 0.052 m. Found on May 25, 1937, in a deposit of the later sixth century B.C. in Section Z.

A single fragment, broken all around, preserves some of the shoulder of a closed vase. The head of a man and part of his cloak which he holds out in front of him are preserved. Added red is used for his face and for part of his cloak. In the field to the right of his head is part of an inscription, painted in dilute brown glaze. It reads HEKA--- and is probably to be restored HEKA[TOS] or better HEKA[EPLOS] or some cognate form. HEKA[TOMBAIOS] is also a possibility. All are epithets of

Apollo: see Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, and Roscher, *Lex. d. Myth.*, s.vv. None has hitherto been found on a vase so far as I know, but instances of the occurrence of some in dedicatory inscriptions are cited in *R.E.*, s.v. Hekebolos. Hekaergos occurred in a hexameter verse on the Chest of Kypselos (Pausanias, V, 18, 4). This interpretation of the inscription was suggested by H. A. Thompson at the time of the discovery of the fragment. The identification of the figure as Apollo would hardly have been possible without the aid of the inscription. The style suggests a date early in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. I have no good photograph of this fragment; so I publish two rather poor ones, which, however, together give most of the details.

27. Fragments. Men and woman. Plate XXIII, 4-5.

P 12230. Maximum dimension, *a*, 0.049 m., *b*, 0.077 m. Found on February 25, 1938, in a layer of artificial filling contemporary with the construction of the Great Drain. The Great Drain was built in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C.; cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 4, and *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, p. 107.

Three fragments make up to two. They are from the wall of a closed pot, but it is not absolutely certain that they are from the same pot. Fragment *a* is from the upper wall and preserves the head and shoulders of a man. His right arm is extended and in his left hand he holds a staff across his shoulder. Added red is used for his fillet, his beard, and a dot on his cloak. Added white is used for groups of dots on his cloak. Fragment *b* comes from the lower wall of the pot and preserves the feet and lower part of the dress of a woman and the foot of a man. Added white was used for the woman's feet. There are red dots on her dress, and a pair of red lines encircled the vase below the picture.

28. Fragment. Herakles. Plate XXIII, 6.

P 13862. Height, 0.042 m. Found between May 28 and June 16, 1938, in a well of the archaic period in Section OA (well 8; cf. No. 8 above).

A single fragment, broken all around, preserves some of the neck and shoulder of a closed pot. Above is part of a lotus pattern; below, the head of Herakles, bearded and wearing the lion's skin. Added red is used for the lion's mouth, white for its teeth. The outline is incised. There is black glaze on the upper part of the inside of the fragment.

29. Fragment of plaque. Man. Plate XXIII, 7.

P 6731. Preserved height, 0.035 m.; thickness, 0.007 m. Found on February 12, 1936, in a cistern of the fourth century B.C. south of the Hephaisteion.

A single fragment preserves part of a flat plaque with some of its upper edge. The head and shoulders of a man holding a spear and gesticulating are preserved. Added red is used for his hair. The following outlines are incised: face, beard, and hair at back of head, the last with a wavy line. The glaze used for drawing is very thin in places, especially near the outline of the face.

30. Fragment. Man. Plate XXIII, 8.

P 13834. Height, 0.043 m.; diameter at lip, estimated, 0.20 m. Found between May 23 and June 3, 1938, in a well of the archaic period in Section OA (well 6, lower fill; cf. Nos. 10 and 13 above).

Two joining fragments preserve some of the lip and wall of a deep cup or bowl. The lip is set off on the outside by a slight ridge. Part of one handle attachment is preserved. At the right of the handle are the head and shoulders of a man. Added red is used for his hair and beard. There is good black glaze on the inside of the fragment and on the outside of the lip. At the inner edge of the lip is a reserved line.

31-33. Fragments of pithoi with relief decoration. Plate XXIV, 3-5.

Great pithoi with relief decoration were popular in many parts of the Greek world in the archaic period, and we possess numerous examples from such centres as Crete, Rhodes, and Boeotia.¹² Athens, however, seems not to have gone in for this kind of decoration to any great extent. Examples of it have seldom been reported, and on the known pieces the decoration is sparingly used and mostly confined to pattern.¹³ It seems worth while, therefore, to add to our slight knowledge of this matter by publishing a few more fragments with this kind of decoration from the Agora. Two of them are from a dated deposit. Through the kindness of Oscar Broneer I am also able to include details of the decoration on two large pithoi found by him on the North Slope of the Acropolis (Plate XXIV, 1-2).¹⁴

31. Provisional inventory number, Δ 787. Found during the season of 1932 in disturbed fill in Section Δ. Maximum dimension, 0.185 m. Plate XXIV, 3.

A single fragment preserves part of the neck and shoulder of a large pithos. There is a raised band at the junction of neck and shoulder. Below this is a band of

¹² F. Courby, *Les vases grecs à reliefs*, pp. 33-114. Recent excavations in Rhodes have produced many more examples: cf., e. g., Clara Rhodos, IV, pp. 302-330.

¹³ Courby, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-89. S. Casson, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, pp. 310-313. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 184, fig. 22; p. 198, fig. 33; p. 221, fig. 56; p. 402, fig. 38; and p. 405, fig. 42, no. 43. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 262-263, no. 23, fig. 18. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 253, fig. 56 (cf. also p. 237, fig. 47, no. 259, which may be Corinthian).

¹⁴ Inv. No. A-P 2536, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 253-254, no. 324; and Inv. No. A-P 2532, mentioned *ibid.*, p. 254.

rosettes in relief, then a smaller raised band. The clay is dark buff at the surface, reddish at the core.

32. Provisional inventory number, Δ 792. Found in June-July, 1932, in the main mass of fill in a well in Section Δ which is to be dated around 500 B.C. (well at 24: II). Maximum dimension, 0.14 m. Plate XXIV, 4.

A single fragment preserves part of the shoulder of a large pithos. At the top of the fragment is a raised ridge and below it is a lotus pattern in relief. The clay is micaceous and of various shades of brown.

33. Provisional inventory number, Δ 793. Found in the same place as the last item. Maximum dimension, 0.075 m. Plate XXIV, 5.

A single fragment from the wall of a pithos preserves part of a tongue pattern. The clay is buff at the surface, pink at the core. The fragment is wrongly set in the photograph. The tongues run vertically with respect to the pot, not horizontally.

34. "Naucratis" fragment. Head of a man. Plate XXIV, 6.

P 4907. Maximum dimension, 0.036 m. Found on March 5, 1935, in a well of the early sixth century B.C. in Section B' (well 1; No. 6, above, is from the same well).

The fragment comes from the neck and shoulder of a small closed pot and is glazed on the inside part way down the neck. The outside is covered with rather dull black glaze; I have no note of its being laid over a white slip. The design is painted on the black glaze in added white, and the outline and all the details (eye, ear, mouth, etc.) are done in added red. In front of the face part of an uncertain object, perhaps an arm, is preserved. The clay is fine and hard and light brownish-buff in color.

The fragment is probably Naucratis Chalice Style, class A. For the technique compare the chalice from Naucratis in Oxford, published in *C.I.A.*, Oxford, Fasc. 2, II d, pl. 5, 28, and the other fragments cited there. Compare also *C.I.A.*, Cambridge, Fasc. 2, pl. XVII, 7.

35. Melian (?) fragment. Outside, man with drinking-cup. Inside, legs. Plate XXIV, 7-8.

P 10421. Maximum dimension, 0.024 m. Found on May 22, 1937, in a late Roman disturbance in a classical level in Section Z.

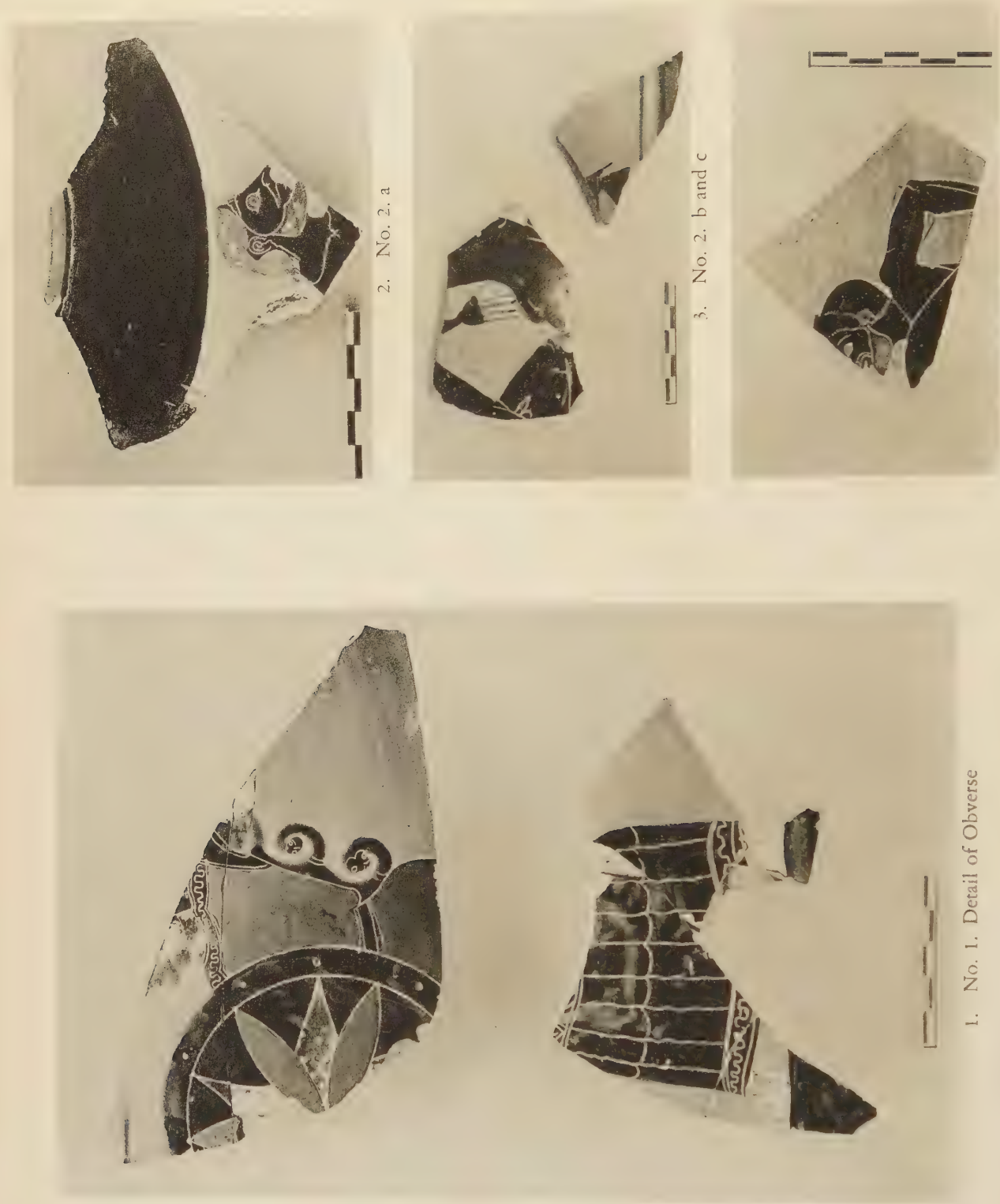
A single fragment, broken all around, preserves part of the wall of an open vase with figured decoration inside and out. On the outside is the head of a man with a drinking-cup raised to his lips. Added red is used on his face. In the field at the top of the fragment is part of an inscription painted in glaze. The lower parts of three



1. No. 1. Reverse. All Fragments



2. No. 1. Reverse. Details



VANDERPOOL: BLACK-FIGURED POTTERY FROM AGORA



No. 4. Details of Obverse (Above) and Reverse (Below)

VANDERPOOL: BLACK-FIGURED POTTERY FROM AGORA



1. No. 4. Obverse



2. No. 5



3. No. 4. Detail of Obverse



1-3. No. 6. Front, Back and Top



4. No. 7



5. No. 8. General View



No. 8. Details

VANDERPOOL: BLACK-FIGURED POTTERY FROM AGORA



1. No. 9

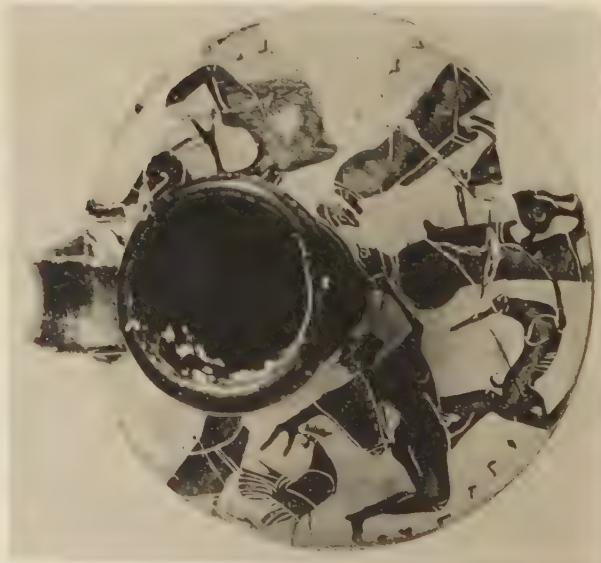


2. No. 10. Selected Fragments

VANDERPOOL: BLACK-FIGURED POTTERY FROM AGORA



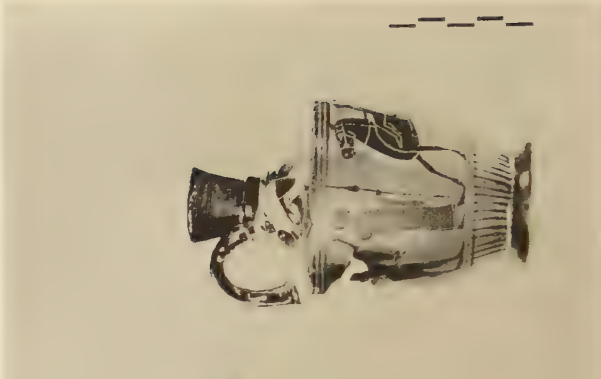
1-3. No. 11. Details of Body



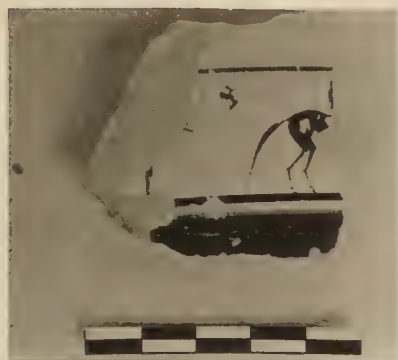
4. No. 11. Detail of Shoulder



5. No. 20



6. No. 11



1-3. No. 12. Fragments a, b, and c



4. No. 13



5. No. 14



6. No. 15



7. No. 16



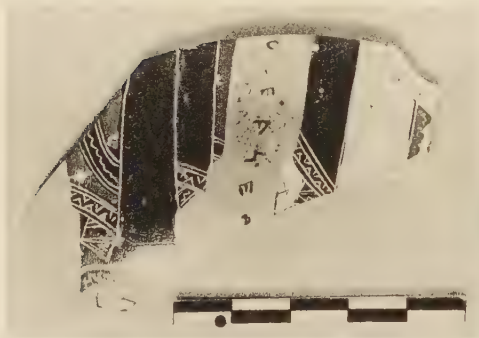
1. No. 17



2. No. 17. Profile



3. No. 18



4. No. 19



5. No. 21



6. No. 22



7. No. 23



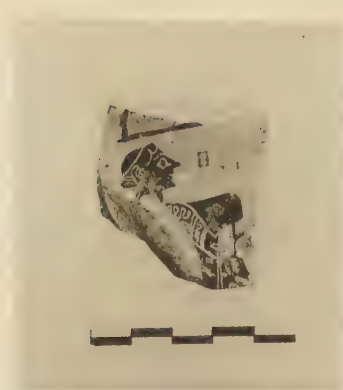
8. No. 24



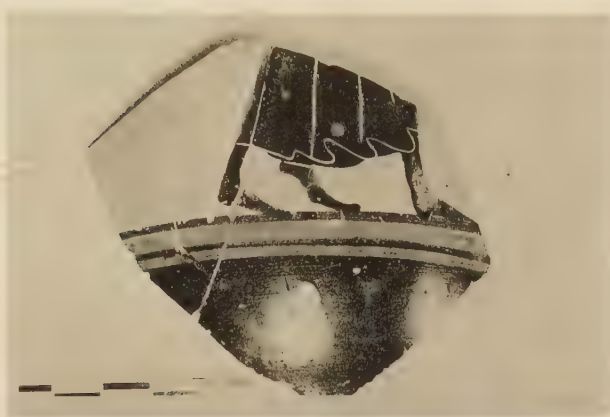
1. No. 25



2-3. No. 26



4-5. No. 27



6. No. 28



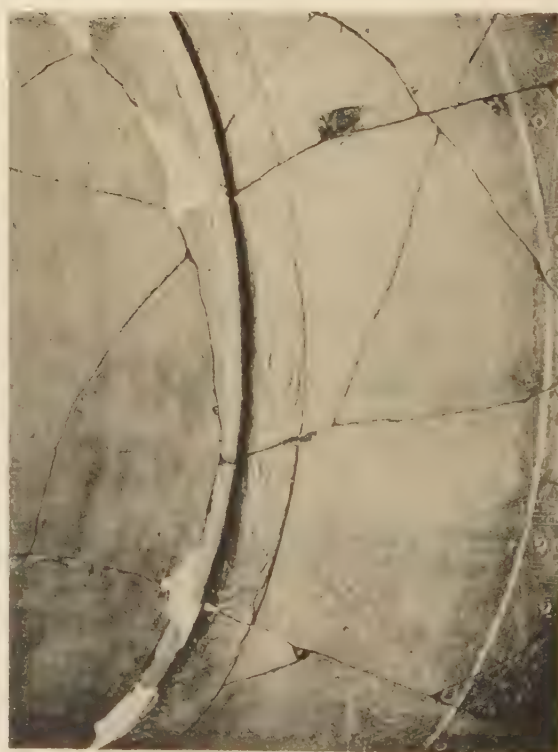
7. No. 29



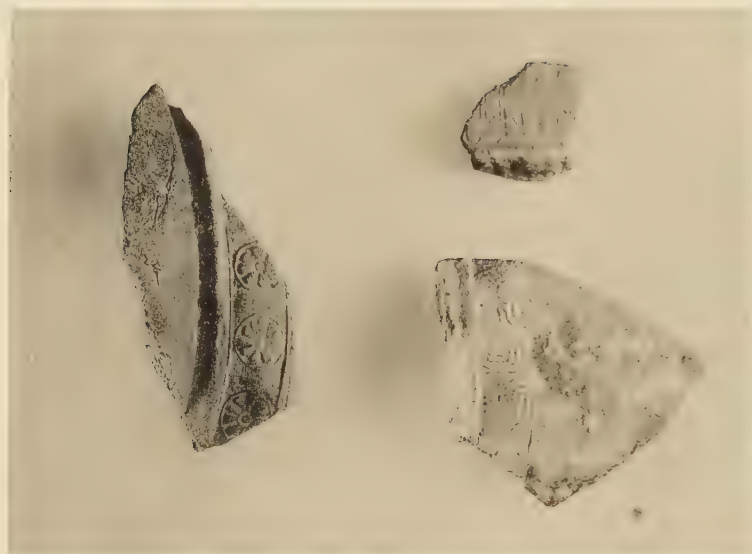
8. No. 30



1. North Slope, A-P 2536. Detail



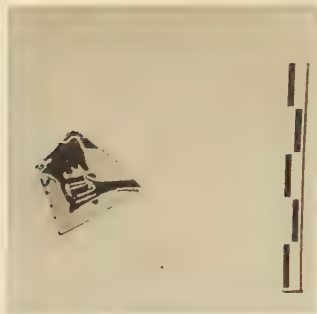
2. North Slope, A-P 2532. Detail



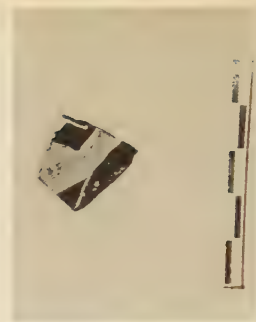
3-5. Nos. 31-33



6. No. 34



7. No. 35. Outside



8. No. 35. Inside

vertical strokes are preserved, followed by a letter which appears to be shaped like a Latin **C**. The upper edge of this last letter falls just at the break, and it is perhaps possible that what we have here is not an almost complete **C** but the lower half of an **E** or of a four-bar **Ξ** with a rounded angle. On the inside of the fragment are parts of two legs, one of which has a patch of added red on it. The clay is brownish-buff in color and slightly micaceous.

The fragment is not Attic, and I would not know on the grounds of style, technique, or clay where to place it. If, however, the last letter is really shaped like a Latin **C**, it may furnish a clue to the origin of our fragment, for I note that this sign is used for **o** or **ov** (which latter would be a satisfactory value for it in our inscription) in the early alphabet of Melos, and that some vases from Naucratis on which it appears with these values have, on that account, been assigned doubtfully to Melos (E. S. Roberts, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, I, pp. 33-38). To judge from the style, the fragment should be dated in the first half of the sixth century B.C.

EUGENE VANDERPOOL

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS
THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

IN THE following pages, seventeen inscriptions from the Agora Excavations are presented in preliminary publication. For editorial reasons, the usual chronological arrangement has been, in general, reversed, the inscriptions latest in date being given first. Nos. 1 and 2 belong to a long series of votive plaques, dedicated by the archons in the Christian era. Nos. 3, 5, 6, 12, and 14 are fragments from prescripts of decrees and furnish further calendaric information. Portions of decrees in which the Demos conferred honors on the prytaneis are published as Nos. 4 and 10. Citations from prytany decrees appear as Nos. 7, 8, and 13. No. 9 contains reference to the Single Officer of Administration and, apparently, to the Eleusinion. No. 11 is part of a register of prytaneis of the phyle Hippothontis. No. 15, which is a fragment of *I.G.*, II², 1934, contains a list of names of people who were appointed to conduct a *lectisternium* of Pluto. A proxyeny decree appears as No. 16. No. 17 belongs with the inscription published as *I.G.*, II², 1929. It contains a list of Athenians who were obliged to assume the expenses of a liturgy in the year of the archon Demophilos (381/0). Parts of twenty-seven lines are preserved on the new piece.

DEDICATIONS TO APOLLO

1. Fragment of Pentelic marble, preserving the rough-picked back, found in the modern wall of a house in Section BB on February 25, 1939. The inscription is framed by a wreath in low relief.

Height, 0.155 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 5652.

s. I/II *p.*

in corona:

θεσμ[ο]-

θέτη[ς]

Ἀγαθ[---]

Μελιτ[εύς]

This dedication of a myrtle crown is to be added to the group of numerous in-



No. 1

scriptions, published as *I.G.*, II², 2891-2931 and *Hesperia*, X, 1941, nos. 54-57, which were consecrated to Apollo ὑπὸ Μακράϊς¹ by various members of the college of archons and erected near the cave of Apollo on the north slope of the Acropolis.² Considerations of space do not permit the restoration of the *nomen* of the thesmothetes as Ἀγαθ[οκλήης] in line 3. Ἀγαθίων or Ἀγαθίας would exactly fill the space, but Ἀγάθων is also possible.

2. Fragment of Pentelic marble, preserving the left side and roughly dressed back, found during the investigation of the Klepsydra in Section OA on May 23, 1938. The stone had been used in the second repair of the Valerian Wall which occurred in connection with the construction of the Bastion of Odysseus during the Greek War of Independence.

Height, 0.094 m.; width, 0.065 m.; thickness, 0.043 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 5462.

The Agora fragment joins *I.G.*, II², 2928, another of the series of votive plaques dedicated by the archons.

s. II p.

in corona:

Φανστ[—]

Ἀλεξάνδ[ρου]

Μα[ραθώνιος]



No. 2. I 5462

Φαῦστος, Φανστίων, and Φανστῖνος are all possible restorations for line 1, with the first two being favored by considerations of space.³ Occurrences of the name Alexandros among citizens of the deme Marathon are too frequent to permit identification.⁴

¹ Ὑπακράϊος and ὑπ' Ἀκραις are alternative forms which occur in inscriptions. For a recent discussion of this sanctuary of Apollo Pythios, see Parsons, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 234 and 246; cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 262.

² Pertinent bibliography is given by Kirchner *ad I.G.*, II², 2891. The opinion that the provenience of these inscriptions determines the location of the Θεσμοθετεῖον (Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², pp. 301, 303, and Latte in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, sub Θεσμοθετεῖον) has been questioned by M. Crosby, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 447. Cf., however, McDonald, *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks*, p. 297.

³ Φαῦστος and Φανστίων are both well-attested for the phyle Aiantis. See *I.G.*, II², 2076, line 10; 2102, line 94; 2245, line 372; and 2245, line 363.

⁴ The name Alexandros of Marathon is known from the following inscriptions of the Roman

PRYTANY DECREE

3. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides except the back where there are four rows of slots, found in front of the Stoa of Attalos in Section Σ in February, 1936.

Height, 0.223 m.; width, 0.313 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. 2539f.⁵

The inscription joins fragment B of *Prytaneis*, no. 79 and contains part of the text of lines 34-40.



No. 3. I 2539 f (Lower Left) and Part of *Prytaneis*, no. 79

period: *I.G.*, II², 1729, line 8; 2018, line 39; 2044, line 25; 2046, line 10; 2058, line 7; 2059, line 34; 2107, line 61; 2113, line 5 (same as 2114, line 18, and 3750); 2193, lines 20 and 125 (same as 2195, lines 15 and 16; 2196, line 4; and 2208, line 7); 2201, line 8; 6759, 6806. The majority of these are different individuals.

⁵ The small fragment published by Dow as the lower left part of Frag. A bears the Agora Inv. No. 2716.

ERECHTHEIS

a. 159/8⁶

Στοιχ. 37

τ'ακατ

- 35 [Ἐπὶ ἄρχο]ντος ἐπὶ τῆς Λεωντ[ίδος πέ]-
 [μπτης πρυτανείας] ἧι Διονυσόδωρος Φι[...⁷...]
 [...⁹... ἐγγραμ|μάτευεν· βουλῆς ψηφί|σματα· Μ]-
 [αιμακτηριῶνος τ]ετράδι ἰσταμένου, τε|τάρτηι|
 [τῆς] πρυταρ|είας· β|ουλῇ ἐμ βουλευτηρίῳ[ι· τῶν π^v]-
 [ρ]οέδρων ἐπε|ψηφί|ζεν Μνησιγέν[ης] Μ[νη]σ[ιγέ]νου|
 40 Ἐρμειος καὶ συ|μπ|ρόεδροι· ἔ|δοξεν τεῖ βουλευ^v|

The readings for the new fragment were given in the composite diagram which Dow published in *Prytaneis*, p. 206,⁷ but were not included in his text on page 144. The only certain correction to be made is the removal of the uninscribed letter-space from the middle of line 40. The stonecutter apparently allowed himself this freedom only at the ends of lines. Other corrections seem desirable in order to avoid the restoration of the form ὀγδοίης in Dow's text of lines 34-35.⁸ Instead of equating the month Gamelion with Prytany VII in the "first" decree and Anthesterion with Prytany VIII in the "second" decree, we may retain stoichedon order without assuming the necessity for uninscribed letter-spaces by restoring [τ|ετάρτης] in lines 1-2, ψη[φίσματ|α· Πυανοσιῶνος] in lines 3-4, and the calendar equations for the "second" decree as indicated in the text above. These changes will result in violation of syllabification at the ends of lines, but similar violations occur in lines 28 and 38.

The principles of restoration involved in this archaistic stoichedon inscription have been the subject of lengthy discussions by Feyel, *R.E.A.*, XL, 1938, pp. 331-335, and by Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, pp. 111-115. In addition, Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 309, proposes to complete the restoration of the name of the treasurer of the prytaneis in lines 45 and 49 which Dow had read as follows: Κάρπον [...⁸...] and [Κάρπον [...⁶...]άτου [...⁸...^v]. The restoration Συβρίδην was offered by Raubitschek for the demotic, since "the only demotic of Erechtheis in that period that fills this space is Συβρίδης"; and Φιλοκρ|άτου was restored for the patronymic on the basis of the text of the funerary monument, published as *I.G.*, II³, 7482, which merely contains the name Φιλοκράτης Συβρίδης. As for the patronymic, there is certainly no compelling connection between [...⁶...]ατος or [...⁶...]άτης and Φιλοκράτης,

⁶ The date for this inscription, as determined by a process of elimination, is that given by Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 129. The archon Epainetos has been tentatively assigned to this year.

⁷ Republished by Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, p. 117.

⁸ In a similar case, West (*Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, p. 359) has protested against what he called the restoration of this "barbarous" form. The examples cited by Meisterhans (*Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*², p. 58) are from the fourth century.

nor any reason to connect the latter with *Κάρπος*; as for the demotic, the form required in both lines of the prytany inscription is in the accusative case, and [*Εὐωνυμέα*], [*Κηφισιέα*], and [*Λαμπτρέα*], as well as [*Συβρίδην*], are all possible restorations for the demotic of the treasurer from Erechtheis. The text should be retained in the form published by Dow.

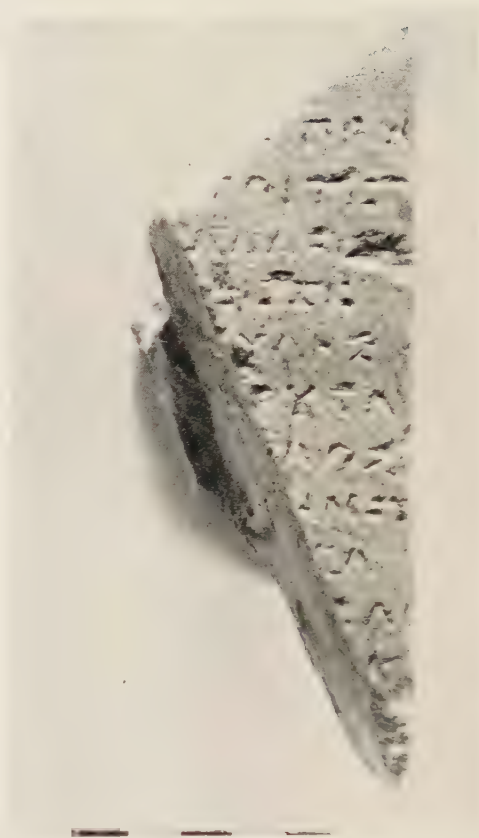
PRYTANY DECREE

4. Inscribed fragment of Hymettian marble, found on February 26, 1938, in Section Z. The original right side is preserved. On the broken left side, there are marks from the bottom of a clamp- or dowel-cutting.

Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.05 m.; thickness, 0.056 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5348.



No. 4

c. a. 160

55-60

[----- ----- ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ] τ'ακατ
 [----- ----- εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν] οἱ πρυ
 [τάνεις τῆς --- ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσίων ὧν ἔθνον τὰ πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν] τῷ τε
 [Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Προστατηρίῳ καὶ τεῖ Ἀρτέμιδι τεῖ Βουλαίῳ καὶ τοῖς] ἄλλοις
 5 [θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν ἁγαθεὶ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ] δέχε
 [σθαι τὰ γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθνον ἐφ' ὑγίαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς τε β]ουλῆς
 [καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ συμμάχων· ἐπειδὴ οἱ π]ρυτά
 [νεις τὰς τε θυσίας ἔθυσαν ἀπάσας ὅσαι καθήκον ἐν τεῖ πρυτανείῳ κα]λῶς
 [καὶ φιλοτίμως, ἐπεμελήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῆς συλλογῆς τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δ]ήμου
 10 [καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὧν αὐτοῖς προσέταττον οἱ τε νόμοι καὶ τὰ ψηφίσ]μα
 [τα τοῦ δήμου, ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς πρυτάνεις τῆς ----- καὶ στεφανῶ]σαι
 [χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐσεβείας ἕνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κα]ι

This small fragment of a "first" decree has been found not to be a part of any

other known prytany decree. The script, which is characterized by an omicron in the form of two short dashes, by a rho formed with a vertical stroke and two dots, and by indistinguishable alphas and lambdas, was common within the period 185-155 B.C.⁹ The list for the beneficiaries of the sacrifices of the prytaneis (lines 6-7) is a formula which began to be prevalent shortly after 166 B.C.¹⁰

YEAR OF SONIKOS

5. Fragment of Hymettian marble from the upper left corner of a stele, found near the surface in Section P on June 8, 1936.

Height, 0.155 m.; width, 0.113 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4253.

Five lines occupy a vertical space of 0.041 m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

a. 175/4

ca. 48

- Ἐπὶ Σωνίκου [ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς — — ^{ca. 16} — — πρυτανείας]
 ἦι Πανσανίας [Βιοτέλου Περιθοίδης ἐγραμμάτευεν· — — — ὦνος]
 ἐνάτει μετ' εἰκ[άδας, — — — καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησί]-
 α ἐμ Πειραιεῖ· τῶ[ν προέδρων ἐπεψηφίζεν — — ^{ca. 18} — —]-
 5 εὖς καὶ συμπρόε[δροι· ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμῳ· — — ^{ca. 15} — — Κυδα]-
 [θ]ηναίους εἶπεν· ὕ[πὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς — — -]-
 [δ]ος ὑπὲρ τῶν θυ[σιῶν ὧν ἔθνον τὰ πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶι τε Ἀπόλλω]-
 [ν]ι τῶι Προστατ[ηρίῳ καὶ τεῖ Ἀρτέμίδι τεῖ Βουλαίαι καὶ τεῖ Φωσφό]-
 [ρωι κ]α[ὶ] τ[οῖ]ς ἄλ[λοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν — — — -]

This fragment preserves part of the second known prytany decree from the archonship of Sonikos.¹¹ This year is known to have been intercalary,¹² and the decree was passed on the twenty-second (backward count) or the twenty-ninth (forward count) day of a full month. The meeting of the ekklesia in the Peiraeus was customarily in the twenties of the prytany.¹³

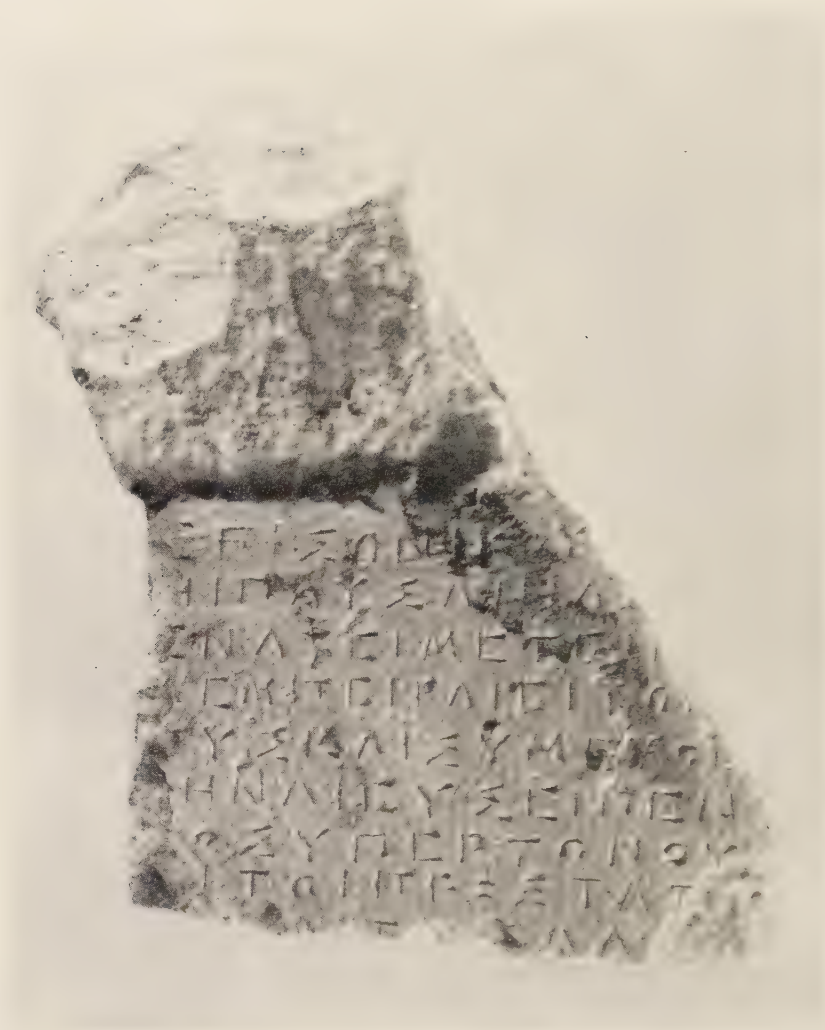
⁹ See Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 123.

¹⁰ See Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 10.

¹¹ See Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 69.

¹² Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 121.

¹³ Cf. McDonald, *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks*, p. 52.



No. 5

THE YEAR OF SYMMACHOS

6. Fragment of Hymettian marble, preserving the left side, top, and rough-picked back, found in a late wall in Section N on May 14, 1936.

Height, 0.27 m.; width, 0.38 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4144.

Five lines occupy a vertical space of 0.058 m.

u. 188 7

non-Στειχ.

ca. 50-55

Ἐπὶ Συμμάχου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος δωδεκάτης πρυτανείας, ἥι Ἀρχι]-
 [κ]λῆς Θεοδώρου Θορίκιος ἐγγραμμάτευεν· δήμον ψήφισμα· Σκιροφοριῶνος |
 ὁγ[δ]οί ἐπὶ δέκα, μιᾷ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἦ ἐκκλησία ἐν τῷ |
 5 θε[ά]τρῳ· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν ----- καὶ συμ]-
 [πρ]όεδροι ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ· ----- εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ |
 [.] κρατ[-----]
 [.] θυ[-----]



No. 6

The calendar equation has been restored for the 373rd day of a year which was already known as intercalary. Theoretically, there are four dates which would permit the equating of the 21st or 31st day of a prytany with the 18th day of a lunar month in an intercalary year containing prytanies of 32 days in length:

Gamelion 18 = Prytany VII, 31 = 223rd day

Anthesterion 18 = Prytany VIII, 31 = 255th day

Thargelion 18 = Prytany XI, 21 = 341st day,
Skirophorion 18 = Prytany XII, 21 = 373rd day.

The third of these equations must be rejected because the dates Mounichion 11 = Prytany X, 18 of *I.G.*, II², 891 and Mounichion 22 = Prytany X, 29 are for the 306th and 317th days of the year,¹⁴ and for Thargelion 18 to be dated on Prytany XI, 21 the month Mounichion would have to be only 28 days in length. On the other hand, in accord with the date Posideon 26 = Prytany VI, [13] = 173rd day (*I.G.*, II², 890), the months Posideon I and II would have to be 29 days in length apiece to obtain the equation for the 223rd day, or, if we use the second equation for the 255th day, it is necessary to assume that there were three successive 30-day months. In tentatively restoring the equation for the 373rd day of the year, we must interpret Skirophorion as a hollow month which was preceded by two full months, and the restoration of ἐνάτει must be substituted for that of ὀγδοέι in the prytany-date of *I.G.*, II², 893, line 5.

With regard to one of the other inscriptions dated in the archonship of Symmachos, it may be observed that the two fragments assigned to *I.G.*, II², 892 must be disassociated, at least so far as can be judged from a study of the squeezes. The fragments were assigned to the same stele by Wilhelm, "wie die Schrift und die Beschaffenheit des Steines zeigen," although as he acknowledged the letters are somewhat larger and with more letters per line.¹⁵ The script of fragment *b* exhibits kappas which have short hastas forming a small acute angle; in fragment *a*, the upper hasta extends up on a line with the top of the vertical stroke. The phis in *b* have an oval roundness, whereas in *a* they are bowed. The horizontal strokes of the pis overlap the right vertical strokes in fragment *b*; in *a* they are evenly joined. The circular letters in fragment *a* are broader. Furthermore, a disparity in the original width of the two stelai from which these fragments came can be determined. Fragment *b* is preserved to a width of 0.36 m. The original width of fragment *a* can be estimated as 0.33-0.34 m. by measurements for several lines. For example, the distance from the original left edge to the mu of σν[μπρόεδροι] in line 8 is 0.235 m. The amount of space for the unpreserved letters at the end of the line can be estimated by measuring the similar letters ΝΠΡΟΕΔΡΩΝ in line 7—a distance of .095 m. There is nothing in the preserved context of the two fragments to indicate a connection.

PRIEST OF THE EPONYMOS

7. Inscribed fragment of light grey marble, broken on all sides, found on June 24, 1939, in Section B.

¹⁴ Cf. Meritt, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 557-558.

¹⁵ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, p. 303. Cf. *Att. Urk.*, II, 1916, p. 13.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.10 m.;
thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5882.

AKAMANTIS

c. a. 225

-- ' λ ε --

X[ολαργεῖς]

ταcat

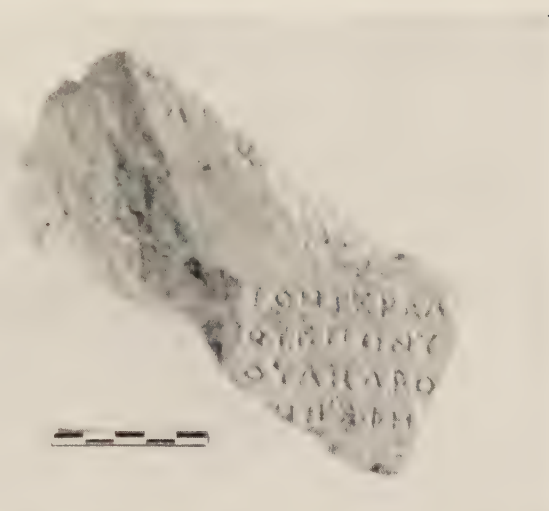
τὸν ἱερέα

τοῦ ἐπωνύ

5 [μ]ου Ἀνδρο

[κλ]ῆν Σφήτ

[τιο]ν



No. 7

This inscription with open alphas and lambdas was written in the "disjointed style" of the last quarter of the third century B.C. The preserved letters of lines 1 and 2 have been considered part of the register of prytaneis and not part of a citation because the stonecutter arranged the lines of the preserved citation in rough alignment to the left, whereas the chi of line 2 was indented several letter-spaces to the right. The citation of the priest of the eponymos was frequently the leftmost one under the register. An ancestor of the same name and demotic from the middle of the fourth century B.C. may have been *P.A.* 872, who was pleader of the oration published as Demosthenes XXXV. On the basis of identical demotics, it may be observed that our Androkles, of Sphettos, could have been the same man who was priest of the eponymos of Akamantis in 223/2 B.C. (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, no. 23, lines 39-41, 55).¹⁶

PRYTANY CITATIONS

8. Fragment of Hymettian marble, preserving the original rough-picked back, found in a modern wall in Section Ω on April 18, 1938.

Height, 0.215 m.; width, 0.235 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.115 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5414.

¹⁶ For the conjecture that these lines contained the name of the priest of the eponymos, see *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 396.



No. 8

c. a. 225

..εξ -----
 Χαρμ ^{α. β.} -----ερ ---
 vacat 0.02 m.
 ἡ βουλῇ
 Ζηνίωνα
 5 Κυδαθηναίέα
 vacat 0.06 m.
 ἡ βουλῇ
 Ἀριστοκ ---
 Φλυ[έα]

No restoration has been offered for the name of the prytanis inscribed in line 2, although the identification of this man would permit the determination of the phyle honored. To the left of the alpha there is preserved on

the squeeze a stroke which may be the lower right part of a chi or the lower diagonal stroke of a kappa. A chi seems much more likely. Nominal considerations in this line show that patronymics were inscribed in the register, which suggests a date before the final quarter of the third century.¹⁷ The amount of space to the left of the initial letter shows that the preserved portion of the register was not from the first column.¹⁸ The titles of the two officials inscribed beneath the register cannot be determined because the order of officials in relation both to each other and to the register of prytaneis varied in prytany inscriptions. Neither of the men was the Herald, for this office was held by one family, which is known.¹⁹ A likely suggestion, in accordance with the determinations of the sequence of officials as laid down by Dow, is that our citations were inscribed beneath column II and contained the names of the Priest of the Eponymos and the Undersecretary, but these determinations cannot be insisted upon.

One terminal date for the inscription may be offered on the basis of Dow's observation that in prytany texts preceding 259 B.C. the body which awarded crowns was not the boule, as in the citations of our document, but οἱ φυλέται or οἱ πρυτάνεις.²⁰ The script exhibits four alphas and lambdas which were not joined at the top, but

¹⁷ See *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 117.

¹⁸ It was the practice to have a register of only three columns in width when the patronymics were included, but this depended on the vagaries of individual secretaries and stonemasons and exceptions are to be found, for example, in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, no. 23, and XI, 1942, no. 47.

¹⁹ See Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 17.

²⁰ *Prytaneis*, pp. 20-21; cf. Raubitschek, *Cl. Phil.*, XXXVII, 1942, p. 319, note 7.

the other letters are not characteristic of the disjointed style of the period 229-206 B.C. Occurrences of the two-stroke phi are dated by Kirchner in the first part of the third century or earlier,²¹ but sporadic examples do occur much later.²² A date *ca.* 230 B.C. is tentatively proposed.

The upper part of a vertical stroke appears very clearly on the squeeze to the right of the omicron in line 7. No horizontal stroke projects from its top, so nominal considerations require the letter to be a kappa. If the name is Ἀριστοκλῆς, a possible descendant is mentioned in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 37, line 113 (= *I.G.*, II², 1960, line 15).

FRAGMENT OF A DECREE

9. Inscribed fragment of Hy-mettian marble, found on April 25, 1939, in Section BB. The rough-picked back and right side are preserved.

Height, 0.31 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 5791.



No. 9

ante a. 229

ca. 36

[----- ἀνα]-
 [γράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τ]ὸν [γραμματέα τὸν κα]-
 [τὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλ]ηι λιθίνηι κ[αὶ στήσαι ἐν]
 [τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ τῷ ἐν] ἄσ[τ]ει· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀνα[γραφὴν]
 5 [τῆς στήλης μερίσαι] τὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικήσ[ει τὸ γ]-
 [ενόμενον ἀνάλωμα]. *vacat* 0.10
 [ἡ βουλῇ] ἡ βουλῇ ἡ βουλῇ
 [ὁ δῆμος] ὁ δῆμος ὁ δῆμος

The inscription must be dated before 229 B.C. because the paymaster for inscribing the stele was the Single Officer of Administration.²³ The script is a degenerate

²¹ *Imagines inscriptionum Atticarum*, p. 20.

²² See *I.G.*, II², 839, 850.

²³ Occurrences after this date are limited to prytany inscriptions.

form of a style found in *I.G.*, II², 665, 666, and 724: noteworthy are the angular betas in the form Θ , the epsilons without the middle hasta, and the square omicrons. The letters at the beginning of line 4 are barely traceable, but the word $\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota$ indicates the restoration of the phrase $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$ $\tau\omega\iota$ $\Lambda\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\pi\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\iota$ $\tau\omega\iota$ $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$ $\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota$ (as in *I.G.*, II², 304, lines 10-11) or of $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$ $\tau\omega\iota$ Ἐλευσινίωι $\tau\omega\iota$ $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$ $\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota$ (as in *I.G.*, II², 204, line 57). Since our inscription was discovered in Section BB, which contains the hypothetical site of the Eleusinion,²⁴ the latter restoration is adopted.

The decree contained honors for three or more persons,²⁵ and from the designation of the place of erection it may be conjectured that they had served in some religious capacity. For reference solely to the legislative bodies in the text of citations, compare *I.G.*, II², 312, 314, and 573.

PRYTANY DECREE

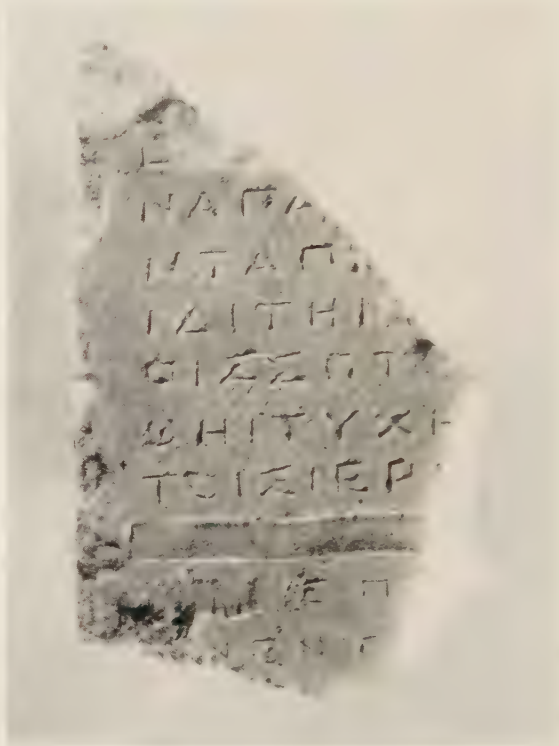
10. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on June 8, 1937, in clearing the area around the Tholos in Section Z. The original left side is preserved.

Height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.062 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 4943.

Five lines occupy a vertical space of 0.04 m.



No. 10

c. a. 240

ca. 52

ἐ[δοξεν τῶι δήμῳ· ———— ^{ca. 28} ———— εἶπεν ὁ ὑπὲρ ᾧ]-
 ν ἀπα[γγέλλουσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς ^{ca. 28} ὑπὲρ τῶν θυνσιῶν ὧν ἔθνο]-
 ν τὰ πρ[ὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶι τε Ἀπολλωνι τῶι Προστατηρίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμ]-
 ιδι τῇ [Βουλαίαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν, ὅς ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τ]-
 5 οῖς Σωτ[ήρσιν ἐν ταῖς καθηκούσαις ἡμέραις καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ὅς ἀγα]-

²⁴ See T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 267.

²⁵ Compare the ten crowns for *ιεροποιοί* in *I.G.*, II², 410 and the two crowns in *I.G.*, II², 505. Where several crowns were awarded to one man (e. g., *I.G.*, II², 457 + 3207, 3218), the phraseology seems to have been more explicit.

θῆι τύχη[ι δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμῳ, ὡς τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὰ γεγονότα ἐν]
 τοῖς ἱερο[ῖς οἷς ἔθνον ἐφ' ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου]
 [-----^{ca. 54}-----]
 [. . .] ὡς ἐπ[ειδὴ δὲ οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰς τε θυσίας ἔθυσαν ἀπάσας ὅσαι καθῆκ]-
 10 [ο]ν ἐν τ[ῇ πρυτανείαι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως· -----]

Mention of sacrifices to the Soteres (line 5)²⁶ and reference to the Macedonian royal house in what is now a *rasura* (lines 8-9) date this fragment of a "first" prytany decree within the period 262-229 B.C.²⁷ The erasure was made in 200 B.C. as part of the *damnatio memoriae* against the Macedonians. Tarn and Dow have warned that the lengths of the formula mentioning Antigonos and Demetrios II vary greatly and have rightly objected to the use of length of formula for purposes of dating.²⁸ In our Agora fragment there is a *rasura* of approximately 54 letter-spaces, iota being counted as half a letter. At the beginning of line 9 there was space for two letters or possibly for three if one was an iota: syllabic division was not observed. The most likely restoration which will fill this lacuna is one of 54 and one-half letter-spaces,²⁹ which would apply equally to the period of Antigonos or of Demetrios:

[καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ^{Ἀντιγόνου} Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης ^{Φίλας} Φθίας καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῶν]. Our inscription would then be dated because of the script at the end of the reign of Antigonos or in the first part of the reign of Demetrios prior to Phthia's bearing a child other than Philip to Demetrios.³⁰

²⁶ For the cult of the Soteres, see Ferguson, *Hell. Athens*, p. 126, note 1, and Wilhelm, *Ἀρχ. Ἑφ.*, 1937, pp. 203-207.

²⁷ See Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 10.

²⁸ Tarn, *Class. Quart.*, XVIII, 1924, pp. 17-23, especially p. 18, note 5, and *Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.*, Supplementary Vol. I, p. 487; Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 66.

²⁹ In *I.G.*, II², 790 (= *Prytaneis*, no. 23 plus *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 47), dated in 235/4, there was also a lacuna of 54 letter-spaces, but in this case the text adjacent to the lines of erasure was inscribed in stoichedon order. Since Dow (*Prytaneis*, pp. 66, 68) laid down the rigid epigraphical requirements for any text which would fill this *rasura*, three restorations have been offered: by Dow and Edson (*Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.*, XLVIII, 1937, pp. 142 and 148), by Dinsmoor (*List*, p. 156), and by Tarn (*Harvard Studies in Cl. Phil.*, Supplementary Vol. I, p. 489). Tarn's text is one of 55 letter-spaces and requires the crowding of two letters into one letter-space: Dow and Dinsmoor would permit this crowding only with an iota in the last letter-space of line 16. Dinsmoor drew from his restoration the conclusion that Phthia was dead when the decree was passed, but Tarn has demonstrated that Phthia is to be identified with Chryseïs and that she was alive in 235/4. The restoration by Dow and Edson, which best satisfies the epigraphical requirements, is [καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Φθίας καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ], although the designation of the son, later Philip V, is vague. Dinsmoor rejected this restoration because he wrongly assumed that Dow and Edson restored only 23 letters, instead of 24, in the upper line of the erasure. Syllabic division was not observed consistently in *I.G.*, II², 790, and it is not necessary to assume an un-inscribed space at the end of line 16.

³⁰ See Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 490.

PRYTANEIS OF HIPPOTHONTIS

11. Fragment of Hymettian marble with the original left edge preserved, found in Section H during the removal of the walls of a Byzantine house on May 22, 1937.

Height, 0.171 m.; width, 0.208 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4890.

This fragment joins the Agora inscription published by Dow as *Prytaneis*, no. 19. The complete text is as follows:



No. 11. I 4890 (Lower Left) and *Prytaneis*, no. 19

HIPPOTHONTIS

c. a. 240

			ᵛ [demoticum]
		10	[Με]νεκ[---]
			[᾽Α]ριστογ[ε---]
			Ἰερώνυμ[ος---]
			Ἄμ[αξαντεῖς]
			᾽Οψιάδης Ἀ[---]
		15	Φάλανθος[---]
			Ἐρο[ιάδαι]
			Διονύσιος[---]
			Αἰσχίνης[---]
			Κεῖ[ριάδαι]
		20	Χαιρήμω[ν---]
			Θεόφιλο[ς Θεοδότου]
			<i>vacat</i>
	[-----] ᵛ		
	[-----]οκλέ		
	[-----]άτου		
	[-----]ο]ν		
	[-----]αρίδου		
5	[...ᵛ]α[...ᵛ]εκλέους		
	[Τι]μόστρατ[ος....]φίλου		
	Κηφισόδωρο[ς....]σ[---]ν		
	Πάμφιλος Ερ[....]ρου		

Since the position of the upsilon in line 3 apparently rules out the restoration of the demotic [ἐξ Οἴω]ν,³¹ the first column of the register was concluded with the names of at least eight prytaneis. These must have been members of one of the two large demes of Hippothontis, Eleusis or Peiraeus.³² Both of the names Kephisodoros and Pamphilos are attested for Eleusis,³³ but these men are not from the third century.

The mu in line 6 is cut so close to the beginning of the column that [Δη]μόστρατος must be considered an unlikely restoration, [Τι]μόστρατος almost certain. There are several common names which may be restored for the name of the patronymic in line 8.

PRYTANY DECREE

12. Fragment of Hymettian marble from the upper right top of a stele, found on May 29, 1937, in a trench in Section Z east of the Tholos. On the ovolo moulding there are stains of a painted egg-and-dart design with an interaxial spacing of 0.035 m.

Height, 0.145 m.; width, 0.182 m.; thickness, 0.102 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

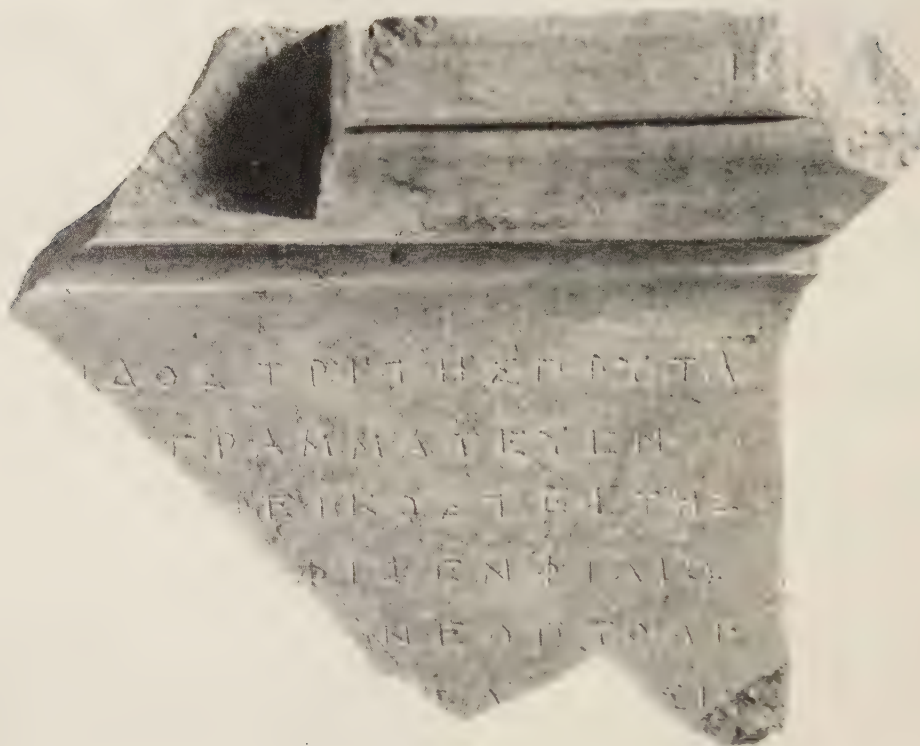
Inv. No. I 1999 c.

Five lines occupy a vertical space of 0.065 m.

³¹ In column II, the demotics are indented 0.037 m., or, roughly, four and one-half letter-spaces.

³² See the figures given by A. W. Gomme, *Population of Athens*, p. 63. Cf. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 126.

³³ *P.A.*, 11542 (165/4) and *I.G.*, II², 6036 (fourth century).



No. 12

ANTIOCHIS

med. s. III

ca. 42

[Θ ε ο] ί
 | Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος τρίτης πρυτα-
 | νείας ἥι ----- ca. 22 ----- | ἐγραμμάτευν
 | { Βοηδρομιῶνος } ----- καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς
 | { Πυανοψιῶνος } -----
 5 | πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψή|φιζεν Φιλίω-
 | ν ----- ca. 20 ----- καὶ συμπρόεδροι· Νεοπτόλε-
 | μος Φιλέου Δειραδιώτης εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγ|έλ|λου|σιν

For the rest of the text, see Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 20.

Line 1 was inscribed above the cymatium. In the fourth letter-space from the end of line 4, an epsilon was corrected into an iota.

This fragment is part of the same stele as the two fragments published by Dow as *Prytaneis*, no. 20. In his commentary, Dow noted that the *floruit* of the orator,

Neoptolemos of Deiradiotai,³⁴ and the formulae suggested a date in the fifties or early forties of the third century B.C. The text of the new fragment does not contain the names of the archon or of the secretary, but the length of the lacunae in lines 1 and 2 does permit the elimination of several years. Although the inscription is not stoichedon, the letters are very regularly cut. Dow, counting iota as occupying half a letter-space, restored approximately forty-two letters per line.³⁵ This determination is sustained by our text of lines 5 and 7 where the count for each line is $41\frac{1}{2}$ letter-spaces. The name of the archon, therefore, should be of approximately 6 letter-spaces (with the form ἐπί), that of the secretary of 22, for there is an uninscribed space of approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ letter-spaces at the end of line 2. One cannot press these determinations too rigidly as in the case of a stoichedon inscription, but it seems reasonable to exclude a line of more than 44 letters and to reject the name of an archon with more than eight letters and the name of a secretary with more than twenty-four. The results are then not too satisfying; for, using the tables in Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology*, we find as possible years within the period 260-240 B.C.: 259/8, 256/5, 248/7, 245/4, and 244/3. Two of these years must be eliminated: 248/7 because Antiochis was the prytanizing phyle in the sixth prytany of that year,³⁶ and 245/4 because the third prytany was held by the phyle Erechtheïs.³⁷ In the year 256/5, Neoptolemos of Deiradiotai was the secretary of the Boule and Demos;³⁸ in the year under discussion he was one of the bouleutai, as is attested by his being the orator of a motion made in the Boule.³⁹ Aristotle states that this secretary was chosen by the demos by show of hands,⁴⁰ but there is no evidence as to whether he came from the bouleutai;⁴¹ so 256/5 is a debatable year for our inscription. Calendar equations satisfactory for either an intercalary or an ordinary year may be restored in line 3.

³⁴ Neoptolemos was Secretary of the Boule and Demos in 256/5, as dated by Pritchett-Meritt, and the orator of a non-proboulematic decree in 252/1. He appears in our inscription as the orator of resolutions both in the boule and in the ekklesia.

³⁵ Dow's line 6 has $45\frac{1}{2}$ letters, but I believe that πάσας should be removed from the restoration for the lacuna between lines 6 and 7 and that θυσίας be divided between the two lines. The omicron of τ[ὸν] in line 6 should fall above the first alpha of ἀγα[θεῖ], and the restoration for the end of line 6 is too long. The uninscribed space in line 7 equals two letter-spaces, not four as read by Dow. The formulae in this inscription were unusually compressed.

³⁶ *J.G.*, II², 683.

³⁷ Meritt, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 550.

³⁸ *Prytaneis*, nos. 9 and 10.

³⁹ *Prytaneis*, no. 20, line 4.

⁴⁰ For the identification of the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου with the secretary named in Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, LIV, 5, see Ferguson, *The Athenian Secretaries*, pp. 66-70, and *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 160, note 1.

⁴¹ In *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 393-394, I have argued that requirements of space are best satisfied with the restoration of the demotic ἐκ Κ[εραμέων] for the secretary of the Boule and Demos in line 57 of the inscription published as *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, no. 23. The register of this inscription preserves the names of the prytaneis from the deme Kerameikos, and the name of the secretary is not included. No conclusive argument, however, can be based on the restoration ἐκ Κ[εραμέων].

PRYTANY CITATION

13. Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house in Section EE on February 27, 1939.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.185 m.;
thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 5691.

ante a. 260

οἱ [πρυτάνεις (?) τὸν]
ταμίαν [τῆς βουλῆς]
Εὐάγγελο[ν ---]
Σουνιέα

Although crowns might be bestowed by various organized societies on their treasurers,⁴² this particular citation has been tentatively restored as part of a prytany decree because of the vast majority of the examples of the latter. The inscription is tentatively dated before 260 B.C. in accord with Dow's determination that the body awarding the crown was specified as the boule, not οἱ φυλέται or οἱ πρυτάνεις, after this date.



No. 13

THE YEAR OF DIOTIMOS

14. Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken below and to the right, discovered during the demolition of the walls of the small Chapel of St. Elias in Section K on March 5, 1934. Most of the moulding is battered away.

Height, 0.29 m.; width, 0.49 m.; thickness, 0.165 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 1524.⁴³

⁴² See *I.G.*, II², 1298, lines 23-25, 1264, and 1325; cf. *I.G.*, II², 1297, line 22.

⁴³ This inscription was referred to without number by Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 133 and by Dinsmoor, *Athenian Archon List*, p. 40.

The interval between stoichoi increases towards the left side of the stele where five letters measured on centers occupy a horizontal space of 0.073 m. in contrast with 0.065 m. for the five rightmost preserved letters. Five lines occupy a vertical space of 0.063 m. The script is very similar to that of *I.G.*, II², 657.

a. 287/6

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 40

[Ἐπ|ὶ Διοτίμου ἄρχοντος ἐπ|ὶ τῆς¹⁵.....]-
 [ς π|ρυτανείας, ἥι Λυσίω|τρατος Ἀριστομάχου Παιαν]-
 [ιὲν|ς ἐγραμμάτενε|ν·¹⁸..... μετ' εἰκ]-
 [άδα|ς, τριακοστὲ|ὶ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία· τῶν πρ]-
 5 [οέδ|ρων ἐπεψ|ήφισεν²⁴.....]
 [... κ]αὶ συ|μπρόεδροι· - - - - -]



No. 14

There are already three known calendar equations from the year of Diotimos:

Hesperia, IX, 1940, no. 14. Prytany III (Kekropis), 9 = Boedromion 8/9⁴⁴

I.G., II², 653. Prytany VII (Antigonis), 29 = Gamelion 29/30

I.G., II², 654, 655. Prytany XII (Pandionis), 25 = Skirophorion 24/25/26⁴⁵

These indicate that the year was ordinary with the days by months and prytanies

⁴⁴ Ὀγδόη may be substituted for ἐνάτῃ in line 5 of the text of this inscription.

⁴⁵ See Meritt, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 548. In Meritt's equations for this inscription, Pryt. XII, 25 should be written as the constant element with the days in Skirophorion being 25, 24, and 26, respectively.

differing by not more than one.⁴⁶ In our Agora inscription, the thirtieth day of a prytany is apparently to be equated with the twenty-ninth day of a full month. If the count of days μετ' εικάδας is forward, the phrase ἐνάτη μετ' εικάδας must be restored in lines 3-4, and the month was Boedromion, for this is the only month the name of which had twelve letters in the genitive case. The prytany would be the third in number, and this is already known to have been held by the phyle Kekropis. The words Κεκροπίδος τρίτη|ς exactly fill the lacuna of lines 1-2. On the other hand, if the count with the phrase μετ' εικάδας was backward, as was more common throughout the third century, the phrase δευτέραι μετ' εικάδας is to be restored. The month must then be Posideon, which would fill the space of ten letters, and the number of the prytany, which may have been held by Demetrias or Akamantis, was the sixth. A choice between these two restorations could be made if the direction of count for the year could be determined from *I.G.*, II², 654; Usener and Kirchner posited backwards count, but Meritt has demonstrated the evidence is inconclusive.⁴⁷

LECTISTERNIUM OF PLUTO

15. Inscribed fragment of Hymettian marble, preserving the original right side, discovered in the wall of a modern house on March 7, 1939, in Section ZZ where several inscriptions relating to the Eleusinion have been found.⁴⁸

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.108 m.

Height of letters, 0.006-0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5708.

The Agora fragment contains the inscribed portion of the lower right part of *I.G.*, II², 1934, the following text of which may be offered for lines 14-18:

fin. s. IV

Διονυσόδωρον Ἑρ|—^{ca. 10}—|^r
 15 Ἀγνωνίδην Θεο|—^{ca. 5½}—|Κηφισ|ιέα
 |Ἀ|ριστογείτον|α—^{ca. 5½}—|Τρικο|ρύσιον
 |Ἀστ|ύροχον Θεοφ|—^{ca. 5}—|Πα|ιανιέα
 |—^{ca. 5½}—|ίαν Φυ|—^{ca. 6}—|Κυδαθ|ηναιέα
 τ'acat



No. 15

⁴⁶ Cf. Kirchner *ad I.G.*, II², 653; Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 389, 431, and *Athenian Archon List*, p. 224.

⁴⁷ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 548.

⁴⁸ For the significance of the provenience of the other two fragments of *I.G.*, II², 1934, see

The restoration of the demotic in line 15 permits the identification of *P.A.*, 174 and 175 as the same man.⁴⁹ The only improvement which may be offered in Kirchner's text of fragment *a* is the reading of an alpha and of the top half of an iota in line 18.

The inscription contains a list of names of the people who were appointed to conduct a *lectisternium* of Pluto. The epigraphical evidence for the sanctuary of Pluto and the sacristy in Athens has been compiled by P. H. Davis in his study on the *Plutonium*.⁵⁰

A PROXENY DECREE

16. Inscribed fragment of Pentelic marble, preserving the original left side and back, found on April 13, 1939, in Section OA.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.144 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 5773.

Five lines occupy a vertical space of 0.077 m., as measured from the squeeze, and five letters a horizontal space of 0.079 m.

fin. s. IV

Στοιχ. 22

[----- καὶ ἐ]-
 [ἴνα]ι π[ρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτ]-
 [ην] Ἀθηνα[ίων καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐ]-
 [κ]γόνους, [εἶναι δ' αὐτοῖς γῆς]
 5 καὶ οἰκία|ς ἔγκτησιν κατὰ τ|-
 οὺς νόμου|ς, ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶσιν]
 πᾶν|τε|ς [ὅτι -----]

No. 16

This fragment from a proxeny decree may be dated at the end of the fourth century on the basis of the formula for the ownership of land and house.⁵¹ The phrase

H. Möbius, *Ath. Mitt.*, LX-LXI, 1935-36, p. 265, note 6. Cf. Dorothy Burr, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 638.

⁴⁹ For additional prosopographical information concerning two others of the thirteen names. see Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 73 and *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 124.

⁵⁰ *Some Eleusinian Building Inscriptions of the Fourth Century before Christ*, Princeton Univ. Diss., 1931, pp. 61-67. This sanctuary is also mentioned in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 51, lines 5-6.

⁵¹ For bibliography. see Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*³, I, p. 302, note 1, to which should be added, in particular, Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden*, II (*Sitz. Kais. Ak. der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 1916, phil.-hist. Klasse, 180 Band, Abhandlung 2), pp. 9-23.

ἐγκτησις κατὰ τὸν νόμον was limited by Dittmar to inscriptions dated within the period 325-315 B.C.,⁵² terminal dates which now must be extended in both directions.⁵³ The governing laws may have been part of the financial measures of Lykourgos, for the phrase [ἐγκτησιν ὧν ἂν] ο[ἰκ]ῶν βούλονται in *I.G.*, II², 237 implies an absence of existing legal limitations on ἐγκτησις in 338/7 B.C.⁵⁴ These laws must have referred to general regulations,⁵⁵ not, as Kahrstedt has posited,⁵⁶ to limitations on the maximum price for the property to be acquired by the new metics; for regulations which required the definition of a maximum which differed in each case could not be summarized in a general law.⁵⁷

LITURGY CATALOGUE

17. Large fragment of Pentelic marble, preserving the original back and top, removed from a modern wall in Section II on April 10, 1937. The fragment had been re-used as a threshold block.

Height, 0.56 m.; width, 0.41 m.; thickness, 0.145 m.

Height of letters: in lines 1-2, *ca.* 0.02 m.; in line 3, 0.012 m.; in lines 4 ff., 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4689.

The names of this list were more compactly inscribed in lines 4-10 inclusive, where five lines occupy a vertical distance of 0.06 m., than in the remainder of the column, where five lines measure *ca.* 0.075 m.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

----- ξ ι ο σ -----

380/79 Π ν] θ έ ο ᾶ ρ χ ο ν τ ο ς

381/0 Ἐπὶ Δημοφίλο ἄρχοντος

Αἰσχίνης Πολυζήλο: Ἄλαι: ἀντὶ Λυκίσκ[ο τοῦ ----]

5 Πειθιδημίδης Πειθιδημίδο Στειρ: ἀντὶ [----]

Ἡγησίστρατος Ἡγησίλεω ἐκ Κερ: ἀντὶ Φρασικ[λ -- τοῦ ----]

⁵² *Leipz. Stud.*, XIII, 1890, p. 146. Cf. A. C. Johnson, *Cl. Phil.*, IX, 1914, p. 425.

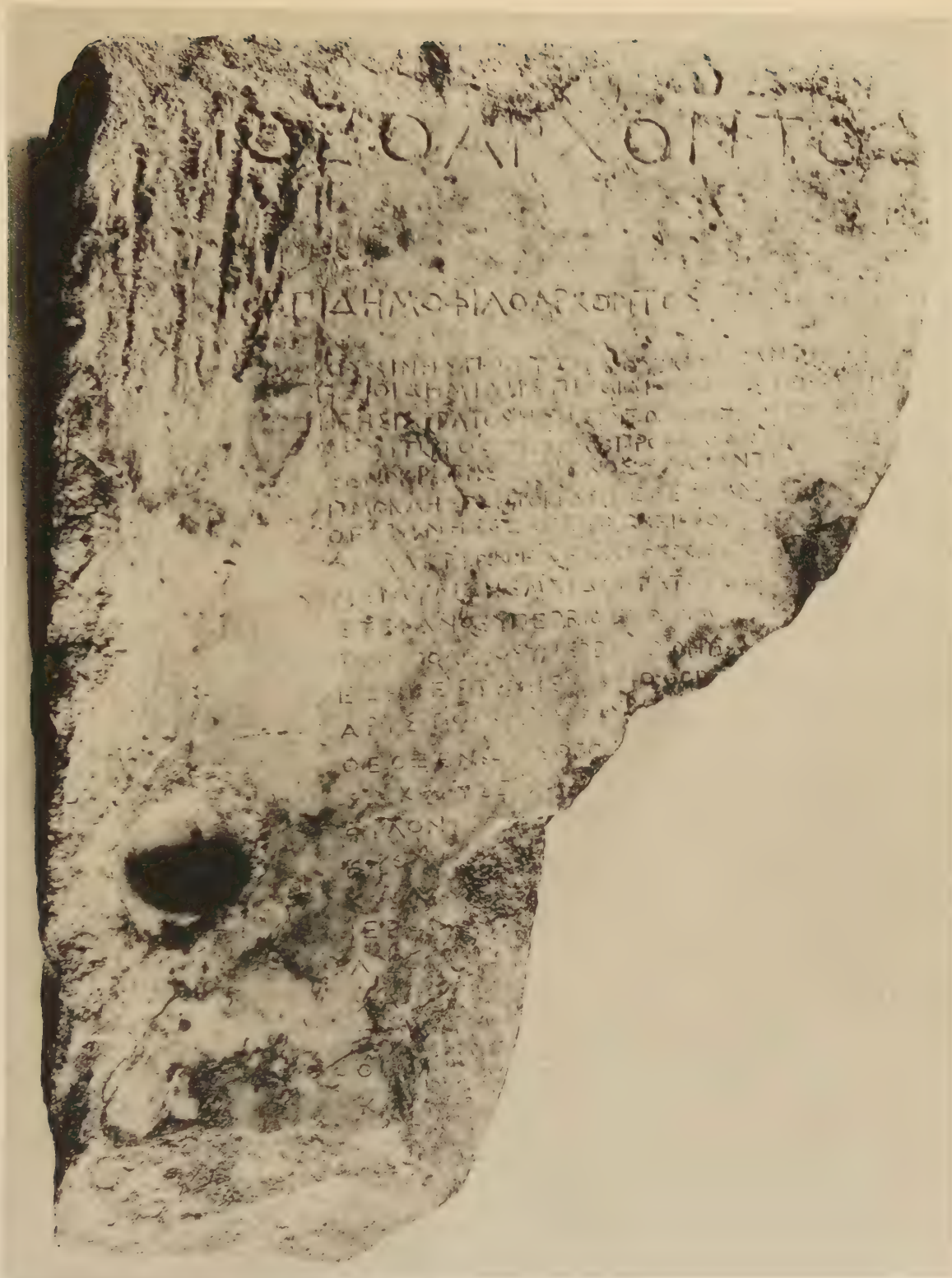
⁵³ The phrase ἐγκτησις κατὰ τὸν νόμον (or τοὺς νόμους) occurs in the following inscriptions: *I.G.*, II², 342, 343, 360, 396, 422, 425, 466, 551, 723, 884, 907, and *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, no. 7. The first of these is dated by Kirchner with a question mark as before 332/1 B.C.

⁵⁴ So Wilhelm, *Hermes*, XXIV, 1889, p. 331. Other provisions regulating citizenship were part of the enabling laws which preceded the decree of Demophilos (346 5 B.C.); see *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 272, note 16.

⁵⁵ So Wilhelm, *Att. Urk.*, II, p. 9.

⁵⁶ *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen*, p. 288, note 7.

⁵⁷ See Ferguson, *Hell. Athens*, p. 245, note 6.



No. 17

- Ἄρχιππος Γναθίο: Προβαλ: ἀντὶ Δημ|--- ---|
 Ξενοκράτης Ξένωνος: Ἄλαι: ἀντὶ Λυσιά|δο τοῦ --- ---|
 Τιμοκλῆς Ὀνητορίδου: Ἐλευσ: ἀντὶ [--- ---|
 10 Θεοφάνης Θεαγένους: ἐκ Κολ|--- ---|
 Φαλακρίων: Ἐχεκλέος: Κηφ|--- ---|
 Μειδυλίδης Μειδοκράτους: Ὡ|αθεν ? ἀντὶ --- ---|
 Στέφανος Ὑπερβίο Εὐωνυμ: ἀν|τὶ --- ---|
 Τλημπόλεμος Ὑπερβίο Εὐωνυμ|ε: ἀντὶ --- ---|
 15 Ἐξηκεστίδης Χαρίο: Θορ|--- ---|
 Ἀριστόμαχος Ἀρ|--- ---|
 Θεοξενίδης Θεο|--- ---|
 Σωκλῆς Εὐφο|--- ---|
 20 Φιλόνικο|ς --- ---|
 Εὐθυμ|--- ---|
 Καλλ|--- ---|
 Ἱερο|--- ---|
 Λυσ|--- ---|
 Χαρ|--- ---|
 25 Εὐ|--- ---|
 Οἰ|--- ---|
 Κρ|--- ---|
 |--- ---|

In line 1, the only two letters which may be read with certainty on the squeeze are omicron and sigma. To the left of the omicron enough of the original stone appears to be preserved to permit only a tau or an iota. In the next letter-space to the left, there seems to be the base of an oblique right hasta of a letter. Schweigert, who examined the stone, has reported that the preserved space to the right of the sigma was uninscribed.

This Agora fragment is part of the inscription, published as *I.G.*, II², 1929 plus *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 277-278, which is referred by commentators to the judicial settlements (διαδικασίαι) in the cases of the liturgy of the trierarchy.⁵⁸ Inscribed during the archonship of Pytheas (380/79), it apparently gives the list of alterations in the liturgic appointments of the year 381/0.

Kirchner has conjectured on the evidence of line 12 of *I.G.*, II², 1929, where the patronymic extends to the original right edge of the fragment without space for a demotic, that the inscription occupied at least two contiguous slabs. If the fragment

⁵⁸ See Lipsius, *Att. Recht*, p. 593, and Kirchner *ad I.G.*, II², 1928. However, Goligher (*Hermathena*, XIV, 1907, pp. 503-504) has protested that internal evidence for this determination is lacking.

published as *I.G.*, II², 1929 comes from the same column as our new Agora fragment, nominal considerations would not permit line 2 of *I.G.*, II², 1929, which preserves a demotic, to be placed any higher than line 16 of the Agora piece, which is the topmost line lacking a demotic. This would give a minimum of 42 lines in the column of names.⁵⁹ However, the fact that the end of the preserved portion of line 1 was uninscribed suggests that the Agora fragment is part of the rightmost slab and that the column at the left was headed by the name of the archon of the preceding year, corresponding to the ἐπὶ Δημοφίλο ἄρχοντος of line 3.

Concerning the prosopographical items, no previously known Athenian has been found who bears the same *nomen*, patronymic, and demotic as any of those in the catalogue. On the basis of identity of name and demotic, however, the following identifications may be suggested:

Line 4: Αἰσχίνης Ἀλαιοῦς (*P.A.*, 343, cf. *ad P.A.*, 341) is known as the father of ...ἵππος who participated with 23 other fellow-demesmen in the erection of a statue to Aphrodite shortly before 360 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 2820, line 17).⁶⁰ All of the dedicants in this latter inscription are, I believe, from the phyle Kekropis, and this determination, if correct, necessitates changes in prosopographical items in the *P.A.* and in Wilhelm's recent study of *I.G.*, II², 2820 and 2824.⁶¹ *I.G.*, II², 2820 contains the heading: [οἱ αἰ|ρεθῆ|ν|τ|ες ὑπ|ὸ Ἀλα|ῶν τὸ ἄγ|αλμα ποήσασθαι τεῖ Ἀφ|ροδίτει στεφα|νωθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν δη|μοτῶν ἀνέ|θεσαν τεῖ Ἀφρο|δίτει]. Several of the twenty-four dedicants are recognized by Kirchner in the *P.A.* as members of the phyle Kekropis and in the case of one, Ἀστυφίλος Φιλάγρου Ἀλαιοῦς, the determination is made on the basis of the identity of all three elements of the name, for Ἀστυφίλος [Φιλ|άγρο Ἀλαιοῦς is listed as a prytanis of Kekropis in *I.G.*, II², 1743, line 7.⁶² The demesmen, then, in *I.G.*, II², 2820 are the Ἀλαιοῖς from Halai Aixonides in Kekropis, a deme separated by the width of Attica from Halai Araphenides in Aigeis. Wilhelm, however, in republishing *I.G.*, II², 2824 has stated that it is plausible that the Φίλαγρο[s | --- ---] of lines 4-5 is the [Φίλ|αγρος Δ|ιοκ|λέους Ἀλαιοῦς of *I.G.*, II², 2820, line 24, or his grandson.⁶³ But *I.G.*, II², 2824 is a dedication erected by

⁵⁹ For the year 383/2, Stschoukareff (*Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1887, p. 135) on the evidence of *I.G.*, II², 1930 and 1931 has estimated 150 adjudications involving liturgies.

⁶⁰ For the date, see Wilhelm, *Att. Urk.*, V, 1942, p. 139.

⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 135-147.

⁶² Equally convincing is the identification of Nikomenes, son of Hieron, of Halai (*I.G.*, II², 2820, line 6) with the member of the board of Amphictyones of the same name (*I.G.*, II², 1635, line 61) who Ferguson (*Cl. Rev.*, XV, 1901, pp. 38-40) has demonstrated was a Kekropid. Wilhelm has restored the name [Αἰσ|χίας Φιληρίφον in *I.G.*, II², 2820, line 14, and has connected this Aischias with <Α>ίσχίας Φιληρίφον Ἀλαιοῦς of Ἀρχ. Δελτ., 1927-28, p. 40, line 11. This latter inscription is a decree of the Ἀλαιοῖς of Kekropis, as is proved by the provenance of the stone.

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, p. 146. Cf. Kirchner *ad I.G.*, II², 2824 and, in particular, the stemma under *P.A.*, 9110. The restoration was first made by Koehler.

four men from Aigeis,⁶⁴ and the two men with the name Φίλαγρος belonged to different phylai. In turn, this removes the basis for Kirchner's contention (*ad P.A.*, 10913) that Νικήρατος cannot be restored as the *nomen* of [---] Ν[ι]κοκράτου 'Αλαιεύς in line 5 of *I.G.*, II², 2824 because a name of approximately five letters is required; nor need we restore with Wilhelm the *nomen* [Νικίας]. At the beginning of line 5 there is a lacuna of approximately 21 letter-spaces in which were apparently inscribed the patronymic and demotic of Φίλαγρο[ς] and the *nomen* of --- Ν[ι]κοκράτου 'Αλαιεύς. If *I.G.*, II², 2824 is to be transferred from 340/39 to 313/2, as Wilhelm proposes, the change must be made on the basis not of his prosopographical arguments but of his considerations of script and orthography. It may be noted that with the date 313/2 the restoration and identification of Νικήρατος with *P.A.*, 10734 would be unlikely, because the latter, διατητής in 325/4,⁶⁵ was born in 385/4. Concerning the family of this Nikeratos of Halai, two independent studies have been offered, that of Wilhelm in 1942, and the stemma of Hondius in *Nozac Inscriptiones Atticae*, p. 116. The stemma of Hondius must be questioned because it gives as brothers the Nikeratos who was born in 385/4 and a Nikodemos who was epistates of the proedroi in 303/2.⁶⁶ This Nikodemos should, I believe, be rejected from the family because, as Hondius admitted, the restoration of 'Αλαιεύς in *I.G.*, II², 490, line 7, is short by one letter-space, and the identification of [Νικό]δημος Νικοκρ[άτους⁸.....] as being from Halai was made not by connecting him with a known man of this name from the same period but by assuming a continuity of names within a family. In fact, there are many possibilities for the restoration of the name of the epistates and the text should be corrected to read simply [....]δημος Νικοκρ[.....¹.....].⁶⁷

On the other hand, Wilhelm has failed to consider the Νικοκράτης Νικοδή[μο] 'Αλαι[εύς] who appears in the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 2372, line 12. This catalogue contains names of men whose floruits Hondius placed in the period 370-360 B.C., although it is unlikely that the men were diaitetai as Hondius suggested.⁶⁸ From these dates, it becomes apparent that we have at least two men of Halai Araphenides with the name Nikokrates. On the assumption generally made in prosopographical studies that identical names indicate a family relationship, the following stemma is possible:

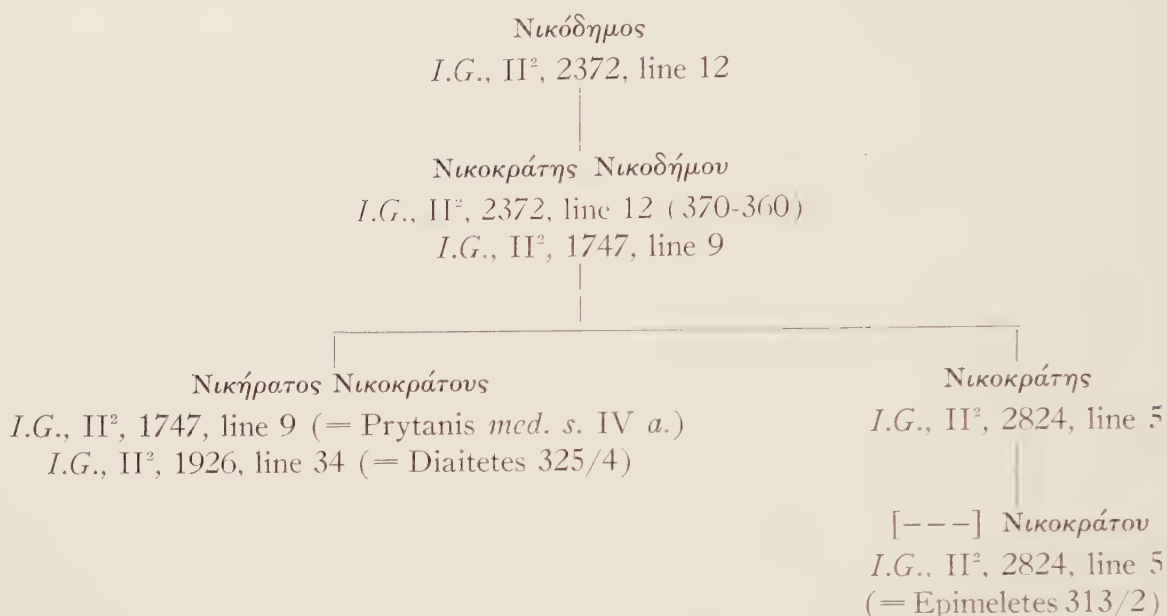
⁶⁴ The word [ἐπιμελητ]αί is most probably to be restored in line 1; see *A.J.P.*, LXIII, 1942, p. 429, note 62, and Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-147.

⁶⁵ *I.G.*, II², 1926, line 34.

⁶⁶ *I.G.*, II², 490, lines 6-7.

⁶⁷ It may also be observed that Νικόδημος (I) of Hondius's stemma is not the same as *P.A.*, 10865, for the demotic of the latter has been corrected by Kirchner (*I.G.*, II², 1861) from 'Αλαιεύς to 'Ελαιούσιος.

⁶⁸ See Gomme, *Population of Athens*, pp. 72-73.



Line 13: A Στέφανος Εὐωνυμεύς appears in the naval catalogue I.G., II², 1609, line 85, which Schweigert has dated in 365/4.⁶⁹ His trierarchy may be dated a few years earlier, for the text indicates merely that the equipment which Stephanos contributed was still in use at the date of the catalogue. This Stephanos was identified by Sundwall with the Stephanos of Euonymon who was listed as trierarch in I.G., II², 1618, line 89 (*post* 358/7),⁷⁰ and Kirchner had already identified the latter as Στέφανος Σωινάυτου Εὐωνυμεύς whose name appears on the funerary monument I.G., II², 6188 (*post med. s.* IV *a.*).⁷¹ Thus, within a span of a little more than thirty years, there are four occurrences of the name Stephanos of Euonymon, three of which are in connection with the liturgy of the trierarchy. Two of these four are shown by their patronymics to be different men. The three trierarchs might be recognized as the same man, but it seems preferable in the light of our present knowledge to refrain from any subjective determinations on the basis of identity of *nomen* and demotic and to list the four as separate individuals.

⁶⁹ *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 194-198. On the basis of prosopography, Schweigert has also connected I.G., II², 1952 with the cleruchic expedition to Samos in 365/4. The attribution of fragments *b* and *c* to fragment *a* of this inscription, originally made by Koehler, may be questioned. Five lines on fragment *b* occupy on the average a vertical space of 0.047 m., on fragment *a*, a space of 0.057 m. The scripts are similar, but the letters of fragment *a* are more carelessly incised and there are minor differences in letter-forms, e. g., the omega and the phi of fragment *a* are more rounded.

⁷⁰ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXV, 1910, p. 58.

⁷¹ *P.A.*, 12888. No date has been offered by Kirchner for the funerary inscription I.G., II², 6187, which contains the name: Στέ[φανος] Ἀχα[ίου] Εὐωνυμεύς. It apparently was seen only by Fourmont.

Line 15: Ἐξηκεστίδης Θορίκιος was general in 357/6 (*I.G.*, II², 124 = *P.A.*, 4718).⁷²

The following general prosopographical items are offered:

Line 7: Α Γναθίος was orator of a decree in 394/3 (*I.G.*, II², 16).

Line 8: A possible descendant is Ξένων Ξένωνος Ἀλαιεύς, ephebe in 119/8 (*I.G.*, II², 1008, line 100).

Line 10: A possible son is Καλλ — — | Θεοφ — — | ἐκ Κο — — of *I.G.*, II², 6524.

Line 13: An Ὑπέρβιος of Erechtheis is known from *I.G.*, I², 929, line 122.

Two of the names in the catalogue I have not found applied to any other citizen of Athens: Πειθιδημίδης (line 5) and Μειδοκράτης (line 12).

KENDRICK PRITCHETT

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS
INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

⁷² There was also an Exekestides, the name of whose deme is lost, who was named as *τριήραχος* in the naval catalogue of 356/5 (*I.G.*, II², 1612, line 293). Another, from the phyle Akamantis which included Thorikos, appears as the father of an unknown son in a catalogue of 378/7 (*I.G.*, II², 1741, line 3), but this man would probably have been too old to be a general in 357/6, although we have the evidence of the generalship being held by a man 80 years of age (*P.A.*, 15076). Sufficient text is not preserved to restore with any degree of certainty the full name of our Exekestides in the fourth-century sepulchral inscription *I.G.*, II², 11269: Ἐξ[ηκεσ]τίδης Χα — —; this inscription was found in the modern village of Brahami (Βραχάμι) near ancient Phlya, a considerable distance from Thorikos. The name was common in the fourth century and there is no reason for Kirchner (*ad P.A.* 4710) to associate the orator of *I.G.*, II², 116 with any particular one of the other known bearers of the name.

- 'Αγαθ[---] Μελιτ[εύς], thesmothetes in the first or second century after Christ, 138 (1)
 'Αγνωνίδης Θεο[^{ca. 53}---] Κηφισ[ιεύς], contributor to *lectisternium* at the end of the fourth century B.C., 158 (15 15)
 Αίσχίνης Πολυζήλου 'Αλαι(εύς), in liturgy catalogue in 381/0, 160 (17 4)
 Αίσχίνης [---] 'Ερο[ιάδης], councillor of Hippothontis ca. 240 B.C., 153 (11 18)
 'Αλέξανδ[ρος] (Μαραθώνιος), second century after Christ, father of Φανστ[---], 139 (2)
 'Ανδρο[κλ]ῆς Σφήτ[τιος], priest of Akamantis ca. 225 B.C., 147 (7)
 'Αρ[---], ca. 414 B.C., father of 'Αριστόμαχος, 161 (17 16)
 ['Α]ριστογ[ε---], councillor of Hippothontis ca. 240 B.C., 153 (11 11)
 ['Α]ριστογείτων [^{ca. 53}---] Τρικο[ρύσιος], contributor to *lectisternium* at the end of the fourth century B.C., 158 (15 16)
 'Αριστοκ--- Φλυ[εύς], honored ca. 225 B.C., 148 (8 7-8)
 'Αριστόμαχος 'Αρ[---], in liturgy catalogue in 381/0, 161 (17 16)
 ['Αριστόμαχος] (Παιανιεύς), ca. 320 B.C., father of Ανσίς[τρατος], 157 (14 2)
 ['Αρχικ]λῆς Θεοδώρου Θεορίκιος, secretary in 188/7, 145 (6 1-2)
 'Αρχιππος Γναθίου Προβαλ(ίσιος), in liturgy catalogue in 381/0, 161 (17 7)
 ['Αστ]ύοχος Θεοφ[^{ca. 5}---] Πα[λιανιεύς], contributor to *lectisternium* at the end of the fourth century B.C., 158 (15 17)
 [Βιοτέλης] (Περιθοίδης), ca. 208 B.C., father of Πανσανίας, 143 (5 2)
 Γναθίος (Προβαλίσιος), ca. 414 B.C., father of 'Αρχιππος, 161 (17 7)
 Δ[---] ('Αμαξαντεύς), ca. 273 B.C., father of 'Υψιάδης, 153 (11 14)
 Δημ[---], in liturgy catalogue in 381/0, 161 (17 7)
 Δημόφιλος, archon in 381/0, 160 (17 3)
 Διονύσιος[---] 'Ερο[ιάδης], councillor of Hippothontis ca. 240 B.C., 153 (11 17)
 Διονυσόδωρος 'Ηρ[---], contributor to *lectisternium* at the end of the fourth century B.C., 158 (15 14)
 Διονυσόδωρος Φι[.....¹⁶.....], secretary in 159/8, 141 (3 35-36)
 Διώτιμος, archon in 287/6, 157 (14 1)
 'Εξηκεστίδης Χαρίων Θορ[ίκιος], in liturgy catalogue in 381/0, 161 (17 15)
 Ερ[...]ρον (genitive), ca. 273 B.C., father of Πάμφιλος, 153 (11 1)
 Εϋ[---], in liturgy catalogue in 381/0, 161 (17 25)
 Εὐάγγελος[---] Σοινιεύς, treasurer of the boule ca. 260 B.C., 156 (13)
 Εὐθιμ[---], in liturgy catalogue in 381/0, 161 (17 20)
 Εὐφο[---], ca. 414 B.C., father of Σοκλῆς, 161 (17 18)
 'Εχεκλῆς (Κηφισιεύς), ca. 414 B.C., father of Φαλακρίων, 161 (17 11)
 Ζημίων Κνδαθηναιεύς, honored ca. 225 B.C., 148 (8 4-5)
 'Ηγησίλεως (ἐκ Κεραμέων), ca. 414 B.C., father of 'Ηγησίστρατος, 160 (17 6)
 'Ηγησίστρατος 'Ηγησίλεω ἐκ Κερ(αμέων), in liturgy catalogue in 381/0, 160 (17 6)
 'Ηρ[---], ca. 335 B.C., father of Διονυσόδωρος, 158 (15 14)

- Θεαγένης (ἐκ Κολωνοῦ), *ca.* 414 B.C., father of
Θεοφάνης, 161 (17 10)
- Θεο[---], *ca.* 414 B.C., father of Θεοξενίδης, 161
(17 17)
- Θεο[---] (Κηφισιεύς), *ca.* 335 B.C., father of
Ἀγωνίδης, 158 (15 15)
- [Θεόδοτος] (Κεiriάδης), *ca.* 273 B.C., father of
Θεόφιλο[s], 153 (11 21)
- Θεόδωρος (Θορίκιος), *ca.* 221 B.C., father of
Ἀρχικ[λ]ής, 145 (6 2)
- Θεοξενίδης Θεο[---], in liturgy catalogue in
381/0, 161 (17 17)
- Θεοφ[---] (Παιανιεύς), *ca.* 335 B.C., father of
Ἀστ[ύ]χορος, 158 (15 17)
- Θεοφάνης Θεαγένους ἐκ Κολ(ωνοῦ), in liturgy cata-
logue in 381/0, 161 (17 10)
- Θεόφιλο[s Θεοδότου] Κεiriάδης], councillor of
Hippothontis *ca.* 240 B.C., 153 (11 21)
- Ἱερο[---], in liturgy catalogue in 381/0, 161
(17 22)
- Ἱερώνυ[μος ---], councillor of Hippothontis
ca. 240 B.C., 153 (11 12)
- Κα[---], in liturgy catalogue in 381/0, 161
(17 27)
- Καλλ[---], in liturgy catalogue in 381/0, 161
(17 21)
- Κηφισόδωρο[s . . .]σ[---]υ, councillor of Hippo-
thontis *ca.* 240 B.C., 153 (11 7)
- Λυκίσκ[ος ---], in liturgy catalogue in 381/0,
160 (17 4)
- Λυσ[---], in liturgy catalogue in 381/0, 161
(17 23)
- Λυσιά[δης ---], in liturgy catalogue in 381/0,
161 (17 8)
- Λυσίσ[τρατος Ἀριστομάχου Παιανιεύ]ς, secretary
in 287/6, 157 (14 2-3)
- Μειδοκράτης (ᾠαθεν?), *ca.* 414 B.C., father of
Μειδονίδης, 161 (17 12)
- Μειδονίδης Μειδοκράτους ᾠ[αθεν?], in liturgy
catalogue in 381/0, 161 (17 12)
- [Με]νεκ[---], councillor of Hippothontis *ca.*
240 B.C., 153 (11 10)
- Μησιγένης] Μ[νη]σ[ιγένοι] Ἑρμειος, chairman
of the proedroi in 159/8, 141 (3 39-40)
- Μ[νη]σ[ιγένης] (Ἑρμειος), *ca.* 192 B.C., father
of Μησιγένης], 141 (3 39)
- Νεοπτόλε[μος Φιλέου Δειραδιώτης], orator *ca.* 250
B.C., 154 (12 6-7)
- Νικοσ[θένης], Athenian potter of the late sixth
century B.C., 132 (no. 23)
- Ξενοκράτης Ξένωνος Ἀλαι(εύς), in liturgy cata-
logue in 381/0, 161 (17 8)
- Ξένων (Ἀλαιεύς), *ca.* 414 B.C., father of Ξενο-
κράτης, 161 (17 8)
- Οἰ[---], in liturgy catalogue in 381/0, 161
(17 26)
- Ὀνητορίδης (Ἑλεσίνιος), *ca.* 414 B.C., father of
Τιμοκλ[ῆ]ς, 161 (17 9)
- Ὀψιάδης Δ[---] Ἀμ[αξαντεύς], councillor of
Hippothontis *ca.* 240 B.C., 153 (11 14)
- Πάμφιλος Ερ[. . .]ρον, councillor of Hippo-
thontis *ca.* 240 B.C., 153 (11 8)
- Πανσανίας [Βιοτέλου Περιθοίδης], secretary in
175/4, 143 (5 2)
- Πειθιδημίδης Πειθιδημίδου Στεiρ(εύς), in liturgy
catalogue in 381/0, 160 (17 5)
- Πειθιδημίδης (Στεiριεύς), *ca.* 414 B.C., father of
Πειθιδημίδης, 160 (17 5)
- Πολύξηλος (Ἀλαιεύς), *ca.* 414 B.C., father of
Αισχίνης, 160 (17 4)
- [Πη]θέας, archon in 380/79, 160 (17 2)
- Στέφανος Ὑπερβίου Εὐωνυμ[εύς], in liturgy cata-
logue in 381/0, 161 (17 13)
- Σύμμαχος, archon in 188/7, 145 (6 1)
- Σωκλ[ῆ]ς Εὐφο[---], in liturgy catalogue in
381/0, 161 (17 18)
- Σόνικος, archon in 175/4, 143 (5 1)
- Τιμοκλ[ῆ]ς Ὀνητορίδου Ἑλεσ(ίνιος), in liturgy
catalogue in 381/0, 161 (17 9)
- [Τι]μόστρατ[ος . . .]φίλον, councillor of Hippo-
thontis *ca.* 240 B.C., 153 (11 6)
- Τληπόλεμος Ὑπερβίου Εὐωνυμ[εύς], in liturgy
catalogue in 381/0, 161 (17 14)

- Ὑπέρβιος (Εὐωνυμεύς), *ca.* 414 B.C., father of Στέφανος and Τληπόλεμος, 161 (17 13 and 14)
- Φαλακρίων Ἐχεκλέους Κηφ[ισιεύς], in liturgy catalogue in 381/0, 161 (17 11)
- Φάλανθος [---] Ἀμ[αξαντεύς], councillor of Hippothontis *ca.* 240 B.C., 153 (11 15)
- Φανστ[---] Ἀλεξάνδ[ρου] Μα[ραθώνιος], one of the college of archons in the second century after Christ, 139 (2)
- Φι[---], *ca.* 192 B.C., father of Διονυσόδωρος, 141 (3 35)
- [Φιλίας] (Δειραδιώτης), *ca.* 280 B.C., father of Νεοπτόλε[μος], 154 (12 7)
- Φιλίω[ν ---^{ca. 20}---], chairman of the proedroi *ca.* 250 B.C., 154 (12 5-6)
- Φιλόνικο[ς ---], in liturgy catalogue in 381/0, 161 (17 19)
- Φρασικ[λ ---], in liturgy catalogue in 381/0, 160 (17 6)
- Φυ[---] (Κυδαθηναίεύς), *ca.* 335 B.C., father of [---]ίας, 158 (15 18)
- Χαιρήμων[ν ---] Κε[ριάδης], councillor of Hippothontis *ca.* 240 B.C., 153 (11 20)
- Χαρ[---], in liturgy catalogue in 381/0, 161 (17 24)
- Χαρίας (Θορίκιος), *ca.* 414 B.C., father of Ἐξ-κεστίδης, 161 (17 15)
- Χαρμ[^{ca. 55}---]ερ[---], councillor *ca.* 225 B.C., 148 (8 2)
- [^{ca. 55}...]α[^{ca. 55}...]εκλέωνς, councillor of Hippothontis *ca.* 240 B.C., 153 (11 5)
- [---]αρίδου, councillor of Hippothontis *ca.* 240 B.C., 153 (11 4)
- [---]άτου, councillor of Hippothontis *ca.* 240 B.C., 153 (11 2)
- Ἡξ[---], councillor *ca.* 225 B.C., 148 (8 1)
- [---^{ca. 18}---]εύς, chairman of the proedroi in 175/4, 143 (5 4-5)
- [^{ca. 18}---]ίας Φυ[^{ca. 6}---]Κυδαθ]ηναίεύς, contributor to *lectisternium* at the end of the fourth century B.C., 158 (15 18)
- [^{ca. 17}---]Κυδαθ]ηναίεύς, orator in 175/4, 143 (5 5-6)
- [---]λλε[---], councillor of Akamantis *ca.* 225 B.C., 147 (7 1)
- [---]οκλέ(ους), councillor of Hippothontis *ca.* 240 B.C., 153 (11 1)
- ολέας, Athenian potter in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., 131 (no. 19)
- [---]ο]ν, councillor of Hippothontis *ca.* 240 B.C., 153 (11 3)
- [...]φιλος, *ca.* 273 B.C., father of [Τι]μόσ-τρατ[ος], 153 (11 6)

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

PUBLIC FUNERAL MONUMENTS (18-21)

18. FRAGMENT of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the rough-picked back preserved, found on November 14, 1936, in the wall of a modern house in Section T.

Height, 0.412 m.; width, 0.156 m.; thickness, 0.183 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 953b.

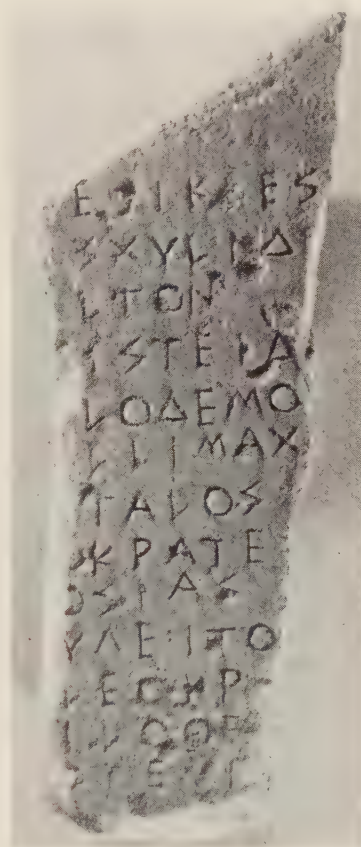
The writing is stoichedon, with a vertical unit of ca. 0.023 m. and a horizontal unit of 0.018 m.

Before 450 B.C.

τ'acat

[K] | τεσικλῆς
[A] | ἰσχυλίδε | s |
[Φί] | λτον
[A] | ριστείδ | es |
5 [Φι] | λόδεμο | s |
[Ka] | λλίμαχ | os |
[Πέ] | ταλος
[Σ] | οκράτες
[Σ] | οοσίας
10 [E] | ὑγείτο | ν |
[K] | λεοκρ | -- |
[Φ] | ιλοθε | -- |
[Σ] | οτε | ρ | ί | δεσ |

— — — — —



No. 18

This panel of names may belong to a public funeral monument.

19. Two fragments of Pentelic marble, one of which (*a*) is broken on all sides and at the back, while the other (*b*), though broken on all sides, apparently has the original thickness preserved. Fragment *a* was found on April 2, 1936, in a modern wall in Section P; fragment *b* was found on May 28, 1933, in a modern wall in

Section I. Fragment *b* probably joins an unpublished piece (E.M. 5164) in the Epigraphical Museum, though the actual test has not as yet been made. The combined fragments indicate a width of column of 12 letter spaces.

Fragment *a*: Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

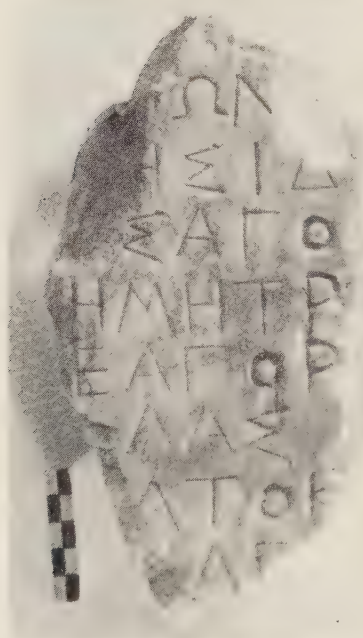
Height of letters, 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 895 *b*.

Fragment *b*: Height, 0.295 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.16 m.

Height of letters, 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 895 *a*.



No. 19. Fragment *a*



No. 19. Fragment *b*

The writing is stoichedon, with a vertical chequer unit of 0.024 m. and a horizontal unit of 0.0205 m. Omicron is small (0.01 m.) and made with the tubular drill. In spite of the Ionic alphabet the letter-forms point to a date later than the middle of the fifth century, possibly near the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.

No. 19. Fragment *b* + E.M. 5164

(Photograph from Squeeze)

ca. 430 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 12

Col. I

[. .] φων[---]
 [Μν]ησίδ[ημος]
 [Λυ]σαγό[ρης]
 5 [Δ]ημήτρ[ιος]
 [Λ]εαγόρ[ης]
 [Ἰ]όλας
 [. .] ατοκ[---]
 [Να]υαγ[όρης]

10 -----

lacuna

[. . . .] ο | s
 [. . . .] ανδρος
 [Παν]τάγωντο[ς]
 [Ἀλυ]άττης

15 | | s Col. II

[. . . . γ] όρης Ο[-----]
 [Ἀριστ]όδικος^v Ν[-----]
 [. . . .] λ [-----]
 [. . . .] μω[---]

20 -----

In *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 25-27, Raubitschek published part of a casualty list which he identified (following Wilhelm) as the first such list from the Peloponnesian War. The letters of the present text are not by the same hand, but they are of similar monumental size and may well be from approximately the same date. Apparently this too was a funeral monument, commemorating allies of the Athenians whose names might reasonably have been inscribed in Ionic letters.

20. Two contiguous fragments of an inscribed stele of Pentelic marble. One fragment, broken on all sides, was found in December, 1934, in the wall of a modern house in Section II. The other fragment, with the smooth right face and rough-picked back preserved, was found on May 22, 1933, in a modern house in Section I.

Height, as joined, *ca.* 0.50 m.; width, as joined, *ca.* 0.55 m.; thickness, 0.247 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 888.

The inscription is stoichedon, with a chequer pattern in which the vertical unit is 0.0167 m. and the horizontal unit 0.014 m.



Late Fifth Century B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

I

[. . .] λει[. .] vac.
 Ἐπιστέμον
 Γλαύκιππος
 5 Πυθοκλῆς
 Λυσανίας
 Ἀρχονίδες
 Καλλίστρατος
 Χρόμον
 10 Θεοτιμίδες
 Κνίπον
 Μίκος
 Θε[ό]τιμος

15 Δ[-----]
 Νικο[-----]
 Πατροκλῆς
 Αἰσχύας
 Μέναιχμος
 Χαρικλείδες
 20 Φανόμαχος
 Ἀντοκλῆς
 Μνεσίας
 Χαιρέδεμος
 Φιλτονίδες
 25 [. ⁵ . . .] κλῆς
 [.⁸ . . .] ος

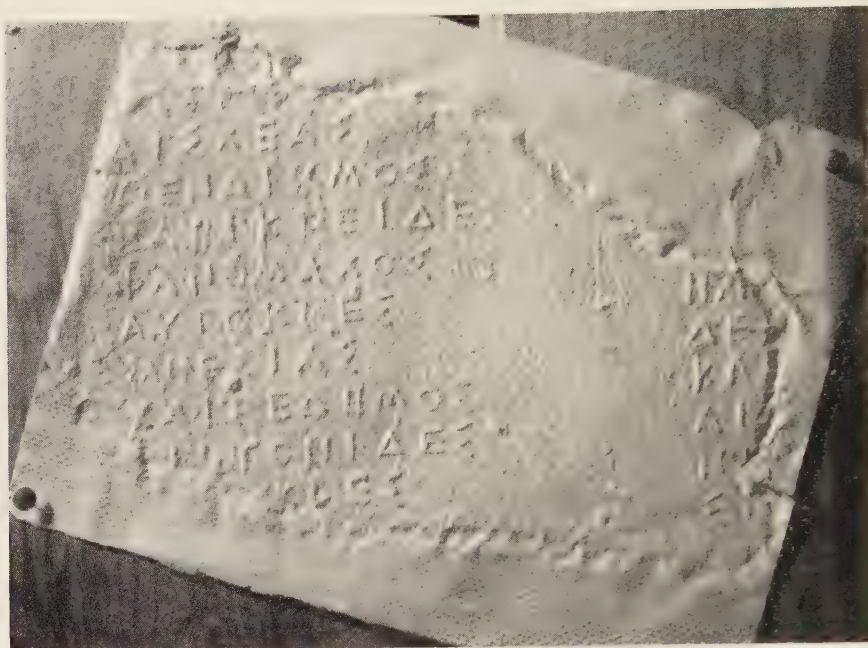
II

T|-----|
 Na|-----|
 30 Λυ|-----|
 ³Αν^α|-----|
 Πα|-----|
 ³Αντ|-----|
 Κομ|----|
 35 Πιστ|----|
 Φοχσ|----|
 Καλ|----|
 Πα|...⁶...|ς
 ³Α[ρυστοκ]λείδες
 40 ³Α[ρυστό]δικος
 {...⁶...|άτες
 [...⁶...]ος
 [...⁶...]λος
 {...⁶...|ιος
 45 [...⁶...]ς
 [...⁶]ς
 [...⁶...]ίδες
 [...⁶...]ον
 [...⁷...]ον
 50 [...⁶...]ρατος

lacuna

55

Φ		-----	
$h\alpha$		-----	
$\Delta\epsilon\lambda$		----	
$K\alpha\lambda$		----	
$A\iota\sigma$		----	
$N\iota$		-----	
$\Sigma\tau$		-----	
		<i>vacat</i>	



I.G., I², 956
(Photograph from Squeeze)

The text has been given here in connection with *I.G.*, I², 956. The lettering and spacing seem from the squeezes to be so nearly alike as to permit this association,¹ but the test must some day be made in Athens to see whether the stones join. It may be that the lacuna indicated in the text above can be so reduced that some of the fragmentary names in Column II will be shown to belong together. The stone was evidently part of a public funeral monument of the latter part of the fifth century.

21. Fragment of a block of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides but with the rough-picked back preserved, found on March 4, 1933, in Section H.

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.-0.016 m.

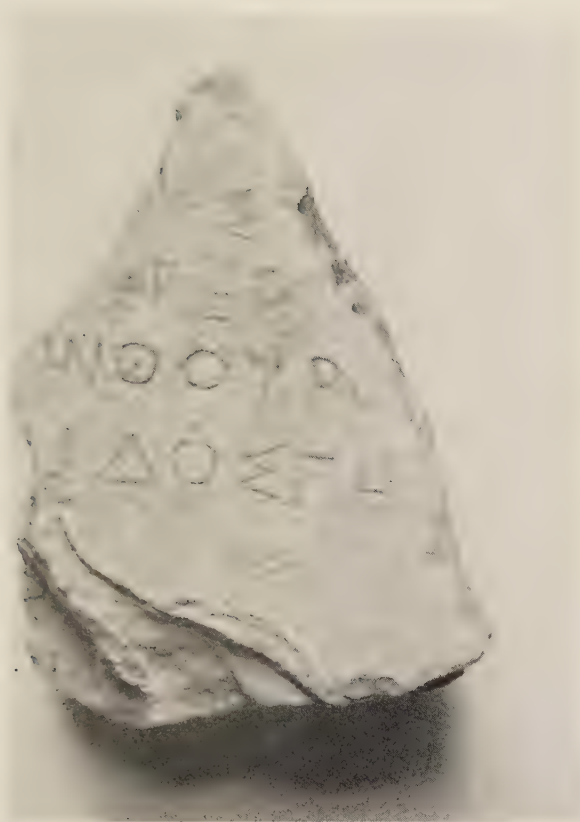
Inv. No. I 512.

ca. 400 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

----- ασι -----
 ----- ωτερα -----
 | - - - | - | ων ' θούρο | ς ' Α ρης - - - - - |
 | - - - | - | πατρί | δος | | γή | ς - - - | - - - |

¹ The spacing on *I.G.*, I², 956 seems slightly wider. The thickness is recorded as having a maximum of 0.24 m. This corresponds well with the 0.247 m. of the Agora fragment.



No. 21

These lines appear to be part of a public funeral epigram.

BOUNDARY MARKER

22. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found in the demolition of a modern house in Section I early in 1933.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.-0.04 m.

Inv. No. I 370.

Fourth Century B.C.

[ὄρος]
[τε]μένους
[Διό]ς



No. 22

DEDICATIONS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY (23-25)

23. Three fragments of a sculptured stele, which are published here for the sake of the names on the moulding which divides the stele horizontally. From left to right, the fragments bear the epigraphical inventory numbers I 3193, I 1759, and I 289, having been accessioned, respectively, on January 27, 1936, on April 3, 1934, and early in 1933. The fragment at the right shows a seated satyr, playing the double pipes, and looking toward flames which are rising from the ground above the moulding. In the field below the moulding are dolphins. The fragments all deserve study and publication as sculpture; so further details are reserved until then. The inscription is cut in characteristic letters of the fourth century B.C. and reads as follows:

[---] νεανίας vacat Φιλόκωμος Κ[-----]έλης Πυκνέ[ο] vacat

Apparently there were three names, each given with its patronymic. If this is true then νεανίας is an epithet, and not the name itself; of this first name nothing is now preserved. The second name was Φιλόκωμος Κ[---] and the third name was [---]έλης Πυκνέ[ο]. Here the patronymic is new, representing probably a nominative Πυκνέας, otherwise unattested. There is room on the stone for the restoration of only one letter, so that the choice seems limited to the patronymic form here given.

The Dionysiac character of the relief is evident, and is further emphasized by the inscription, which has certain resemblances (νεανίας with Νεανίας; Φιλόκωμος with Κῶμος) to the legends on a ceremonial vase described in Roscher's *Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, I, 1, s.v. Dionysos, col. 1072: Die Form der Kannen, die später nur noch bei dem Feste in Gebrauch war . . . lernen wir aus einem Exemplar (abgeb. *Archäol. Zeitg.* 1852 Taf. 37, vergl. *L. Fivel, Gaz. Arch.* 5 p. 6 f.) kennen, auf welchem vier Knabengestalten sämtlich Kannen gleicher Gestalt, wie das Gefäss mit Epheu bekränzt, in den Händen halten; benannt sind ΠΑΙΑΝ mit Fackel (Schlussgesang des Symposion), ΚΩΜΟΣ, ΝΕΑΝΙΑΣ. Cf. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 96 ff.

24. Block of Hymettian marble, broken at the left, found on May 22, 1933, in Section H'. The stone originally served as the capping member of a dedicatory monument and was topped by a projecting cornice which is now broken away except for the bed moulding.

Height of the inscribed face, 0.16 m.; width, 0.38 m.; depth (complete), 0.66 m.

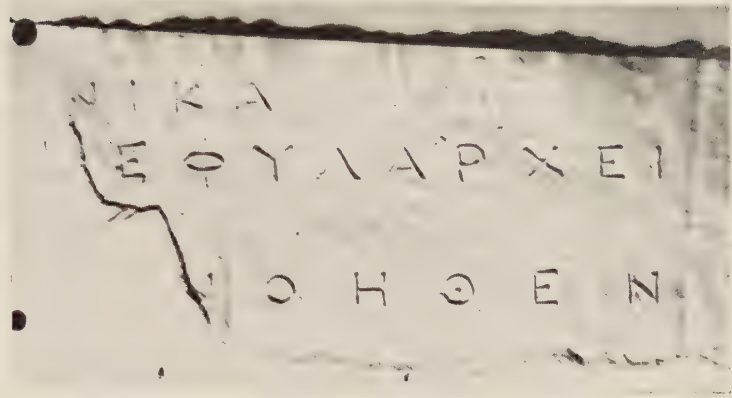
Height of letters, 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 882.

ca. 325 B.C.

[Οἰνηὶς ἐ]νίκα
|-----ca. 11-----| ἐφυλάρχει
|-----ca. 9-----| ν' Ὀῆθεν

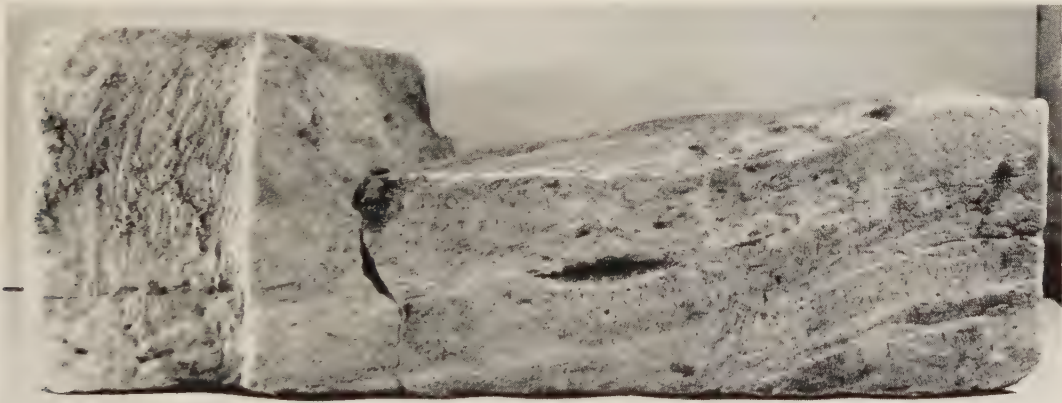
The dedication commemorates a victory, probably in the ἀνθιππασία of the Panathenaic festival,² where (as also elsewhere) phylarchs commanded the cavalry of their several tribes between which the competition occurred. A possible restoration for line 2 is [τοῖς ἵππεύσι] ἐφυλάρχει, which would satisfy the requirements of space if it may be assumed that the inscription was symmetrical.



No. 24

(Photograph from Squeeze)

25. A base of Hymettian marble, the larger fragment of which was found on June 4, 1933, in a well in Section Z. The left side of the base is preserved on the smaller fragment which was found in the summer of 1934 among the stones removed



No. 25

from the same well. Most of the top of the base and part of the back have been broken away. The back is rough-picked; the bottom is rough-picked at the center but around this on all four sides is a band 0.09 m. wide worked with a tooth chisel. The top is dressed smooth where it is preserved. The left side was rough-picked with a smooth

² For epigraphical references to this contest see *I.G.*, II², 3079 and 3130.

band at the top and bottom. The right side is much weathered, but apparently was smooth-dressed. The set-back at the left end of the inscribed face is 0.14 m. wide and 0.02 m. deep.

Height, 0.232 m.; width, 0.64 m.; thickness, 0.56 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 940.

ca. 325 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]
 [--- στεφανωθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς]
 κ[αὶ τοῦ δήμου δικαιοσύνης ἔ]νεκα
 ἐ[πὶ ----- ἄρχοντος] *vacat*

I

II

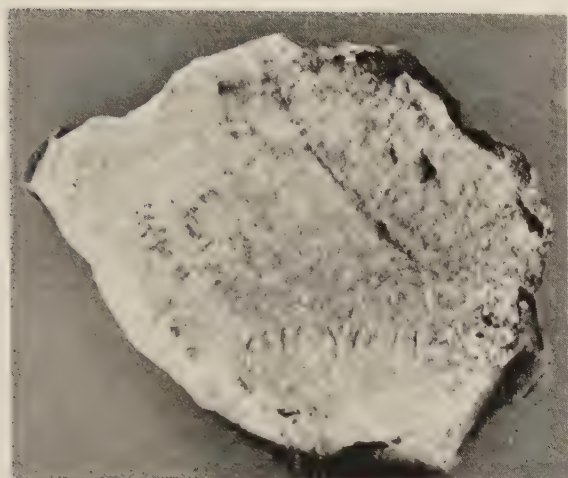
5 |-----|ο|-----| |-----|ης Ἀχαρνεύς
 Φ[....]τιος ὦ Ἴων[ίδης] ~ [---ca. 9---]ς ὦ Φλυεύς
 Σω[σί]μαχος Μυρ[ρινούσιος] [---ca. 7---] Οἰναῖος
 Καλλιμέδων Χολλ[εῖδης] [..]μοκλείδης Ἀφιδναῖος
 Π[..]ιος [-----] [....]όδω[ρος] Ἀλωπεκῆθεν
 10 γρα[μμ]ατεὺς Ἀριστοκλείδης Ἀριστοκλέους Σουνιεύς

This dedicatory base carried the names of ten members of a board or commission, one from each tribe, arranged in tribal order, and followed by the name of their secretary. Kallimedon is already known (*P.A.*, no. 8033) from an honorary decree praising his son (*I.G.*, II², 1214), and his name has been used as the guide in dating the text. Above the list of names there was room for four lines of the larger letters of the dedication proper. In many respects this inscription resembles *I.G.*, II², 2822, which is a dedication by the Board of Treasurers of the Goddess in 349/8 B.C. The names appear in two columns (not rigidly separated in *I.G.*, II², 2822) in tribal order, with the name of the secretary in the concluding line. This does not prove that this text names Treasurers of the Goddess, but if this should be the case the approximate date 325 B.C. might with some probability be made definite as suiting a secretary from Leontis (Sounion) to the requirements of the tribal cycle.³

GRAVE MONUMENTS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY (26-30)

26. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on June 13, 1933, in Section Z.

³ See Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, p. 144.



No. 26

Height, 0.122 m.; width, 0.134 m.;
thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 961.

Fourth Century B.C. (?)

Αἰγυπτία

The letters are very shallow and faint. The same name occurs in *I.G.*, II², 1567, line 3, and in *I.G.*, II², 10596.

27. Fragment of a sculptured stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on May 5, 1933, in Section Θ.

Height, 0.255 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 780.

Fourth Century B.C.

[---]ης Ῥίνωνος [----]

The inscription is on a taenia below a double crowning moulding. On the surface of the relief below the inscription are traces of a head, much broken. The father, Rhinon, probably lived in the late fifth century, a contemporary of the other known men of that name, or perhaps to be identified with one of them.⁴



No. 27

Δ Ι Ο Γ Ε Ι Θ Η Σ
Δ Ι Ο Φ Α Ν Τ Ο Υ
Μ Υ Ρ Ρ Ι Ν Ο Υ Σ Ι Ο Σ

No. 28

⁴ *P.A.*, nos. 12531, 12532; cf. Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 161, lines 26-27.

28. Grave stele of Pentelic marble, found on April 24, 1933, built into the east face of the Valerian wall in Section I. Height and width seem to be complete, but the thickness is concealed within the wall.

Height, 1.80 m.; width, 0.775 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 754.

ca. 350 B.C.

Διοπέιθης
Διοφάντου
Μυρρινούσιος

The family is well known, and Diopeithes is to be identified as *P.A.*, no. 4323. This inscription gives for the first time the name of his father.

29. Sepulchral stele of Pentelic marble, found on February 12, 1932, in Section E.

Height, 1.725 m.; width at the top of the inscribed surface, 0.415 m.; width at the bottom, 0.47 m.; thickness at the top of the inscribed surface, 0.13 m.; thickness at the bottom, 0.165 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 167.

ca. 350 B.C.

Κλεαι|νέ|τη | Νικ|ίωνο|ς 'Α|λαιέως
θυγάτηρ, | — — — — — 'Α|χαρνέως
γυνή

Two ornaments

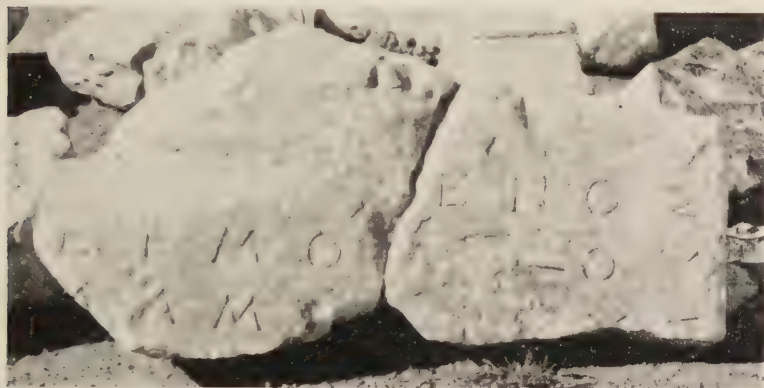
Νικίων
Φιλίππου | 'Αλ|αιεύς

The surface of the stone has been so heavily corroded that the letters are now almost indistinguishable. This stele was one of those



reused face downward as cover slabs over the great drain in the Agora, on which the inscriptions were all severely damaged by chemical action on the surface of the marble.⁵

30. Two joining fragments of Pentelic marble, preserving the complete width of a grave stele, that on the left having been found in Section I on April 20, 1933, and that on the right in Section I on February 1, 1933. The fragments have been measured as joined.



No. 30

Height, 0.33 m.; width, 0.70 m.; thickness, 0.205 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.04 m.

Inv. Nos. I 719 + 388.

ca. 325 B.C.

[...]ενος
Ἑρμολάου
Λαμπτρεύς

POLETAI RECORDS (31-33)

31. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on November 17, 1937, in the wall of a modern house in Section Ψ.

Height, 0.165 m.; width, 0.159 m.; thickness (not original), 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 627b.

The writing is stoichedon, with a vertical unit in the upper lines of *ca.* 0.011 m., in the lower lines of *ca.* 0.009 m., and a horizontal unit of *ca.* 0.0105 m. This fragment belongs with the stone already published as *I.G.*, II², 1579.

Early Fourth Century B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 25

I.G., II², 1579

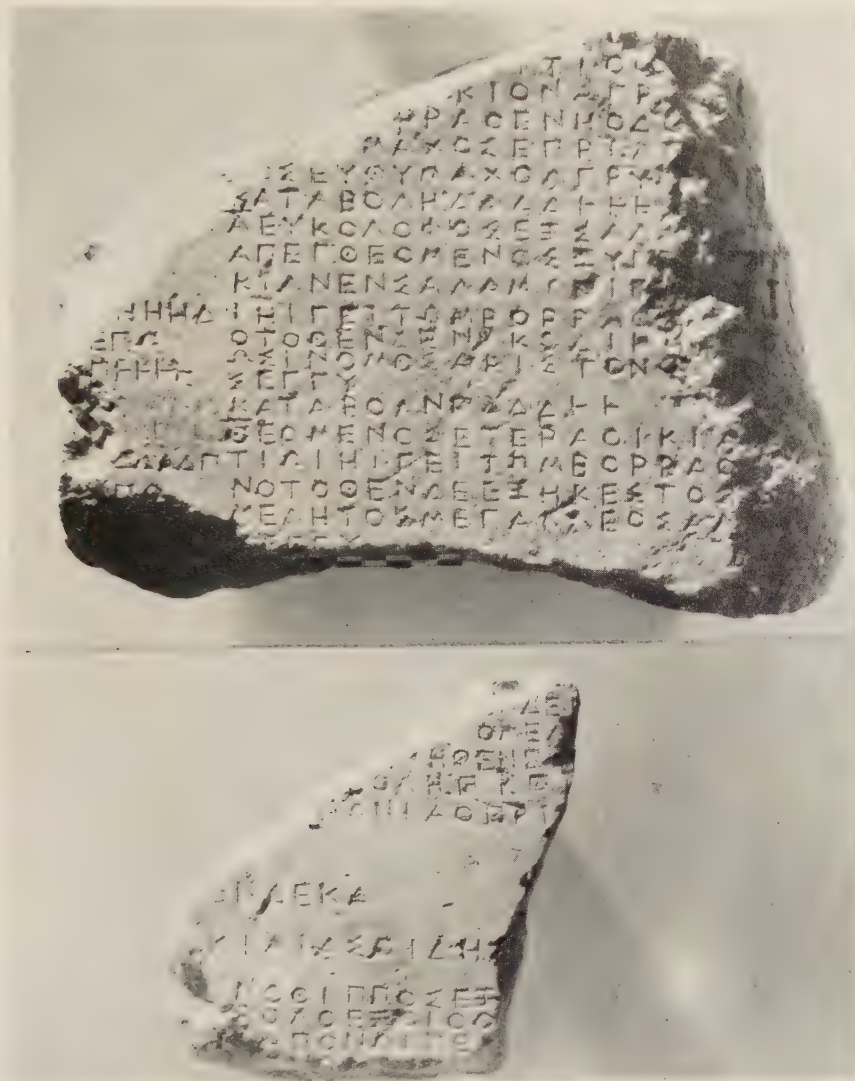
[.....¹².....] IC [.....¹¹.....]
[.....⁹.....] ηττίο ο|ικίαν⁵]
[.....⁸.....] κιον Ἀγρ|υλῆσιν, ᾧ γε|
[ΗΗΔΠ] [ίτωμ βο]ρράθεν ἡ ὁδό|ς, νοτόθεν δ|

⁵ See, for example, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, nos. 17-20.

5	[ἐπώ] [Γ]	[ἐ Εὐθύ]μαχος· ἐπρίατ[ο ⁸] [.]ος Εὐθυμάχο Ἀγρυλ[ῆθεν ἐγγυ ^v] καταβολή: ΔΔΔΔΓΓΓ ^v [vacat] (Λ)ευκόλοφος ἐξ Σαλα[μῖνος τάδε] ἀπέγ: Θεομένος Ξυπ[εταιῶνος οἰ] κίαν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐ[ν ⁹] ι ἥι γείτωμ βορράθ[εν ⁷ ν] οτόθεν δὲ Νικόδικ[ος· ἐπρίατο Σ] ωσίνομος Ἀριστονό[μο ⁷] ς ἐγγυ vacat	
10	[Η]ΗΗΗΔ ἐπώ ΓΓΓΓ	καταβολ(ή) ΓΔΔΔΓΓΓ vacat Θεομένος ἐτέρα οἰκία [ἐν ⁵] τίωι ἥι γείτωμ βορράθ[εν ἡ ὁδός,] νοτόθεν δὲ Ἐξήκεστος· [ἐπρίατο] Μέλητος Μεγακλέος Ἀλ[ωπεκῆθε] [ν] ἐγγυ vacat [καταβολή: ΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ] vacat lacuna	
15	[Η]ΔΔΔΔΓ ἐπώ [ΓΓΓ]	[. ⁷ ἥι γείτ]ωμ [βορράθεν . . .] [. νοτόθ]εν δὲ [. ¹¹] [. ἐπρία]το Μέλ[ητος Μεγακλέο] [ς Ἀλωπ]εκῆθεν ἐ[γγυ vacat] [κατα]βολή: ΓΓΓΓΓΓ[— —] [τὰ] ἐπώνια ὁ πρι[άμενος ἀπέδοτο] vacat vacat	
20	[ΧΧΧΗΗΓ] [ἐπώ] [ΓΔΓ]		
25			
30	[τῶν]	ἔνδεκα vacat [οἰ]κίαι αὖς οἱ δῆμ[αρχοι ἀπέγραφον] vacat Νόθιππος ἐξ [Οἷο ἀπέγραφε] βόλο ἐξ Οἷο οἰκίαν ⁷ καὶ] [κ]ῆπον ὧι γε[ίτων βορράθεν] [. . .]νφ[ν] ν[ο]τ[όθεν δὲ ¹¹] -----	Agora Inv. No. I 627b
35			

The purchaser of the first house on the Agora fragment was the same as the purchaser of the last house on *I.G.*, II², 1579.⁶ These two items can be more closely

⁶ For Meletos see *P.A.*, no. 9828.



No. 31. *I.G.*, II², 1579 (above) and Agora Inv. No. I 627b (below)

juxtaposed if the document is so reconstructed that the Agora fragment falls below *I.G.*, II², 1579. Moreover, the Agora fragment introduces a category of houses for which the listings were made by the demarchoi (line 32). If the *Corpus* fragment were to be placed below the Agora fragment it would have to be far enough below to allow room for a different heading, for it is obviously not possible to assume that Leukolophos (line 8) was a demarchos. The better arrangement is that shown in the text above. An additional epigraphical argument is that the unit of vertical spacing on *I.G.*, II², 1579 agrees with that of the upper lines of the Agora piece (0.011 m.).

The letters in line 32 are not strictly stoichedon, and I have assumed that the 24 letters of the restored text filled out the line completely. On an unpublished fragment of the Fifth Century from the Agora (Inv. No. I 236e) the phrase *δήμαρχος ἀπέγραφε*, entirely preserved, gives the parallel for the restorations in lines 32 and 34. This rôle of the demarchos is attested also in the literary tradition,⁷ and a similar reference is partially preserved in No. 32, line 25, below.

The character of the present document, already assumed as a record of the *poletai*, is further shown by the reference to the Eleven in line 30. One can restore [τῶν] *ἔνδεκα*, indicating the source from which the *poletai* received the houses for sale. A similar procedure is illustrated in the *poletai* record of 367/6 published in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 14-30. There in lines 1-7 (*loc. cit.*, p. 14) appears the statement *πωληταὶ — — — τάδε ἀπέδοντο παραλαβόντες παρὰ τῶν ἔνδεκα*, and the first item was a house which had been listed (the verb is *ἀπέγραψεν*) by a certain Theonnestos. There is not room in the present text to restore in line 30 the complete phrase [παρὰ τῶν] *ἔνδεκα*, though it is of course possible to read the aorist of the verb *ἀπογράφειν* as well as the imperfect in lines 32 and 34. These responsibilities of the Eleven to the *poletai* are described also by Aristotle (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 52): *καὶ τὰ ἀπογραφόμενα χωρία καὶ οἰκίας εἰσάγοντας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ τὰ δόξαντα δημόσια εἶναι παραδύσοντας τοῖς πωληταῖς — — —*.

One must assume that Nothippos (line 34) was demarchos of Oion. The property which he listed with the Eleven must therefore also have been in Oion. The locative phrase *ἐν Οἴῳ* is too short by one letter for the restoration of the lacuna in line 35, but a more specific designation of locality within the deme would in any case perhaps be preferable.⁸

In *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 570-571, I exposed the difficulty of accepting the interpretation *ἐγγύ(η)* or *ἐγγύ(ης)* for the abbreviated form of the word in lines 14 and 20, and even suggested that this form should not be restored at all in line 6. I suggested rather that the expanded form should be *ἐγγυ(ητής)*, as in *I.G.*, II², 1590-1593, though it was obvious here that in no preserved instance was a bondsman mentioned by name. There is now another passage (line 35) where *ἐ[γγυ]* must be restored and where no name can be joined with it. Rather than assume that no bondsman was named in connection with any purchase in this inscription, and rather than assume (which seems to me still more awkward) that the purchaser was in each instance himself the bondsman, I now believe that *ἐγγυ* should be expanded to *ἐγγυ(ηθείς)*,⁹ and that in each case the translation should be: that so-and-so, properly bonded, purchased the property.

⁷ See Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatskunde*, p. 968 and note 2, with references there cited.

⁸ See, *e. g.*, lines 10-11 and 16-17.

⁹ Plato (*Lysis*, 855 B) shows that one could be bonded by his friends: *ἐὰν ἄρα μὴ τινες ἐθέλωσιν αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων ἐγγυᾶσθαι τε καὶ ξυγκτείνοντες ἀπελευθεροῦν — — —*. This is sufficient evidence for a personal passive with the meaning here desired.

32. Two fragments of a stele of bluish Hymettian marble. The smaller piece (*a*), with the left side preserved, was found on March 2, 1935, in Section B'. The large piece (*b*) preserves the bottom and full width and thickness of the stele; it was found on May 26, 1933, in Section Z. The fragments do not join.

a: Height, *ca.* 0.11 m.; width, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.025 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 870.

b: Height, 0.855 m.; width, 0.485 m.; thickness 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 870.

The writing is stoichedon, of the fourth century B.C., with a square chequer pattern in which each unit measures 0.012 m.



No. 32. Fragment *a*

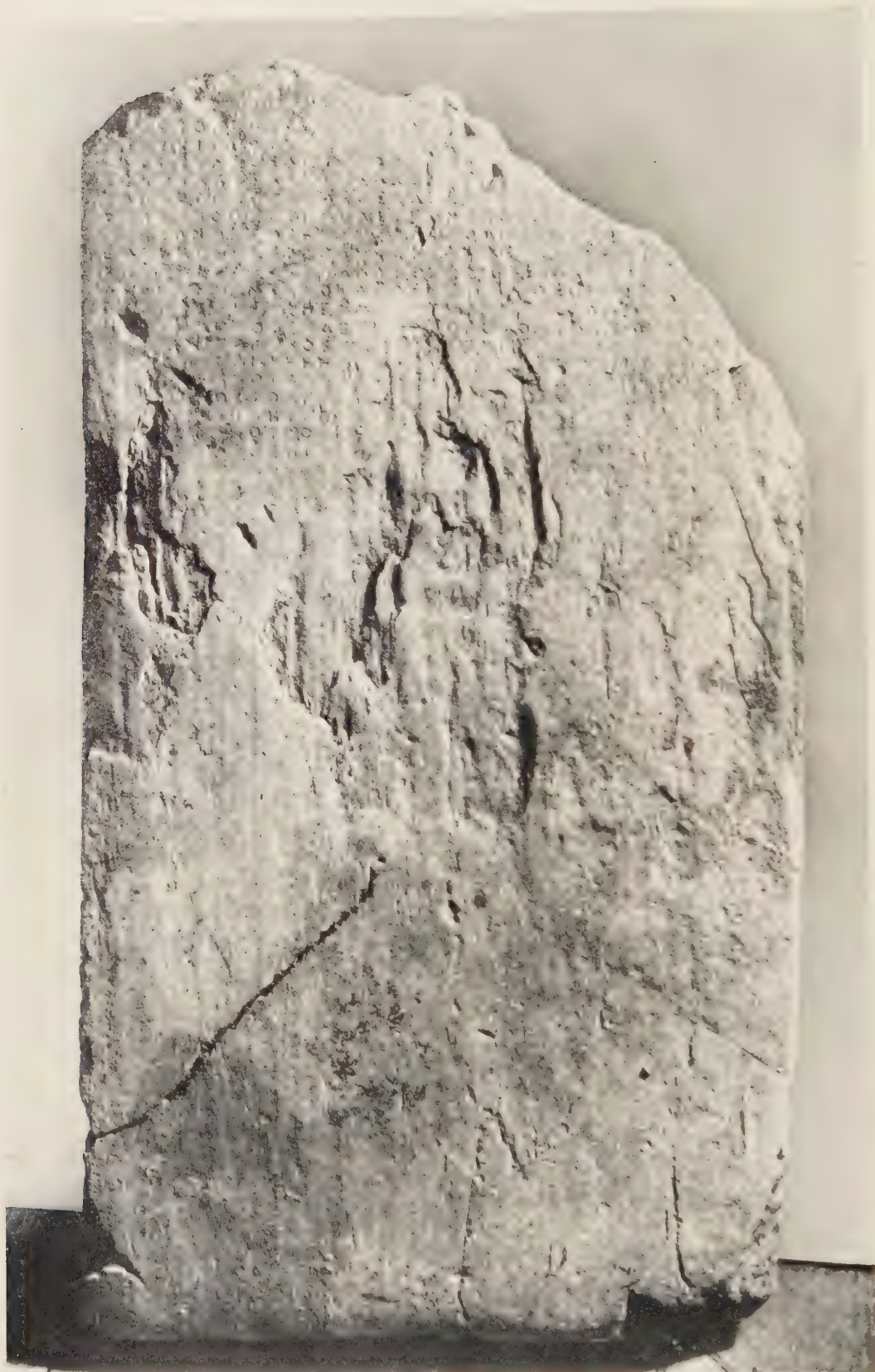
ca. 350 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 39

a [.]ομ[-----]
 [...] | [-----]
 [...]ΚΑΙΡΕ[-----]
 5 [Περ]γασῇ[θεν -----]
 [...]δωρο[-----]
 [...]των τ[-----]
 [.....]Τ[-----]

lacuna

b [...⁷...]ΕΝ|..| | [-----]
 10 [...]Ο| [-----]
 [...]ΔΕΙΟ[...Ω| [-----]
 |Γλ|ανκίππου | [-----]
 [.....]ΥΛ[.]ΟΞ[...Ξ|...]ΟΑ[----- ἀπέγραφεν]
 Ξενοκλέ[ος Πειραέως] ο|ικίαν¹¹... ἥι γεί|
 15 των βορρᾶθεν [...⁰...]ΔΕ[-----]
 καὶ οἰκόπεδον Μελιτέ|ω|μ πρὸς [δ'] ἀ[νατολὰς⁰...]



No. 32. Fragment *b*

- [...]ΙΩΝΜΕΤ[Ο].....⁸ δ|νομένο δὲ [χ]ω[ρίον]⁶...
 Ε[.....¹⁵.....]ΩΤ[.....⁷.....]ΑΓΥΡ[.....¹⁰.....]
 [.....¹²..... Κ]αλλισθ|ένης⁹ Α|μφικ[.....¹¹.....]
 20 [ἀπ]έγ[ραφ]εν Ξ|εν|οκλέος [Π|ε|ιραέ]ως οἰκ|ίαν καὶ χωρί|
 ο[ν] καὶ [κ]λισ[ί]ον ἐμ Μελί|τηι ᾗ| γείτων βορρά|θεν ..
 π[..... ν|οτόθεν δὲ τὸ [οἰκό]πεδον τὸ δημ[ό]σιον [.....]
 ε[.....⁵.....]πόλοχος Χα[.....⁸.....]Ξ[.]ΙΠ[.....]ΠΕ[.....⁵.....]
 [.....⁷.....]ΔΠΗΗΗ^{rr} [..... ἐπὶ τῆς] Αἰγίδος [.....⁶.....]
 25 [οἱ δῆμαρ]χοι ἀπέγ[ραφον]⁸.....Ε[.....]Ο[.....⁶.....]
 [.....⁵..... χ]ωρίο αγ[.....¹⁵.....]Ο[-----]
 [.....⁷.....]ιν ᾗ| γ|είτων βορράθεν -----
 [.....⁷.....] νοτόθ[εν δὲ -----]
 [.....⁸.....]ΟΞΝΙ[-----]
 30 [.....⁸.....]ΔΗ[-----]
 [.....⁸.....]Ν[-----]

This is a record of sales of property by the poletai. Many of the readings are doubtful, because the stone has been so worn as to make certainty in many cases impossible. In line 12 the beginnings of a consecutive text, however, can be made out. I assume that Glaukippos was the father of the man who purchased the property described immediately above. Then in line 13 comes the name of the man who listed the house of Xenokles. The demotic is supplied in line 14 from the probable reading of line 20. This property is described and its record comes to an end in line 19. Kallisthenes listed another house (and lot and shed) belonging to Xenokles. The purchaser is named in line 23, and what appears to be one payment made to the poletai appears, at least in part, in line 24.

Line 24 introduces a new category: properties listed by the demarchoi in the prytany of Aigeis. A similar category appears also in No. 31, line 32, above.

33. Fragment of bluish white marble, broken on all sides, found on March 30, 1933, in Section Z.

Height, 0.165 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 626.



No. 32

Early Second Century B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 58

[-----]δ[-----]
 [---] 'Αλαιεύς [-----]
 [--- 'Απο]λλόδωρος 'Ιφ[ιστιάδης ---]
 [--- 'Ανα]καιεύς, Κρατ[-----]
 5 [--- γρα]μ[μα]τεὺς Κ[-----]
 [--- γραμ|ματ|εὺ|ς Πυθοκλ|ῆς ----|
 [-----]ψαν Θαργελιῶν[ος ----]
 [-----τ]ὸ μὲν εἰς [-----]
 [-----]τον ἀποστ[-----]
 10 [-----]τ[-----]

The inscription begins with a list of names arranged in the official order of the phylai, lines 2, 3, and 4, respectively showing demotics which belong to Aigeis (II), Akamantis (VI), and Hippothontis (IX). If these lines are filled out with an allowance of about sixteen letters for the name and demotic of each missing member of the board the length of line is determined as *ca.* 58 letters. In line 5 the name of the secretary must have followed without a break after the member from Attalis (XII).

These men seem to me to represent a board of *πωληταί*. The fragment was found in Section Z, where numerous other fragments of poletai-records were found; the beginning of line 7 may perhaps have been |ἀπέγραψαν; and the month of Thargelion is the date when payments on houses sold by the poletai were due.¹⁰ Hence my tentative suggestion of the identification.

The date is determined by the lettering.

HONORARY DECREES EMENDED (34-36)

34. Several suggestions for the text published as *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 6, have been made by Helen Pope, *Non-Athenians in Attic Inscriptions*, p. 230. It seems quite possible that Aischron of the *Hesperia* text is the same as Aischron from Chalkis in *I.G.*, II², 491, lines 9-10. I therefore adopt her restoration [Χαλκιδεῖς] for line 12 and its accompanying [Ἐρετριεύς] for line 13. It is more difficult to follow Mrs. Pope's suggestion of reading κ|αὶ Ἀρχέλεων Χαλκι|δεῖς in *I.G.*, II², 491, lines 11-12, because the *lacuna* there in line 11 is too long by one letter for the restoration of Ἀρχέλεων.

J. H. Oliver has reported by letter from Athens that the reading of the last line, in the *Hesperia* inscription, which I had given as [.]ΕΞ.Ε.ΟΙ, is [.]ΕΞ[ἀ]γα|θ|οί.

¹⁰ See Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 47, 3. The date named by Aristotle is the ninth prytany, but in the second century this would have been nearly equivalent to the eleventh prytany and Thargelion.

So the complete phrase may be developed as the conventional [ἄνδρ]ες [ἀ]γα[θ]οί of honorary decrees, leaving in line 13 just the correct amount of space for the ethnic Ἑρετριεύς, as suggested above.

With reference to *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 5, no. 6, one may now read lines 12-14 as follows:

[κ]αὶ Ἀρχέλεως Λύσχωρον[ος Χαλκιδεῖς κ]
[α]ὶ Νικησίας Σιτ[άρχ]ον Ἑρετριεὺς ἄνδ[ρ]
[ρ]ες [ἀ]γα[θ]οί [εἰσιν -----]

35. The document published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 43-44 (no. 32) as part of a tribal decree yields a consecutive text with a stoichedon pattern of eighteen letters.

ca. 325 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 18

[. | ΥΓ | εἶπεν· ἐπει |
δὴ Τιμοκ[ράτης ὁ θεσμο]
θέτης καλῶ[ς καὶ φιλοτ]
ίμως ἄρχει [τὴν ἀρχὴν κ]
5 αὶ ἐπιμελεῖ[ται τῶν πε]
ρὶ τὴν φυλὴ[ν κατὰ τοὺς]
[νό]μους, ἐψη[φίσθαι . . .]
[ντίδ]αίς· ἐπ[αινέσαι Τι]
[μοκράτη]ν Τ[-----]

Lines 7-8 must have carried the name of the phyle which Timokrates represented as thesmothetes. The stoichedon order limits the choice to [Αἰαντίδ]αίς or [Λεων-τίδ]αίς. For this use of the tribal name in the formula of resolution, see *I.G.*, II², 1163, line 15. My earlier restoration was [φυλέτ]αίς, but the published photograph shows that part of the tau should have been visible if this restoration were correct. Epigraphically it is much more probable that the fourth letter of line 8 was delta rather than tau.

36. The decree first published as *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 8 has yielded at least some of its meaning to further study, and it is possible now to make corrections in the reading and disposition of the text. The new version is presented here.

Early Third Century B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

ΕΞΟ -----
ΙΛΟ[-----ε]
πιμελ[ητὰς -----]
ΝΤ -----
5 ΤΡΑ -----

¹⁶..... ION.....¹⁰.....
 [.....¹⁵.....] ἡδην T[.....⁹.....]
 [.....¹⁵..... Θ] ουδόσι[ον⁵.....]
 10 [.....¹⁵.....] ιέα εὐσεβ[είας ἔ^v]
 [νεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς] θεοὺς καὶ [φιλοτι]
 [μίας τῆς εἰς τὴν β] ουλήν καὶ τ[ὸν δῆ^{vv}]
 [μον καὶ στεφανῶσ] αι ἕκαστον [αὐτῶν^v]
 [χρυσῶι στεφάνωι·] ἐπαινέσαι [δὲ καὶ^v]
 15 [.....¹⁵..... Ἀ] χαρνέα· ἀ[ναγρά^v]
 [ψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισ] μα καὶ τὰ [ἄλλα ψη]
 [φίσματα (?) τὸν γραμμ] ατέα τὸν κ[ατὰ πρυ]
 [τανείαν ἐν στήλει] λιθίνει κ[αὶ στῆ^v]
 [σαι ἐν τῶι Ἐλευσιν] ίωι [?- - - - -]

Evidently lines 8-9, at least, contained the names of men who belonged to some official board ([ἐ]πιμελ[ητάς] in lines 2-3). If lines 4-7 also contained names, it seems reasonable to estimate that the board consisted of six members. It is clear that it numbered at least two, and (because of ἕκαστον in line 13) probably more than two. No intelligible text can be deciphered in lines 4-6.

In restoring the later lines of the inscription I have made the assumption that syllabic division was employed, though I confess that in the earlier lines there is an apparent exception between lines 3 and 4. Dow called to my attention some time ago that the restoration [ἐν τῶι πρυτανικ]ῶ[ι], which I had proposed as the place for erecting the stele, could not be correct because the letter before the preserved omega is not kappa. It seems to me rather to have been iota, so that I suggest [ἐν τῶι Ἐλευσιν]ίωι as a supplement which meets the requirements of space and which names a known locale. I think it improbable that the epimeletai, however, were the ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν Μυστηρίων, for at the time of this inscription they were two in number, as they were also in Aristotle's time, though he says in his Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία that there were four.¹¹ Moreover, the ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν Μυστηρίων were praised in *I.G.*, II², 661 for their piety [πρὸς τὰ]ς θεάς rather than [πρὸς τοὺς] θεοὺς, as here in line 11.

EPHEBIC INSCRIPTIONS (37-42)

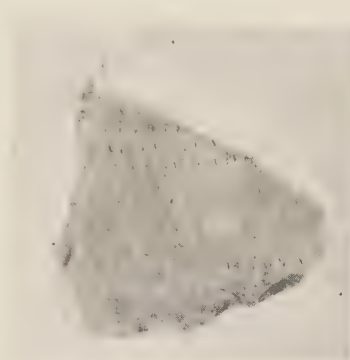
37. Parts of a stele honoring the ephēboi of the archonship of Menekrates (220/19 B.C.). Fragment *a*, consisting of two joining pieces, was found on February

¹¹ Ἀθ. Πολ., § 57, 1: [ὁ] δὲ βασιλεὺς πρῶτον μὲν μυστηρίων ἐπιμελεῖτ[αι μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν ὧ]ν ὁ δῆμ[ος χ]ειροτονεῖ, δύο μὲν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων, ἓνα δ' ἐξ Εὐμολπίδων, ἓνα] δ' ἐκ Κηρ[ύκων]. See the commentary by Kirchner on *I.G.*, II², 661.

14, 1938, in a wall of Byzantine date in Section II. Its rough-picked back and right side are preserved. Fragment *b*, broken on all sides, was found on February 3, 1938, in Section AA. Fragment *c*, with part of the right edge preserved, was found on May 21, 1936, in Section P. I suspect a join between Fragments *b* and *c*; in any case their relative positions are easily determinable.



No. 37. Fragment *a*



No. 37. Fragment *b*



No. 37. Fragment *c*

Fragment *a*:

Height, 0.376 m.; width, 0.237 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m. and 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 4992.

Fragment *b*:

Height, 0.166 m.; width, 0.168 m.; thickness, 0.057 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 5175.

Fragment *c*:

Height, 0.091 m.; width, 0.097 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4171.

-----	κα	-----^{ca. 20}-----
-----	ν Πρα	-----^{ca. 19}-----
-----	νον Λα	-----^{ca. 18}-----
-----^{ca. 8}-----τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ ὀνόμα]τα αὐτῶν [τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κα]		
 5 [τὰ πρυτανείαν ἀναγράψαι ἐν στήλει λιθί]νει καὶ στ[ῆσαι ἐν ἀγορᾷ· εἰς δὲ]
 [τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στήλης τ]ὸν ἐπὶ τέλ[ει] δ[ι]οικήσει μερίσαι
 [τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα]

In corona

[corona]

10

|ή βο|υλή

[ὁ δ]ήμος

|---|ει|. |

corona

220/19 B.C.

[Οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες ἐπὶ Μ]ενεκράτου [ἄρχοντος]

I

II

[Column I missing]

Ἀκαμαντίδ[ος]

15 Φαῖδρος Θυμοχάρον Σφή[ττιος]

Μενεκράτης Ζήνωνος ἐκ [Κεραμέων]

Χαρικλῆς Φιλοξένου Σφήτ[τιος]

Οἰνείδος

Κεκροπίδος

20 [Ἀ]νδρόνικος [-----]

[Ἀρι]στείδ[ης] [-----]

lacuna

[Ἰπποθωντίδος]

lacuna

[Column I contained the names
of epheboi from

Antigonis

Demetrias

Erechtheis

Aigeis

Pandionis

Leontis

Ptolemais

25 [-^{ca. 7}-----]οι[-----][-^{ca. 7}-----] Κλέα[νδρον (?) Ἀμαξ]αντεύ[ς]

Αἰαντίδ[ος]

Ἀντιοχίδ[ος]

[Θεόμν]ηστος Θεομνή[στ]ου Ἀναφλ[ύ(στιος)]

30 ή βουλ|ή|

ὁ |δημος|

The entire list may have con-
tained about twenty names|

Phaidros, of line 15, was the son of that Thymochares (*P.A.*, 7411) who served as one of the curators of the Asklepieion in the archonship of Diomedon (247/6 B.C.) and who made a contribution for the safety of the state and the defence of the country in that same year.¹² Charikles, in line 17, was probably a forebear of [Φι]λόξενος Ἀριστόνου Σ[φή]ττιος, who was ephebos in 102/1 B.C.¹³

38. Five small fragments of Hymettian marble, which belong to a decree in praise of the epheboi. Fragments *a*, *b*, and *c* were found on June 23, 1933, in a context of the second century after Christ in Section H'. Fragment *a* has the right side preserved, fragment *b* is broken on all sides, and fragment *c* has the left side preserved. Fragment *d*, broken on all sides, was found on June 24, 1933, in a fill of Roman date in Section H'. Fragment *e* has the left edge preserved. It is mended from two pieces which were found on June 13 and 15, 1933, in Section H'.

Fragment *a*:

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.062 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 1015 *b*.

Fragment *b*:

Height, 0.02 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.012 m.

Height of letters, 0.06 m.

Inv. No. I 1015 *c*.

Fragment *c*:

Height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.145 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 1015 *a*.

Fragment *d*:

Height, 0.065 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.033 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m. and 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 1017.

¹² See *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 291, line 70 (= *I.G.*, II², 791); *I.G.*, II², 1534, line 165. For the date of the archonship of Diomedon see Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology*, *passim*.

¹³ *I.G.*, II², 1028, line 117. For the date see *Chronology*, p. xxxv.

Fragment *e*:

Height, 0.145 m.; width, 0.145 m.; thickness, 0.042 m.

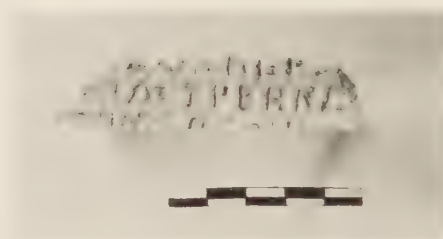
Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 979.

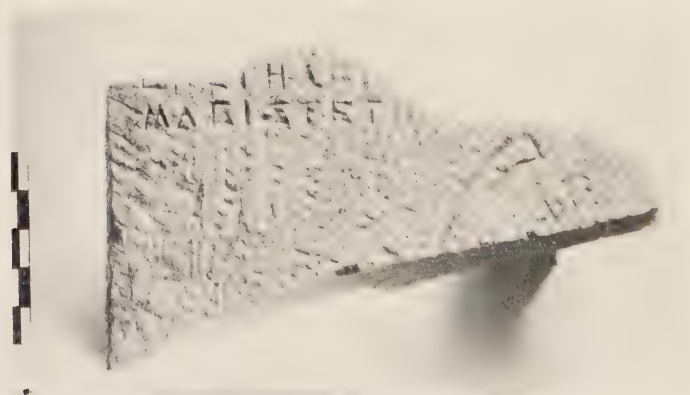
Ten lines of text measure 0.087 m.



No. 38. Fragment *a*



No. 38. Fragment *b*



No. 38. Fragment *c*



No. 38. Fragment *d*

[ἀκοντιστὴν Νικόμαχον Νικομάχου Ἀφιδαῖον καὶ τὸν π]αιδοτρ<ί>βην Ἐ[ρμόδωρον
 Ἑορτίου Ἀχαρνέα καὶ]
 [τὸν ἀφέντην Πεδιέα Νεάνδρου ἐκ Κεραμέων καὶ τὸν τοξ]ότην Σῶσον Πρ[οξένου
 Σφήττιον καὶ στεφα]
 [νῶσαι] ἔκ[αστον θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα
 τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν]
 ἐν στήλει λ[ιθίνει καὶ --- ^{ca. 31} --- στήσαι ἐν ἀγοραῖ· τὸ δὲ γενόμενον ἀνάλω]
 20 μα εἷς τε τὴν [στήλην καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν].

ἡ [βουλῇ]
 [ὁ δῆμος]

Other citations
 lost

[citation]

lacuna

186/5 B.C. [Οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες ἐπ]ὶ Ζω[πύρου ἄρχοντος]

	I	II	III
25	[Ἐρεχθείδος] <i>lacuna</i> [Αἰγείδος] <i>lacuna</i>	[-----]ιγε[----]	[-----]
	Η [-----] Ἐπι [-----] Φίλων [-----]		
30	Εὐφρων [-----] [Πανδιονίδος] Δημήτριος [-----] Νίκων Ξενο[-----] Λε[ωντίδος]		rest of columns II and III missing
35	[Κ]ράτιππος Κι[-----]		

The preliminary reports from Athens indicate that several small unpublished fragments from the Epigraphical Museum are perhaps part of this inscription, but no account can be taken of them until there is an opportunity for further study.

The present text is of interest chiefly because of the names and titles of the trainers preserved in lines 15-17. These items can be restored completely with the aid of the corresponding passage in *I.G.*, II², 900, lines 21-23, which in turn can be corrected and restored from this inscription. It is clear from fragment *b* that the τοξότης was Sosos. Hence this title should be restored for him in *I.G.*, II², 900,¹⁴

¹⁴ The suggested text in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 300-301, note 57, is incorrect, and should be replaced by the text suggested here.

leaving Nikomachos of Aphidnai as ἀκοντιστής, probably to be identified with him of *Hesperia*, III, p. 16, lines 118-121, as this inscription is republished below under number 40. The text of the lines in question from *I.G.*, II², 900 is as follows.¹⁵

----- ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ[ν]
 κοσμητὴν αὐτῶν Θεόβουλον Θ[εοβούλου] Ἐλευσίνιον ἀρετῇ]ς ἔνεκεν καὶ φιλοτιμίας
 ἣν ἔχων διατελεῖ πρὸ[ς]
 20 τῇμ βουλῇν καὶ τὸν δῆμον -----^{ca. 24}----- ιας καὶ στεφανωθῆνα[ι κατ]ὰ τ[ὸν]
 ν]όμον· ἐπαινέ[σαι]
 δὲ καὶ τοὺς διδασκ[άλους, τὸν τε ὀπλομάχον Περ]σαῖον Συμμάχου Κικυννέα καὶ τὸν
 παιδοτρίβην [Ἑρμό]
 [δ]ωρον Ἑορτίου [Ἀχαρνέα καὶ τὸν ἀκοντιστὴν Νικόμαχο]ν Νικομάχου Ἀφιδναῖον
 καὶ τὸν καταπαλταφ[έτην Πε]
 [διέα Νεάνδρου ἐκ Κεραμέων καὶ τὸν τοξότη]ν Σῶσον Προξένου Σφήττιον καὶ
 στεφανῶσαι ἕκ[αστον αὐ]
 [τῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι· -----]

39. Part of a stele of Hymettian marble, with part of the bottom, left side, and back preserved, found on April 20, 1933, in a modern wall in Section I. The bottom and side are worked with a fine-toothed chisel; the back is more roughly dressed.

Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.375 m.; thickness, 0.18 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 721.

The writing is not stoiche-
 don. Each line occupies *ca.*
 0.014 m. on the stone.



No. 39

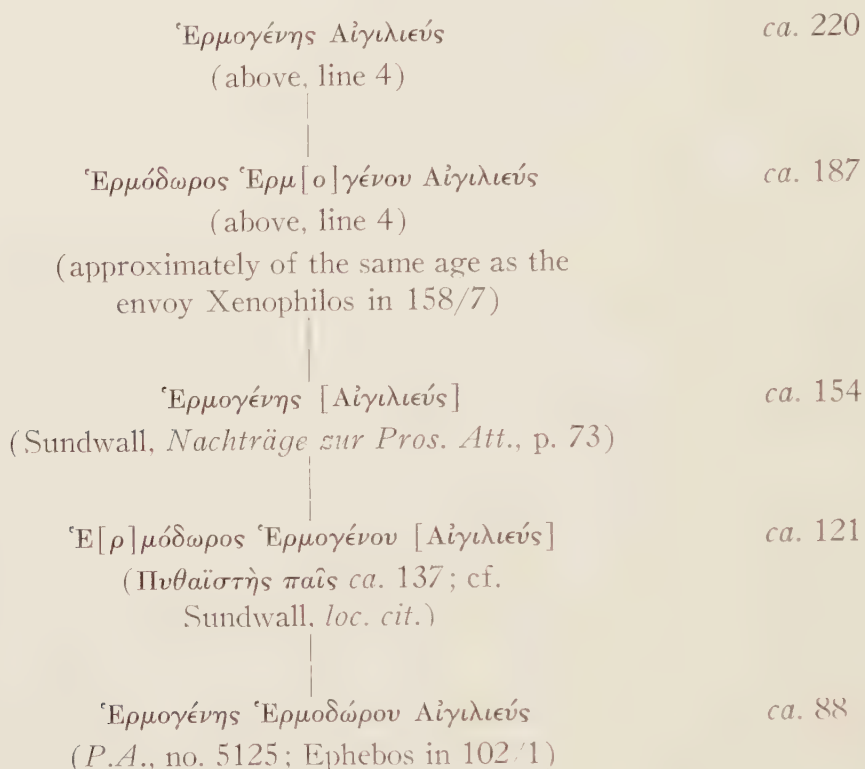
(Photograph from Squeeze)

Early Second Century B.C.

 [Σ]ώσος Φ[ι]λ[ο]σ[ο]φ[ο]ς ----- Αἰγ[ι]λ[ι]εύς
 Ξενόφιλος . . .]ε[. .]ον Οἰναῖος
 Ἑρμόδωρος Ἑρμ[ο]γέ[ν]ου Αἰγ[ι]λ[ι]εύς
 vacat

¹⁵ For the restoration in line 19, see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 179.

Xenophilos (*P.A.*, no. 11292) served as an envoy in 158/7, and Hermodoros is probably the grandfather of that Hermodoros who had a son Hermogenes (*P.A.*, 5125) who was an ephebos in 102/1. The stemma may be developed somewhat as follows:



The present document may be part of an ephebic list dating from the earlier years of Xenophilos and Hermodoros.

40. Study of the stone in Athens, and of the published photographs, has made possible many new readings in the text of *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 17. In the following version the restorations in lines 51-52 were supplied by Sterling Dow; those in lines 20-23 were supplied by Meritt. The name in line 6 was read by Meritt and Raubitschek, and the other readings and restorations of lines 1-49 and 53-56 were communicated from Athens by G. A. Stamires, whose study of the Agora documents has in many instances been a source of valuable help to the editors. Prompted by the study of a small Agora fragment (Inv. No. I 1015c) which he had previously misinterpreted,¹⁶ Meritt also proposes a new text for lines 115-120. A. W. Gomme, by letter, has called attention to the fact that Kromachos of Pallene (lines 124-126) was descended from Κρόμα[χος] Ὀλυμπίοδωρο Παλληνεύς of *I.G.*, II², 2374.

¹⁶ In *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 300-301, note 57. In point of fact Sosos was τοξότης.

171/0 B.C.

NON-STOIX. ca. 44

Θ ε ο [ί]

- ἐπὶ Ἀντιγένου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος τετάρ
της πρυτανείας εἰ Σώσανδρος Σω|σικρ|ά|τ|ου[ς Ἀλω]
πεκῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευν· Πυανοψιδῶνος |ἐ|ν|ει καὶ νέαι|
5 ἐβδόμει καὶ δεκάτει τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία κυρ|ία
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· τῶν προέδρων |ἐπ|ε|ψήφίζεν| Εὐ[...]ί
δης Ἐχεφύλου Ἀχαρνέως |καὶ συμπρόεδροι|
ἔδοξεν τεῖ |βουλεῖ| καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
Ἀναξιδῶν Εὐφραγόρου Ῥαμνούσιος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ
10 ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ Σωσιγένου ἄρχοντος ἐφηβεύσαντες δι
ετέλεσαν εὐτακτοῦ|ντες καὶ πειθαρχοῦντες τῷ κοσ|
μητεῖ καὶ τοῖς στ|ρατ|ηγ|οῖς καὶ φιλοτιμούμενοι ἐπεμε|
λήθησαν τῆς φυλα|κῆς τοῦ τε ἄστεως καὶ τοῦ Πειραιέως|
ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς νό|μοις καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐψηφισμέ|
15 νοις καὶ συ|νέπεμψαν τεῖ πόλει τὰς πομπὰς πάσας τὰς κα|
θ' ἑαυτοὺς καθηκ|ούσας· ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τῷ Διὶ καὶ ταῖς|
Σεμναῖς Θεαῖς |ἀνεγκλήτως καὶ τὰς ἄλλας λειτουργίας|
τὰς καθηκούσ|ας ἀπάσας ἐλειτούργησαν μετὰ πάσης|
εὐκοσμία|ς καὶ ἡσυχίας· διετήρησαν δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλή|
20 λους |όμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν· ὅπως οὖν ἐφάμιλλον ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐφη|
βέουσιν |αἰεὶ καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς|
καθιστα|μένοις διδασκάλοις εὖ εἰδόσιν ὅτι ἡ βουλῇ|
καὶ ὁ |δῆμος τιμῶσιν τοὺς καλῶς ἐφηβεύσαντας, ἀγαθῇ|
τύχῃ δεδοχ|θαι τεῖ βουλεῖ τοὺς λαχόντας προέδρους|
25 εἰς τὴν ἐπιου|σαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων· γνώ|
μην δὲ ξυμβά|λλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ|
τεῖ βουλεῖ |ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς ἐφήβους τοὺς ἐπὶ Σωσιγένου|
ἄρχοντος |καὶ στρεφανῶσαι αὐτοὺς χρυσῶι στεφάνῳι φι|
λο|τιμίας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον — —|
30 . . ο — — — — —

lines 31-42 illegible

- |ἐ|πὶ Ἀντιγένου ἄρχοντος ἐπ|ὶ τῆς — ^{ca. 8} — ἐνάτης πρυτα|
|ν|είας εἰ Σ|ώσανδρος Σωσικράτους| Ἀλω|πεκῆθεν ἐγραμ|μά
45 τευνεν· |Ἐλα|φηβολιδῶνος ἐ|ν|ά|τε|ι ἰσταμένου |ὁγ|δό|ει καὶ δεκά|
|τει| τῆς πρυτα|νείας· ἐκ|κλησία ἐν τῷ θ|εάτρ|ῳ· τῶν προέ
δρων ἐπειψήφ|ίζεν — — — —|ωνος[———— καὶ συμ|
πρόεδροι vacat ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ vacat
|Ἀ|να|ξ|ιδῶν |Ε|ὐ|φραγόρου Ῥαμνούσιος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ — —|

- 50 [....]ΟΛ.Ο[ς χειροτο]νηθ[εἰς κοσμητῆς] ἐπ[ὶ τ]ὸν[ς ἐ]φήβους [εἰς]
τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν [τὸν ἐπὶ Σω]σιγένου [ἄρχοντος ἔθυσεν] ὕ..
[....] αὐτῶν [τὰς θυσίας] καλῶς καὶ [----]Ο[----]
...ΟΝΤΙΞ.....Ξ.....Ξ.....ΙΞΤΟΥ..ΙΡ..Λ.....
..ΥΝΙΚΙΑΞΤΑ.. ΤΟΝΟ..Α----- ΤΥ----
- 55 [ἐφ]ήβων .. Ν-----
[σ]τρατη[γ]ῶ[ν]-----]

lines 57-77 illegible

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---------|------------|
| | ---- | ἡ βουλή | ---- |
| | ----- | ὁ δῆμος | ----- |
| 80 | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | --- | --- | --- |
| | [οἱ ἐφηβ]εύσαντες ἐπὶ Σωσιγένου ἄρχοντος | | |
| | [Ἐρεχθίδος] | | [Οἰνηίδος] |
| 85 | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| 90 | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| 95 | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| 100 | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| 105 | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| | ----- | ----- | ----- |

110	----- ----- ----- ----- -----		Ἀτταλίδος ----- ----- ----- ----- -----
115	ἡ βον[λή] ὁ δῆ[μος] ----- ----- -----	[ἡ β]ο[υλή] [ὁ δῆμος] [τὸν ἀκ]ο[ντισ] [τὴν] Νικό μαχον Ἀ φιδναῖ ον	[ἡ β]ουλή ὁ δῆμος [τ]ὸν ὅπ[λομάχην] ἔστ[ιό]δω ρον Προ βαλί
120	----- ----- ἡ βουλή ὁ δῆμος Ἀλεξιν	ἡ βουλή ὁ δῆμος Νέανδρον	ἡ βουλή ὁ δῆμος Κρώμαχ
125	Χολαργέ α	ἐκ Κερα μέων	ον Παλ ληνέα

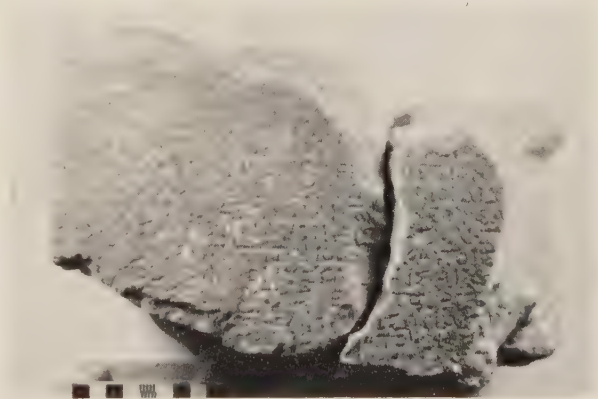
41. Several new fragments have been added to the stele of ephebic inscriptions published by Dow in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 71-81, so that it is now possible to give a more nearly complete, and in some instances, an improved text. In an *addendum* to his earlier study Dow reported two of these pieces.¹⁷ One of them, itself consisting of two fragments, joins Fragments A and E and so fills out the complete width of the upper section of the stele.¹⁸ I give it here as A². It was found in the wall of a modern house in Section II on February 14, 1935.

Fragment A²:

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.32 m.; thickness, 0.155 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 286e.



No. 41. Fragment A²

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 90, no. 37. The description of the larger piece should indicate that the left edge, not the right edge, is preserved.

¹⁸ Fragments already published are listed by Dow, *loc. cit.*, p. 71. One should note that Fragment FF is Agora Inv. No. I 286d.

Sokolowski has already indicated the correct reading and restoration in line 18,¹⁹ and part of the sentence now appears on the new fragment: ἐπ[οήσαντο δὲ κα]ὶ τὴν ἀποδημίαν τ[ὴν εἰς Δελ]φούς. Several lines earlier (lines 13-14) a reading left by Dow without restoration should be [καὶ τὰς λανπά]δας ἔ[δραμον], and in line 14 (near the end) the reading δῆμον seems to me correct, rather than δῆμον. The hitherto enigmatic letters at the bottom of Fragment E in line 28 are part of the name [Θε]οδ[ωρίδης]; for the restoration, see *I.G.*, II², 1009, lines 7-8.

For the most part the restorations can be made with reference to similar documents, particularly *I.G.*, II², 1006-1011. The length of line at first was about sixty letters. This was increased in line 13 to sixty-five letters, in line 15 (according to my reckoning) to seventy-three letters, and then in line 21 to seventy-eight letters. There is very little uniformity, and one can notice that lines which contain proper names are apt to be somewhat more widely spaced than the others, doubtless so that more prominence may be given to the names. In the second decree (lines 76-98) the lines vary in length from 77 to 89 letters, and subsequently throughout the text of the other decrees about this same average is maintained.²⁰

Dow noted that the trainers must have been honored in the latter part of Decree I, as well as in Decree V. One of the new fragments discovered in Section Σ (Σ 1299) proves this to have been the case. The contribution of this fragment is represented in the text below in lines 40-48 and 57-58, though without further advice from Athens it is impossible now to say with certainty what its lateral position in the stele must have been. I publish the piece here as Fragment E².

It is possible now also to present a photograph of Fragment FF, which gives the text of lines 50-56 and part of lines 76-78. This was mentioned by Dow in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 71, note 1, and the text was given by him (*loc. cit.*, pp. 73-74) as lines 29-33h and lines 34-36.²¹

With the help of other new fragments it is possible to recover an almost complete text of Decree II. Fragment H², found in Section Σ (Σ 1298) joins Dow's Fragment H, and preserves part of the text of lines 81-91. Below this Fragment G² makes a join, and gives part of lines 92-102. I suspect also a join between Fragments G² and G, but hesitate to claim it as certain until all the records are available. Fragment G² was found in Section Σ and was also given the temporary number Σ 1299. These pieces all must have further study in Athens, together with other small fragments found with them on or after February 27, 1937, and for which no texts are now available to me.²²

¹⁹ *B.C.H.*, LX, 1936, pp. 386-388. See also P. Roussel, *B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, pp. 92-93.

²⁰ I attribute the wider spacing which differentiates the preserved parts of Decree IV from Decree V to the presence of proper names rather than to a general relaxation. Cf. Dow, *loc. cit.*, p. 77.

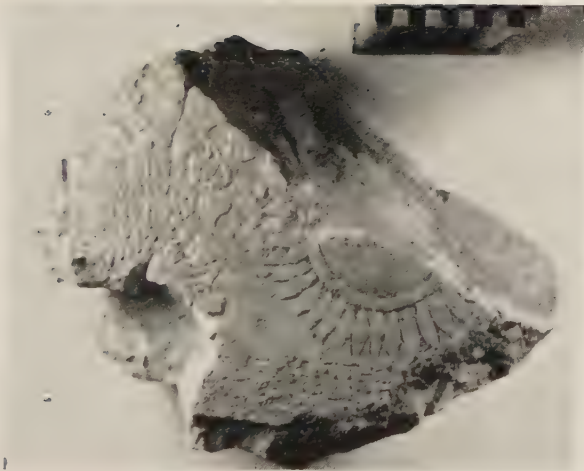
²¹ The patronymic which Dow records in line 33a does not appear on the stone, and in the second crown I read only part of the word ἐφίβ[ους].

²² One of these unpublished pieces is known to be Σ 1333.

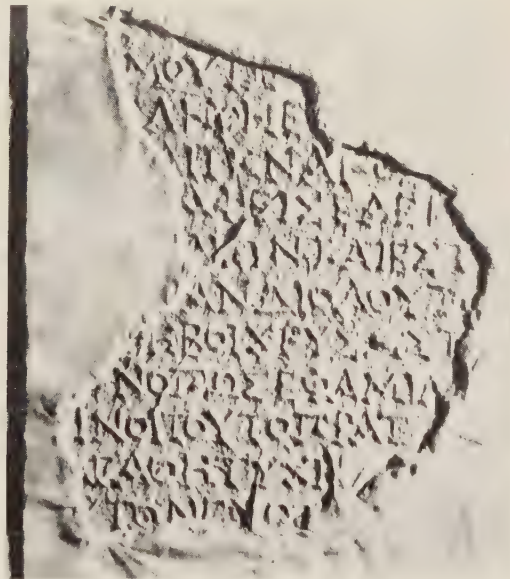


No. 41. Fragment E²

(Photograph from Squeeze)



No. 41. Fragment FF



No. 41. Fragment H²

(Photograph from Squeeze)



No. 41. Fragment G²
(Photograph from Squeeze)

Fragment I², found in Section Σ on December 13, 1935, yields parts of lines 102-109 and makes possible a nearly complete restoration of Decree III. This fragment joins Fragment I.

Height, 0.158 m.; width, 0.175 m.; thickness, 0.175 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 286h.

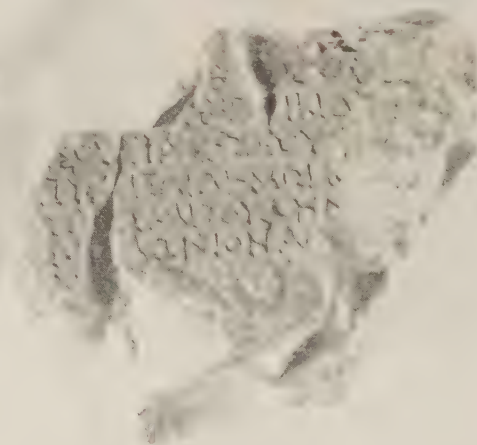
There is still much that is missing from Decree IV and from the beginning of Decree V, but one of the new pieces (J²) gives a large part of the end of Decree V (lines 130-140), part of the heading of the list of epheboi (line 141), and the beginning of the third column of names (lines 228-229). This fragment was found

in Section II on April 12, 1935 and has its back and part of the right side preserved.

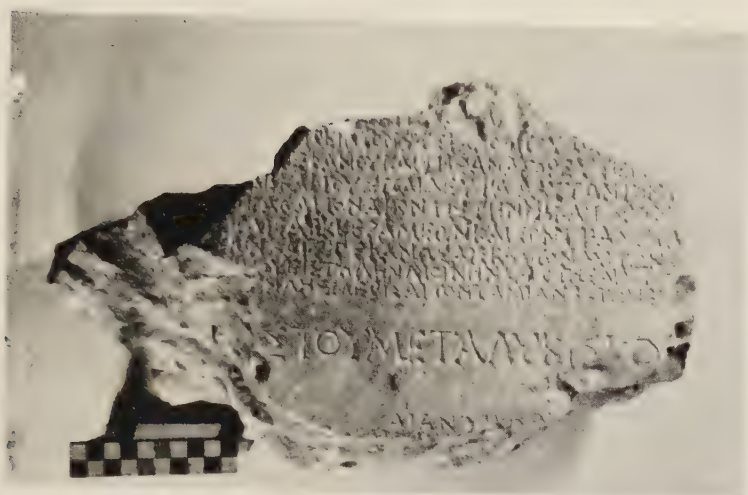
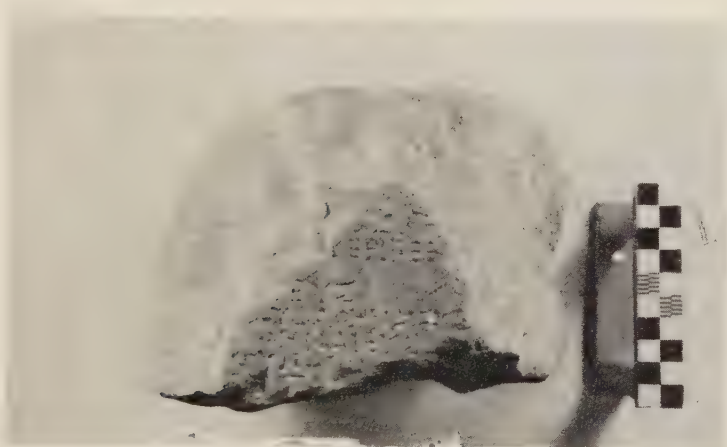
Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.405 m.; thickness, 0.18 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.009 m. and 0.019 m.

Inv. No. I 286g.



No. 41. Fragment I²

No. 41. Fragment J²No. 41. Fragment J³

From the list of names, a small fragment (J³) which joins both Fragments J and K preserves parts of lines 156-163. This is the smaller of the two pieces mentioned by Dow in his *addendum* in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 90, no. 37. It was found in Section II on February 22, 1935.

Height, 0.132 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.17 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.-0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 286f.

Possibly a small area of the rough-picked back is preserved.

I

- 127/6 Ἐπὶ Θεοδ[ωρίδου ἄρχοντος] ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγε[ίδος τρίτης πρυτανείας] ἡ Σωσικρά
 της Εὐφρον[ίου Θριάσιος ἐγγ]αμμάτευ[εν· Βοηδρομιῶνος πένπτ]η ἵσταμένου
 πένπτῃ τῇ[ς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλη]σ[ία κυρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· τῶν πρ]οέδρων ἐπε
 ψήφισεν Ἄνα[.....^{ca. 15}..... καὶ συνπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ·] *vacat*
 5 Πολύχαρμος [.....^{ca. 18}..... εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐφηβεύς]αντες ἐπὶ ^{vv}
 Διονυσίου ἄρχ[οντος θύσαντες ταῖς ἐγγραφαῖς τὰ εἰσιτήρια] ἐν τῷ πρυ
 τανείῳ ἐπὶ τῆς [κοινῆς ἐστίας μετὰ τε τοῦ κοσμητοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἱε]ρέως τοῦ
 Δήμου καὶ τῶν Χα[ρίτων ἐδήλωσαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αἴρ]εσιν· διετέ
 λεσαν δὲ πειθαρχο[ύντες τῷ κοσμητῇ καὶ τοῖς παιδευταῖς· ἔθυσ]αν δὲ καὶ τὰς
 10 θυσίας ἀπάσας τοῖς [θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις· ἐποήσαντο δὲ] καὶ τὴν ἀπά[ν]
 τησιν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ π[ροέπεμψαν αὐτά· ἤραντο δὲ καὶ τοὺς β]οῦς δι' ἑαυτ[οὺς]
 τοῖς Μυστηρίοις ὡσαύ[τως ἐν Ἐλευσίνι· συνετέλεσαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς δρ]όμους π[άν]
 τας εὐσχημόνως τοὺς τ[ε ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ τὰς λανπά]δας ἔ[δρα]
 [μον καὶ] τὰς πονπὰς ἐπόνπ[ευσαν κατὰ τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ]
 δήμου θε[^v]
 15 οἷς· εἰσ[ήγαγον] δὲ καὶ τὸν Δ[ιόνυσον ἀπὸ τῆς] ἐσχάρας κα[ὶ ἰ]προσέτι τὴν ἑαυτ[ῶν]
 φιλοτιμίαν ἀπ[ο]
 δεικνύμενοι ταῦρ[ον ἔπειψαν καὶ ἔθυσαν τῷ] θεῷ ὥς ὅτι μά[λιστα εὐπρεπέ]στατα·
 ἐποήσαντο δὲ κ[αὶ]
 μελέτην ἐν τοῖς ὅπλο[ις καὶ ἀπεδείξαντο] ἐν τε τοῖς Θησεί[οις καὶ ἄλλ]ως κατὰ
 τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ
 ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου· ἐπ[οήσαντο δὲ κα]ὶ τὴν ἀποδημίαν τ[ὴν εἰς Δελ]φοὺς ἀξίως
 ἐκατέρων τῶν πόλε
 ων εὐτάκτως καὶ εὐσχημ[όνως] ἀνασ[τρ]αφέντες· ἐλειτούρ[γησαν] δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς
 θυσίαις ἀπάσαις εὐ ^v
 20 σεβῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως οὐθὲν [ἐν]λείπον[τε]ς τῶν ἀναγκαίων κα[ὶ ἔ]στ[εφανώθησαν]
 τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ στεφά ^v
 [ν]ωι ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ κοσμητ[ὴς] καὶ οἱ διδά[σ]καλοι αὐτῶν· ἐποιήσα[ντ]ο δὲ
 καὶ τὸν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα πλοῦν ^v
 ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Αἰαντ[εῖων]· ἔθυσά[ν] τε ἐπὶ τοῦ τροπαίου [τῷ] Διὶ καὶ παρα-
 γενόμενοι ἐπόνπευσαν
 καὶ ἔθυσαν τῷ Αἴαντι κα[ὶ τῷ] Ἀσκληπ[ιδῷ]· ἔδραμον δὲ καὶ τὴν [λα]νπάδα
 καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως ^v
 [ἔ]θυσαν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρ[ίων] καὶ τοῖς [θεο]ῖς τοῖς κατέχουσ[ιν] τὴν Ἀττικὴν·
 ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ^v
 25 [Πει]ραίοις τῷ Διονύσῳ [καὶ] εἰσῆγα[γον] τ[ὸν] θεὸν παρακ[αθί]σαντες ἐν τῷ
 Πειραεῖ ἡμέρα[ς] ^v
 [τέτταρ]ας εὐτάκτως ^v ἐ[λει]τούργη[σαν] δ[ὲ] καὶ ταῖς σε[μναῖ]ς θεαῖς ἀνεγκλήτως·
 [παρήδρευ]

[σαν δὲ καὶ ταῖς] ἐκκλησ[ία]ις ἀπάσ[αις ἐν τ]οῖς ὅπλοι[ς εὐσχ]ημόνως· ἀνέθηκαν
 δ[ὲ καὶ φιάλην]
 [τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θ[εῶν κ]ατ[ὰ τὸ ψήφι]σμα ὁ Θε[οδ]ωρίδης εἶπε|ν· συνετήρησαν
 δ[ὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς]
 [ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν κα|ὶ φιλίαν |δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ· -----]

lacuna of several lines

- 40 [----- καὶ ἀνειπεῖν]
 [τὸν στέφανον τοῦτον Διονυσίων τε τῶν ἐν ἄστει καινοῖς τραγωδοῖς καὶ Παναθηναίων
 καὶ Ἐλευσι]
 [νίων καὶ Πτολεμαίων τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶ|σιν· τῆς [δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου
 ἐπιμεληθῇ]
 [ναι τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τὸν ταμίαν τῶν] στρατιω[τικῶν· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς
 παιδευτὰς αὐτῶν]
 [τόν τε παιδοτρίβην Νίκων]α Βηρύτιον καὶ τὸν ὁ[πλομάχον Σωτάδην Σολέα καὶ
 τὸν ἀκοντιστὴν]
 45 [Νίκανδρον Εὐωνυμέα κ]αὶ τὸν τοξότην Πυσ[τίλον Ὁῆθεν καὶ τὸν ἀφέτην Πεδιέα
 ἐκ Κεραμέων]
 [καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Θαρ]ρίνον Λανπ<τ>ρέα καὶ τὸ[ν ὑπηρέτην Ἰέρωνα Ἀναγν-
 ράσιον· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε]
 [τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα] τὸν κατὰ πρυτανεί[αν εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι
 ἐν ἀγορᾷ· εἰς δὲ τὴν]
 [ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσ]ιν τῆς στήλης τ[ὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα μερίσαι τὸν
 ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν]
 [ἡ βουλῇ] [ἡ βουλῇ] ἡ ὁ δῆμος [-----] [-----] [-----]
 50 ὁ δῆμος [τὸν κο]σμητῆν
 τὸν [τὸν]
 κοσμητῆν [κοσμητῆν]
 Ἀπολλώνιον [καὶ τοὺς] [Ἀπολλώνιον]
 Σουνιέα 60 ἐφήβ[ους] 75 [Σουν]ιέα
 55 καὶ τοὺς
 ἐφήβους

II Ἐπὶ Θεοδω[ρίδου ἄρ]χοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Α[ἰγείδος τρίτης πρυτανείας ἧ] Σωσικράτης
 127/6 Εὐφρονίου] Θριάσιος ἐγράμμά
 τευεν· Βοη[δρομι]ῶνος τετράδι μετ' εἰκάδας κατ' ἄρχοντα κατὰ θεὸν δὲ ...^{ca. 7}...
 μετ' εἰκάδα]ς τετάρτη καὶ ε[ἰ]
 κοστῇ τῆς [πρυτ]ανείας· ἐκκλη[σία κυρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν
 ...^{ca. 10}...]ης Ἐράτωνος [Εὐ]

- πνρίδης καὶ [συνπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ^{ca. 25}..... εἶπεν·
 ἐπειδὴ Ἄ]πολλώνιος Σο[υι]
 80 εὖς χειροτονη[θεὶς κοσμητῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Διονυσίου
 ἄρχον]τος τοῦ μετὰ Λυ
 κίσκον ἤρξε τὴν [ἀρχὴν κατὰ τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δή]μου· πρ[ο-
 ἔστη δὲ κ]αὶ τῆς εὐταξίας
 τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τ[ῆς ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν γενομένης ἐπιστασίας ἐπεμ]ελήθη· ἔ[θυσεν
 δὲ κ]αὶ τὰς θυσίας ἀπά
 σας μετ' αὐτῶν τ[οῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις· ἐποίησατο δὲ κ]αὶ τὴν ἀποδ[ημίαν]
 μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς Δ[ελ]
 φους ἀξίως ἐκατέ[ρων τῶν πόλεων εὐτάκτως καὶ εὐσχημόνως ἀναστρ]αφείς· ἔλει-
 τ[ούργη]σεν δὲ καὶ ἐν
 85 ταῖς θυσίαις ἀπάσαι[s εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως οὐθὲν ἐνλείπων τῶν ἀναγκ]αίων καὶ
 ἐστ[εφανώθη τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ]
 στεφάνῳ· διετήρησε[ν δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλί]αν δι' ὅλου
 το[ῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὄντων τὸν]
 ἀριθμὸν ἑκατὸν ἑπτὰ [καὶ πάντας διεφύλαξεν· ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἔ]φηβοι χρυσῶ
 στ[εφάνῳ ἐστεφάνωσαν]
 ἀποδεικνύμενοι τὴν [γεγονείαν εἰς αὐτοὺς δικαιοσύνην καὶ εὖνοι]αν· ὅπως ἐφάμιλ[λον
 ἦ τοῖς καθιστα]
 μένοις κοσμηταῖς δικ[αίως καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον διεξάγειν καὶ ἐκε]ῖνοι τοῦτο πράτ-
 τ[οντες ὅπως τιμῶνται]
 90 καταξίως ὑπὸ τῆς β[ουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους]· ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
 δ[εδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ τοὺς λα]
 χόντας προέδρους [εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ το]ύτων· γνώμ[ην
 δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βου]
 λῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον [ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπαινέσαι τὸν κοσμητὴν τῶν ἐ]φήβων
 Ἄπολλώνιον Ἀπολλωνίου Σουνι]
 ἑα καὶ στεφανῶσ[αι αὐτὸν χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμ]ον ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν κ[αὶ
 δικαιοσύνης ἣν ἔχων διατελεῖ]
 πρ[ὸς τοῦ]ς ἐφήβους κα[ὶ] πρὸς τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἀνειπεί[ν τὸν στέφανον τοῦτον Διο-
 νυσίων τε τῶν ἐν ἄστει καινοῖς τρα]
 95 [γ]ῳδοῖς καὶ Παναθηναί[ων καὶ Ἐλευσινίων καὶ] Πτολεμαίων τοῖς γυμνικοῖς
 [ἀγῶσιν· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στε]
 φάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι το[ῦς στρατηγούς καὶ τ]ὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν· [ἀνα-
 γράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψηφίσμα τὸν]
 γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρην[τανείαν εἰς στή]λην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀγορ[ᾷ· εἰς
 δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνά]
 θεσιν τῆς στήλης τὸ γενό[μενον ἀν]άλωμα μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν [στρατιωτικῶν]

- III Ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ με<τὰ> Λυκίσ|κον ἐπὶ τῇ|ς Ἱπποθ|ων|τίδ|ος ἐνάτης
 128/7 πρυτανείας ἦι^{ca. 11} νος Κεφα|
 λῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν· ἀντιγραφεὺς Ἡφαι|στ.^{ca. 6}] ^ ^ [.^{ca. 16}] ε[ος
 κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ Μητρῶιον|
 κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα ὃ Τίμαρχος Ἐπηρατίδου Σφ|ήττιος εἶπεν^{ca. 12} Ἐλα-
 φη|βο|λι|ῶνος δ|εκát|ει ὑστέραι μ|ιᾶι|
 καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία[ι] ἐν |τῷ θεάτρῳι·^{ca. 18}]
 Βερενικίδ|ης εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπα|γ|
 105 γέ(λ)<λ>ει ὁ κοσμητῆς τῶν ἐφήβων Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀ|πολλωνίου Σουνιεύς ὑπὲρ τῇ|ς
 θυσίας ἧς ἔθυσ|εν ἐν τῇ π|ομπῇ vacat
 μετὰ τῶν ἐφήβων τῷ τε Διονύσῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλ|οις θεοῖς· δεδόχθαι ἀγαθῇ| τύχη
 τῷ δήμῳ τ|ὰ μὲν ἀ|γαθὰ δέχεσθαι
 τὰ γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθνευ ἐφ' |ὑγιεῖαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς τε β|ουλῆς καὶ τοῦ
 δήμ|ου καὶ π|αίδων καὶ γυναι|ι|
 κῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ συμμ|άχων τοῦ δήμου· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τὸν κοσμητὴν] Ἀπολ-
 λώνιον Ἀπ|ολλωνίου Σουνιέα καὶ
 τοὺς ἐφήβους καὶ στεφανῶ|σαι αὐτοὺς κιττοῦ στεφάνῳ εὐσεβείας] ἔν[εκ]εν [τ]ῆς
 π|ρὸς τοὺς θε|οὺς καὶ φιλοτιμ|ί|
 110 ας τῆς πρὸ[ς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμ-
 ματέα τὸν κατὰ π|ρυτανείαν ἐν
 |στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀγοραῖ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ ἀνάθεσιν τῆς
 στήλης μερί|σαι τὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ δ|ι|
 [οικήσει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα. vacat] vacat
 IV Ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ Λυκίσκον ἐπὶ τῆς^{ca. 8} δεκάτης πρυτανείας
 128/7 ἦι^{ca. 11} νος Κε □
 [φαλῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν· ἀντιγραφεὺς Ἡφαιστ.^{ca. 24} ιος
 κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ Μητρῶιον
 115 [κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα ὃ Τίμαρχος Ἐπηρατίδου Σφῆττιος εἶπεν· Μουνιχιῶνος τετράδι
 ἰσταμένου τετά]ρτει τῆς
 [πρυτανείας· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν^{ca. 21} καὶ συμπρόεδροι·
 ἔδοξεν τῷ δή|μῳ· Χαρ
 [.^{ca. 19} εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ κοσμητῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας τῷ
 τε Διονύσῳ καὶ τ|οῖς [ἀλ|
 |λοις θεοῖς ἧς ἔθυσεν μετὰ τῶν ἐφήβων -----|

lacuna, with the end of Decree IV and beginning of Decree V

- V
 130 [----- καὶ τὸν κοσμ|ητῇ|ν]
 Ἀ|πολλ|ώνιον Σουνι|

- [έα καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ ἀνε]ιπεῖν τὸν
 στέφανον τοῦτο[ν Διονυ]
 [σίων τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τραγωιδῶν τῶι ἀγῶνι· τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως τοῦ σ]τεφάνου καὶ
 τῆς ἀναγορεύσεως [ἐπι]
 [μεληθῆναι τὸν στρατηγὸν κ]αὶ τὸν [ἄρχοντα ἐν Σαλαμῖνι· ἐπαινέσαι] δὲ καὶ τοὺς
 παιδευτὰς αὐτῶν τὸν τε
 [παιδοτρίβην Νίκωνα] Βηρύτιον κ[αὶ τὸν ὅπλομάχον Σωτάδην Σο]λέα καὶ τὸν
 ἀκοντιστὴν Νίκανδρον
 135 [Εὐωνυμέα καὶ τὸν] τοξότην Πυσ[τίλον Ὁῆθεν καὶ τὸν ἀφέτην Π]εδιέα ἐκ Κερα-
 μέων καὶ τὸν γραμμα
 [τέα Θαρρήνον Λ]αμπρέα καὶ τ[ὸν ὑπηρέτην Ἰέρωνα Ἀναγυρά]σιον καὶ στεφανῶσαι
 ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θαλ
 [λοῦ στε]φά[νωι]· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ [ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δ]ήμου
 εἰς <σ>τήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι <ἐ>ν τῶι
 [τεμέ]νει τοῦ Αἴαντος· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγ[ραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς σ]τήλης μερίσαι
 τὸν ταμίαν ἐκ τῶν εἰ[s]
 [τὰ κατ]ὰ ψηφίσματα ἀποτεταγμένων [τῶι δήμωι] *ταcat*
 140 *one line uninscribed*
 οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες ἐπὶ [Διονυσίου ἄρχοντο]ς τοῦ μετὰ Λυκίσκο[ν]
three lines uninscribed
- 145 Ἐρεχθείδος [Οἰνείδος] 228 Αἰαντίδος
 Τιμοκλῆς Δημοκλείδου Κηφισιεύ[s]
 Πλειστίας Διονυσίου Κηφισιεύς
 Ἐπικράτης Τίμωνος ἐκ Κηδῶν
 Αἰγείδος
 150 Λυσίμαχος Φιλοξένου Φιλαί[δης]
 Σώφιλος Σωφίλου Ἐρικεε[ύς]
 Μηνόδορος Διογένη \mathbb{E} ---
 Φίλων Σωφίλου Κολλυτ[εύς]
 Πύρρος Δημοκλείδου Τ[ειθράσιος]
 155 Σωτάδας Σωτάδου Φι[λαίδης]
 Στρησαγόρας Εὐμήλο[ν Φιλαί]δη[s]
 Καλλίστρατος Ἀριστ[. . .]ν Ἐρικεεύ[s]
 Πανδιονίδου[s]
 Χάρης Χάρητος Παιανιεύς
 160 Ἀπολλοφάνης Ληναί[ον] Κυδαθηναίεύς
 Κάστωρ Ἀρχίππου Κυδαθηναίεύς
 Καλλίμαχος Καλλιμ[ά]χον Παιαν[ιεύς] 205 Ἀντ[-----]
 Θάρσανδρος Νικοστ[ράτου] Πα[ιανιεύς]
 Δημήτριος Μητρο[δύρου] Π[αιανιεύς]
 165 Σωφά[ι]νης Δημοκράτου Παιανιεύς
 Λεωντίδος
 Μηνόδορος Ἡρακλείδου Κολωνήθεν
 Νικίας Εὐφημίδου Κρωπίδης
 Ἀγέλαος Ἀγελάου ἐξ Οἴου 210 Διονίστιος Διονυσ[-----]
 240 [ca. 5] ΓΟ[-----]
 [Διονίστιος] Διογ[έν]ον[-----]
 [ca. 7] Ν[ικοκλέους] Πα[μνούσιος]
 [ca. 6] ος] Διογνήτου Παμ[νούσιος]
 [Ἀ]ντιοχίδος
 245 [ca. 6] α]ρχος Μηνόδοτ[ου] ---
 [Φίλων Φί]λωτος Παλ[ληνιεύς]
 [ca. 6] ος] Εὐανδρ[-----]

0	Πολυαίνετος Ἀμύκλον Σκαμβωνίδης Ἀπολλόδοτος Σθερίον Κήτιος Τιμοκράτης Ἀλεξάνδρον Πατάμιος Αἰσχύλος Αἰσχύλον Ὑβάδης Σωσίβιος Τέλωνος Ὑβάδης	Ζηνόδοτος Θεοδ[-----] Ἀτταλος Ἀδράστο[υ-----] Ἀπολλώνιος Διον[σίον-----] 250 Ἀριστίων Εὐδόξου Μ[ελιτεύς]	Ἀτταλί[δος] [Πιθίλ]ας Ἀπολλ[ωνίου-----] [Ἀχαιὸ]ς Ἀπ[ολλοδώρου-----]	
5	Πτ[ο]λεμαῖδος Διοσκορ[ίδ]ης Ἀριστοκλέον Φλυεῖς Ἀθηναγόρ[α]ς Πυρρίνου Κυδα[ντίδης]ς Νέων Φιλοκράτου Οἰναῖος Θεοκλῆς Εὐθεκλέους Βερενικίδης	215 Δεινοκλῆς Φιλοστ[ράτου-----] Φανοκλῆς Πρωτογ[ένου-----] Φωντίδης Ἰππ[άρχου-----] Ἰππο[θωντίδης]	About Thirteen Lines Missing	
10	Νικοκλῆς Δημητρίον Φλυεῖς Φιλωνίδης Ἀριστομένον Προσπάλιος Εὐμαχίδης Ἀριστάνδρον Ἐκαλήθ(ε)ν Διονύσιος Διονυσίον Προσπάλιος Ἀκαματίδης	220 Τείσις Φι[-----] Δημα[γόρας Εὐθιδόμου?-----] Α[-----]		
15	Τιμοκράτης Θεοδόρου Χολα[ργεῖς] Θεόδωρος Διονυσίον Κεφαλήθεν Μενεκράτης Λυκόφρονος Χολ[αργεῖς] Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Αὐτοκλέους Θο[ρίκιος] Εὐνικίδης Δημητρίον Εἰτε[αῖος]	Five lines missing		
20	Στρατόνικος Θεογένον Ἐρ[μειος]			
25	ἡ βουλὴ ὁ δῆμος τὸν παιδοτ[ρί] [βην Νίκ]ω[να] [Βηρύτιον]	270 [ἡ βουλὴ] [ὁ δῆμος] [τὸν ὄπλο] [μάχον] Σωπτάδ[η]ν Σολέα	275 [ἡ βουλὴ] [ὁ δῆμος] [τὸν ἀκοντι] [στὴν Νίκαν] [δρον Εὐω] [γνμεία]	[ἡ βουλὴ] [ὁ δῆμος] [τὸν τοξότην] [Πυστίλον] 285 [Ὁῆθεν]
	[ἡ βουλὴ] [ὁ δῆμος] [τὸν ἀφέτην] [Πεδιέα] 290 [ἐκ Κερα] [μέων]	295 [τὸν γραμμα] [τέα Θαρρῖ] [νον Λαμπ] [τρέα]	300 [ἡ βουλὴ] [ὁ δῆμος] [τὸν ὑπηρέτην] [Ἰέρωνα] [Ἀναγυρά] [σιον]	

Although the entire inscription was cut by one hand there are nevertheless two different chancery styles discernible. Decrees I and II, from the archonship of Theodorides, usually omit iota adscript (there are exceptions); Decrees III, IV, and V, from the archonship of Dionysios, use iota adscript consistently. Decrees I and II spell with nu instead of mu before labials; Decrees III, IV, and V have the more usual mu. Examples of these differences are numerous in the text, and it is not necessary to single them out for reference. They do, however, condition the restorations. I have restored, for example, *συνπρόεδροι* in line 4 and *συνμπρόεδροι* in line 116,²³ and followed the same style elsewhere.

This difference must depend on the source from which the stonecutter received

²³ The reading from the stone of *πέμπτη* in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 73, line 3, is an error. The correct form is *πένπητη*.

his copy. I suggest that the list of names, on the basis of this evidence, was prepared in the archonship of Dionysios—not later—and that this fact is attested by the spelling *Σκαμβωνίδης* in line 170. At least for Decrees III and IV we know the name of the man (or part of the name) from whom the copy was received.²⁴ The *ἀντιγραφείς*, or copy-clerk, apparently provided copies of these decrees of the previous year from the archives in the Metroön to be used by the stonecutter of the year of Theodorides. Probably the restorations in lines 102-103 and lines 114-115 complement each other, so I suggest a common wording: *ἀντιγραφεὺς Ἡφαίστ — — — — — κατὰ — — — — — ἰος κατασ-*
*ταθεὺς ἐπὶ τὸ Μητρώιον κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα ὃ Τίμαρχος Ἐπηρατίδου Σφήττιος εἶπεν.*²⁵ Evidently there was a decree, proposed by Timarchos, which regulated the appointment of the *ἀντιγραφείς*, and which among other things defined his duties in charge of the records in the Metroön. Inasmuch as Timarchos was active in political life and proposed a decree (not the one to which reference is here made) in 145/4,²⁶ it is reasonable to suppose that his decree about the Metroön was introduced at about the same time, approximately eighteen years before the archonship of Dionysios.

In Decree II, lines 83-86 have already received a correct interpretation and helpful criticism from F. Sokolowski.²⁷ With reference to our earlier publication one should note that it is the name, and not the patronymic, of the kosmetes which appears on the stone in line 79.

Decree III can be almost completely restored. Together with Decree IV it makes a pair which correspond to Decrees IV and V of *I.G.*, II², 1011. Hence the restoration in line 109 ought probably to be *κιττοῦ στεφάνωι* instead of *χρυσῶι στεφάνωι* as in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 75, line 65.²⁸ In line 107 the phi in the phrase *ἐφ' [ύγιέαι]* was cut over a nu, and in line 109 the first three letters were cut over the word *καί*, evidently repeated erroneously from the end of line 108. A date in Elaphebolion is now confirmed for Decree III by the discovery of Fragment I². The date of Decree IV should probably be Mounichion, or later.

Dow has already observed that Decree V was passed by the Salaminians. It honors the trainers of the epheboi, who were also honored in Decree I, and so the seven citations with their names must have appeared at the end of the inscription. Parts of two citations are preserved, that of the *ὀπλομάχος* being on Dow's Fragment M.

This fragment was brought into the Museum of the Agora from the Stoa of

²⁴ See Dow's suggestion, *loc. cit.*, p. 79.

²⁵ Dow assumed an error in the patronymic of the name of Timarchos, and corrected it to *Ἐπ<ικ>ρατίδου*. The reading of the stone is clear, and should not be changed, especially since the name *Ἐπήρατος* is attested (cf. Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch*). This name, *Τίμαρχος Ἐπη[ρατίδ]ο[v]* *Σφήττιος* should also be restored in *I.G.*, II², 967, line 8 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 85.

²⁶ *I.G.*, II², 967 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 85. See also note 25, above. The date of the decree is given by Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxxi.

²⁷ *B.C.H.*, LX, 1936, p. 387.

²⁸ Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1011, line 70: *κιτ[τ]οῦ στεφάνωι*.

Attalos in February of 1936. It is a small piece, broken on all sides, but it preserves parts of two lines of text and parts of two wreaths. The height of the face is 0.05 m., the width of the face is 0.146 m., and the thickness is 0.10 m. It now bears the Agora Inventory Number I 3457.

The reading of this fragment has not been correctly given. The two preserved lines begin close to the left circle of the wreath, and the text should be read as follows: [τὸν ὅπλο|μάχον] Σωτάδη[ν] | Σολέα.



No. 41. I 3457

The names of the epheboi were arranged in three columns. The 46 lines of Column I name 6 tribes and 40 epheboi. The lines in Column II are more widely spaced, and the complete column must be restored with 3 tribes and 34 epheboi. Column III was spaced to correspond with Column II, and it may therefore be restored completely to name 3 tribes and 33 epheboi, its last line being left uninscribed. The number of epheboi named in the total list, as restored, was 107, the figure demanded by the count ἑκατὸν ἑπτὰ of the text of line 87.²⁹

Not all these epheboi escorted the Pythais to Delphi in the archonship of Dionysios, for the Delphic inscription (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 24) names only sixty-nine. Moreover, the Delphic text makes no mention of the ἀφέτης Pedieus, son of Neandros, from the Kerameikos. Presumably he also was absent. The assistant ὅπλομάχος Artemidoros, son of Neon, of Tarsos did go to Delphi, and he is named at the end of the list of trainers. There is no mention of him in the Athenian text, and his name should not be restored in the citations. These citations (lines 264-302) name the trainers who were honored in the decrees (lines 43-46, 133-136), and succeed each other in the same order. Patronymics seem not to have been used (cf. lines 273-274), but they are known when other evidence is lacking from *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 24.

42. Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the back and right side preserved, found in the wall of a modern house in Section I on March 13, 1933.

Height, 0.425 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.16 m.

Height of letters (above), *ca.* 0.009 m.; (below), 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 582.

²⁹ The statement in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 76, that the third column contained a maximum of twenty lines, Dow now informs me, is in error.

This fragment joins the stele already published as *I.G.*, II², 1009, where it necessitates several minor adjustments in the text of lines 52-62, as follows:

- [πείν τὸν στέφ]ανον τοῦτο[ν] Διονυσίων τε τῶν ἐν ἄστ[ει καινοῖς τ]ραγωιδοῖς [κ]α[ὶ]
Παναθη[
[ναίων καὶ Ἑλευσινί]ων [τ]οῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν· τῆς δὲ ἀν[αγορεύσεως τοῦ]
στεφάνου ἐπι[μελη]
[θῆναι τοὺς στρατηγ]οὺς ὧν ἀν[α]γράψα[ι δ]ὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμ[α τὸν γραμ]ματέα τὸν
κατὰ πρυτ[α]
55 [νείαν εἰς στήλην λι]θίνην καὶ στῆ[σ]αι ἐν ἀγορᾷ· εἰς δὲ [τὴν κατασ]κευὴν καὶ
τὴν ἀνάθεσιν
[τῆς στήλης μερίσαι] τὸν ταμίαν τ[ῶ]ν στρατιωτικῶν Δῆμον [Βερ]ενικίδην τὸ
γενόμενον
[ἀνάλωμα· δεδόσ]θω δὲ αὐτῷ ποι[ή]σασθαι καὶ εἰκό[νος χ]αλκῇ[s] ἀνάθεσιν
ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανε
[στάτῳ τόπῳ πλή]ν οὗ οἱ νόμοι ἀπαγορεύουσιν.

The first three citations
as published in
I.G., II², 1009

οἱ ἔφηβοι τὸν κοσμητήν
in corona
60 [Δημ]ήτριον
[Οὐλιά]δου
[Ἀλωπε]κῆθεν

AN HONORARY CITATION

43. Fragment of Hymettian marble, with the rough-picked right side preserved, but otherwise broken, found on March 3, 1933, in a modern wall in Section Θ.

Height, 0.195 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.063 m.

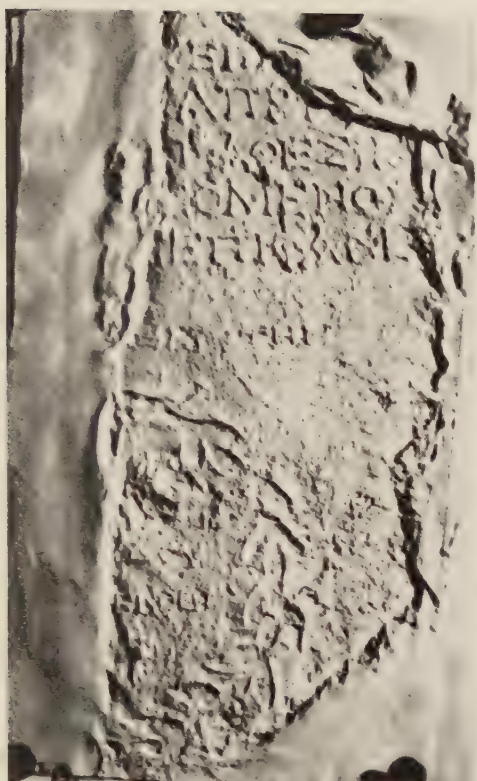
Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 524.

ca. 215 B.C.

[οἱ θιασ]ῶται
|τ|ὸν |τ|αμίαν
Φιλυστίωνα

The requirements of symmetry preclude in line 1 a restoration so long as, for example, [οἱ στρατι]ῶται. The preserved text seems rather to be a citation from an honorary decree passed by a thiasos. In *I.G.*, II², 1298, the treasurer of a thiasos was



No. 42
(Photograph from Squeeze)



No. 43
(Photograph from Squeeze)

likewise honored, together with the secretary, and both names appeared without demotics. The approximate date of the inscription is determined by the characteristically disjointed style of lettering.

RECORDS MENTIONING PAREDROI (44-46)

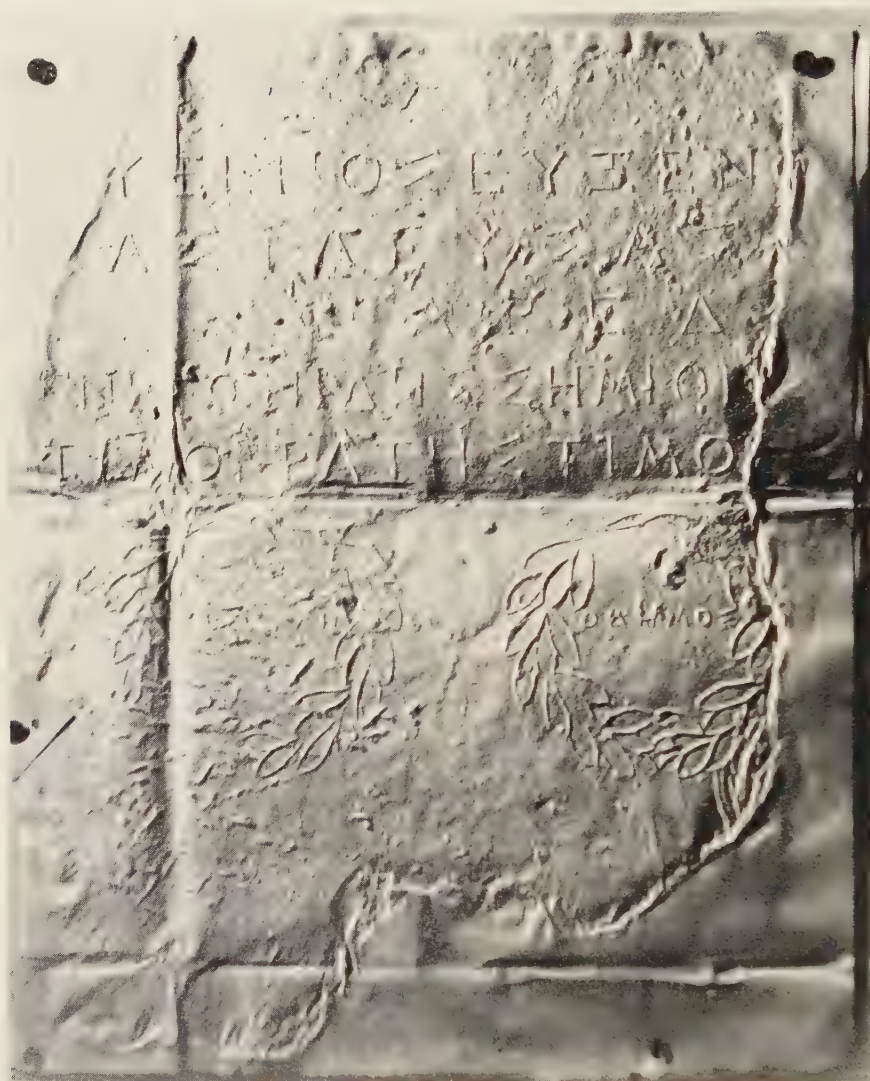
44. Part of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the top and left side preserved, found on June 19, 1936, in Section MM.

Height, 0.55 m.; width, 0.42 m.; thickness, 0.20 m.

Height of letters, 0.023 m. and 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 4246.

The character of the lettering indicates the date.



No. 44

(Photograph from Squeeze)

ca. 180 B.C.

|Ε|ϋξενος Εϋξένο|υ Θοραιεύς|

|β|ασιλεύσας |ἀνέθηκεν|

πάρεδ|ροι|

Γρυφωνίδης Σημίων|ος Θοραιεύς|

Τιμοκράτης Τιμο|-----|

in corona in corona [in corona]

ή βουλή ό δημος [ή φυλή]

One Κλέανδρος (Γ)νιφωνίδου is named among the Θορα(ι)εῖς in *I.G.*, II², 1927 (lines 170-172), a catalog of the late fourth century B.C., and Kirchner noted (*P.A.*, no. 8465) that in the *Defixionum Tabellae* (ed. Wünsch, no. 42) the names Γνιφωνίδης, Κλέανδρος Γνιφωνίδου, and Εὔξενος Θοραιεύς appeared close together. I restore the demotic [Θοραιεύς] above in lines 1 and 4, but the date must be about one hundred and fifty years later than the predecessors in the same families from the fourth century. Apparently Κνδίδμ[αχ]ος [Γ]νί[φω]ν[ος] Θοραιε[ύς] of *I.G.*, II², 6214 (fourth century B.C.) was also a relative. There is also a Γνίφων Προκλέο[υς] who appears as guarantor to a contractor *ca.* 334/3 in *I.G.*, II², 2495. Here the restoration should probably be Γνίφων Προκλέο[υς Θορα(ιεύς)]. The father Προκλῆς Γνίφωνος is named on a dedicatory inscription about the middle of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II², 12523).³⁰

In view of the easy interchange of initial ΓΝ and ΚΝ,³¹ I suspect that Κν[ίφων] of Antiochis, who was one of the heroes of Phyle, may also have been a member of this family from Thorai. If so, the restoration in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 288, line 67, should be changed from Κν[ίφων Ἀτην]εῖς to Κν[ίφων . . . Θοραι]εῖς. He may, indeed, have been identical with the elder Γνίφων mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 12523. Alternatively, this elder Γνίφων may have been identical with Κνίφων Π[---], whose name appears on a grave monument of the early fourth century now published by E. Vanderpool in *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 149.

45. A stele of Pentelic marble, broken at the top, but with both sides and the bottom preserved, found on May 12, 1933, in a loose fill of earth in Section Θ. A small fragment, broken on all sides, was found at the same time and in the same place, but it makes no join with the larger piece. The sides of the stele were picked with a fine chisel; the back was rough and is now much worn and hacked.

Height of the face, 0.445 m.; width, 0.275 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

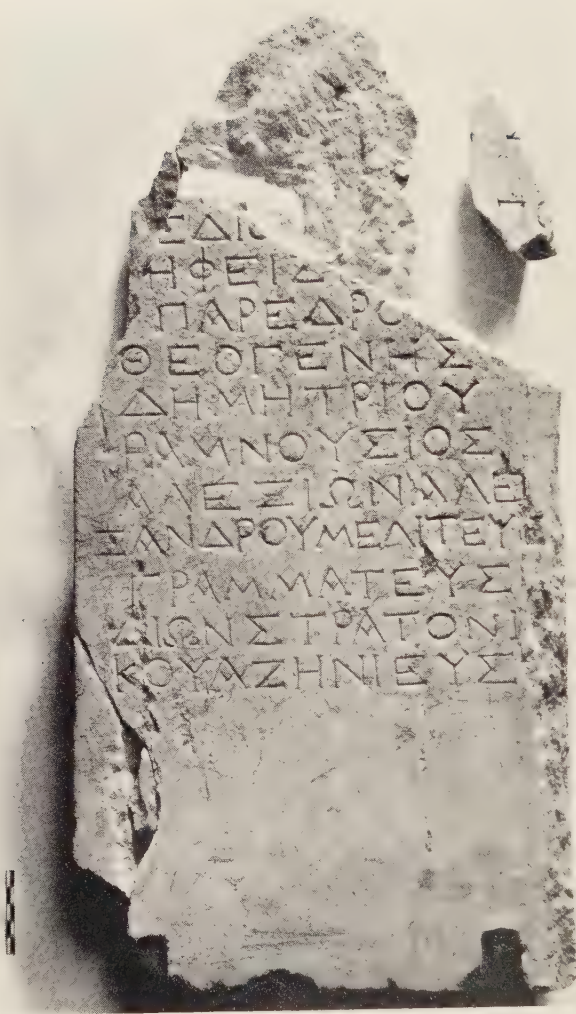
Height of letters, 0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 806.

The space allotted to each line was *ca.* 0.024 m. The lettering indicates a date near the beginning of the Christian era.

³⁰ This is published by Kirchner among the sepulchral inscriptions, but P. Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1887, p. 268, noted that it was a dedication made by a hipparch. This has been recalled by O. Walter, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, p. 152, note 1.

³¹ As, for example, in κναφεύς, γναφεύς.



No. 45

ca. 30 B.C.

Δ[-----]

. *vacat*

πο[λέμαρχος]

5 [.]ει[-----]

[Π]εδιο[κλέους]

[Κ]ηφεισι[εύς]

πάρεδροι

Θεογένης

10 Δημητρίου

Ραμνούσιος

Ἀλεξίων Ἀλε

ξάνδρου Μελιτεύς

γραμματεὺς

15 Δίων Στρατονί

κου Ἀζηγιεύς

vacat

The fact that two *paredroi* and a secretary are mentioned indicates that the name to be supplied before them belongs to one of the principal archons,³² while the small fragment may be tentatively so placed as to yield the restoration πο[λέμαρχος]. My interpretation of the monument is that it contained also—above the record of the *polemarchos*—the records of the eponymous archon and of

the *basileus*. The initial letter of line 2 may thus be explained as part of the name of the secretary of the *basileus*.

Cuttings in the bottom of the slab seem to have been designed to fit a bracket, or clamps, so as to fix the slab against a wall. Since the record of the *polemarch* required about 0.30 m. the sum of all three records would have been about 0.90 m. Added to the uninscribed portion at the bottom and a probable crowning moulding, this makes a plaque about 1.25 m. tall.

³² Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 56, 1. Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 150; *I.G.*, II², 1230, 1696, 1738. The restoration of *I.G.*, II², 1738 presents some difficulty, but I believe it names an archon, his two *paredroi*, and a secretary.

It is difficult to explain the letter in line 2 without assuming that the record of the basileus preceded that of the polemarch. If one wishes to assume that this is rather the record of the eponymous archon (like *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 150), he may restore [ἄρχων] in line 3 and regard the letters Πο — as the beginning of the archon's name. But this still leaves unexplained the lone letter of line 2.

In line 6 I have restored the one name attested in Kirchner's *Prosopographia* which suits the preserved letters. This name Pediokles is rare, and one may prefer an alternative reading of a double patronymic in lines 5-6, as follows: [.]ε[--- γόνω | δ]ἐ Διο[---], representing both the adoptive and the natural father of the archon or polemarch, as the case might be. I have preferred to show a restoration which gives the more normal form.

It is possible that the secretary, Dion, should be identified with the Dion of *I.G.*, II², 1043, line 5, in which case the restoration there should be Δίω[ν Ἀζηνιέ]ύς.

46. A block of Hymettian marble, found on May 24, 1933, built into a modern wall in Section I. The block had served as a threshold with the inscribed face uppermost, and before being used for the inscription it seems to have been part of a wall. The observed end of the stone has anathyrosis.

Height, at least 0.65 m.; width, 0.565 m.; thickness, 0.23 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.-0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 890.

First Century after Christ

vacat
 πάρεδρ[οι]
 [Ἀθη]ναγόρας
 [Οὐέ]ντιδιο[ς] Πο[ύφος]
 Φυλάσιο[ι]

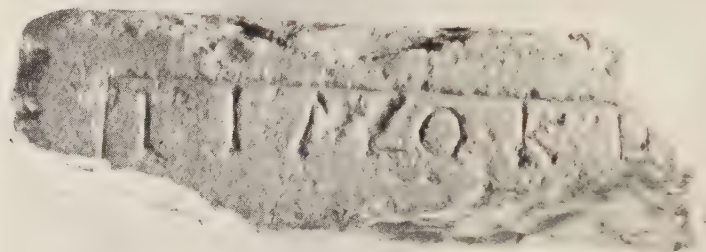


No. 46

This inscription should be compared with the preceding. As yet no description is available for the reverse face. Ventidius Rufus, of Phyle, who is named in line 3, may belong to the family which was later prominent in Athens (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1803, and notes).

HELLENISTIC DEDICATIONS (47-51)

47. Three separate fragments of Hymettian marble. Fragment *a* was found on September 22, 1938, in the wall of a modern house in Section EE; its left side, top, and bottom are preserved. Fragment *b* was found on February 24, 1937, in a modern wall in Section Φ; its top and bottom are preserved. Fragment *c* was found on March 20, 1933, in a modern house in Section I; its top, right side, and bottom are preserved.

No. 47. Fragment *a*No. 47. Fragment *b*

a: Height, 0.086 m.; width, 0.311 m.; thickness, 0.292 m.

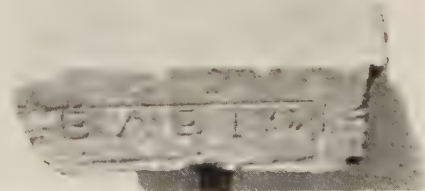
Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 608b.

b: Height, 0.27 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.23 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 4559.

No. 47. Fragment *c*

c: Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.28 m.; thickness, 0.365 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 608a.

ca. 200 B.C.

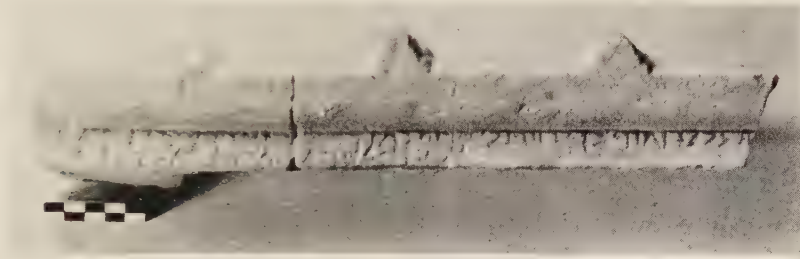
Τιμοκρ[άτεια ---] Φηγαέω[ς γυνή Διὶ Τ]ελείωι

48. Two joining fragments of Pentelic marble, from the head-band of a sculptured stele, found on April 6, 1935, in a disturbed fill in front of the Metroön.

Height, 0.065 m.; width, 0.37 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 147.



No. 48

ca. 200 B.C.

[--- Ἀπολ]λοδώρου Ὀτρυνεὺς στρατηγῆσας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπ[ὶ ---]
[ἄρχοντος] ἥρωι Στρατηγῶι ἀνέθηκεν

Men named Apollodoros are known to have belonged to the deme of Otryne in the Hellenistic period (cf. *P.A.*, 1433-1435). It is not possible to identify surely the Apollodoros named here with any one of them, nor to say what the name of his son may have been. The hero Strategos, to whom the dedication was made, is otherwise known at Athens from an inscription of the second century after Christ,³³ which deals, among other things, with the restoration of sacred shrines.

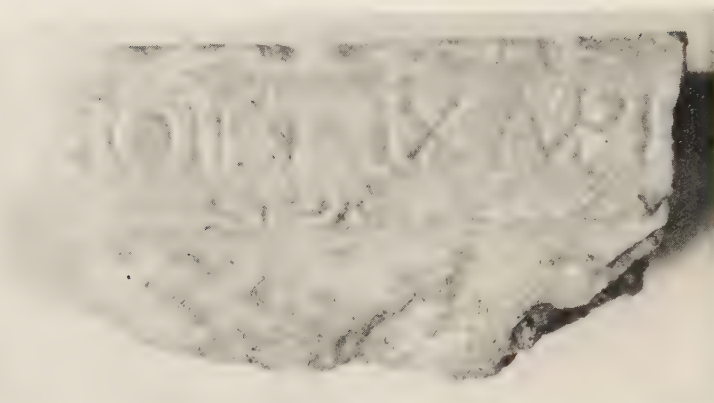
49. Fragment of Hymettian marble, with part of the top and rough-picked back preserved, found on April 21, 1933, in Section H.

Height, 0.065 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 692.

³³ *I.G.*, II², 1035, line 53. For the date, see Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 17, note 3. Cf. also Gebhard in *P.W.*, *R.-E.*, s.v. Strategos, col. 184, no. 2.



No. 49

164/3 B.C. (?)

[οἱ -----]οι οἱ ἐπὶ Χαρί[ου(?) ἄρχοντος]

The lettering of this dedication indicates a date in the second century B.C. or later. Possibly the name of the archon to be restored is Charias of 164/3.³⁴ The inscription can hardly be so early as Charikles of 196/5. Should it be later than Charias, there is no known archon within the probable range of date down into the first century. Hence the suggestion in the restoration above.

50. I owe to Wilhelm the suggestion, which I believe to be a good one, that in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 76 (no. 76) the restoration of the last line should be [γυμνασι]αρχήσας rather than [τριηρ]αρχήσας. This dedication is published also as *I.G.*, II², 3003a.

51. Seven fragments of Hymettian marble. Fragments *a-d* unite to form a group with part of the base preserved. Fragment *a* (at the bottom, right) was found on April 28, 1933, in a modern foundation in Section H. Fragment *b* (at the bottom, left) and Fragment *c* (center) were brought into the museum from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936. Fragment *d* (top) was found on April 10, 1934, in a late fill in Section B.

Fragment *e*, broken on all sides, was found on October 16, 1933, in a modern house in Section B. Fragment *f*, also broken on all sides, was found on May 8, 1936, in Section KK. Fragment *g* is in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens (E.M. 2934) and is published here from a squeeze in the collection at the Institute for Advanced Study.

³⁴ See Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxix.

a-d: Overall height, 0.47 m.; width, 0.555 m.; thickness, 0.292 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 746.

c: Height, 0.139 m.; width, 0.144 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 1106.

f: Height, 0.044 m.; width, 0.089 m.; thickness, 0.027 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 4115.

g: Height of face, 0.095 m.; width of face, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

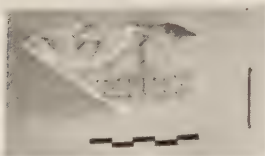
E.M. 2934.



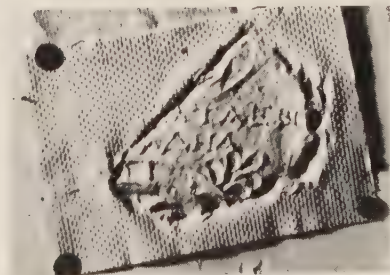
No. 51. Fragments *a-d*



No. 51. Fragment *e*



No. 51. Fragment *f*



No. 51. Fragment *g*
(Photograph from Squeeze)

Of these fragments, *b* and *c* have already been published as *I.G.*, II², 3152 and 3153, and *c* has been the subject of a more recent note by L. Robert in which he vindicates the reliability of Fourmont's original copy and proposes new restorations.³⁵ Robert's arguments are now brilliantly confirmed by the rediscovery of the fragment in the Stoa of Attalos.

First Century B.C.

		Olive crown	Olive crown	Olive crown
<i>f</i> ----- <i>τεντα</i> -----	<i>d</i> <i>τα</i> [-----]	[-----] <i>μ</i>	<i>e</i> <i>Σ</i> [-----]	
<i>lacuna</i>	10 <i>χομ</i> [-----]	[-----] <i>a</i>	<i>τα</i> [-----]	
	<i>vacat</i>		25 <i>Βη</i> [-----]	
[Ῥωμαῖα τὰ ἐν] Χαλκίδι	<i>c</i> Ῥωμ[αῖα]	[-----] <i>a</i>	Ῥωμαῖα τὰ [ἐν Χαλκίδι]	
Olive crown	τὰ ἐν X[αλκίδι]			
<i>ἀγε</i>	Olive crown		crown	
<i>νείους</i>	<i>ἀγε</i>	<i>lacuna</i>	<i>lacuna</i>	
5 [στώ]διον	15 <i>πέντα</i>			
	<i>θλον</i>			
		<i>a</i>	<i>g</i>	
<i>b</i> [Νᾶα τ]ὰ ἐν Δωδών(η)	20 [Π]υθαῖα τὰ ἐν [---]	[Τροφώνι] <i>a</i> τὰ ἐν		
Olive crown	Olive crown	Olive crown	[Λεβ]αδήα	
[ᾶ]νδρας	(uninscribed) [ᾶ]νδρας	[ᾶ]νδρας	crown	
[π]ένταθλον	[πέντα]θλ[ον]			

There is some doubt whether fragments *f* and *g* belong with this inscription. In the case of *g* I have seen only the squeeze. The letters are the same, and in spite of the unusual decoration of the relief below them there is the same crown of olive leaves above that appears on fragments *a-c*. Also [Λεβ]αδήα in line 28 exhibits the same orthography as [Π]υθαῖα in line 20 and omits iota adscript as does Δωδών(η) in line 6.

Games named Πυθαῖα (or Πυθαεῖα) are known in Sparta (*I.G.*, V, 659) and in Megara (*I.G.*, VII, 48), and one of these should be restored in line 20. The text within the crowns in lines 9-10, 17-18, and 23-25 does not refer to the contests and categories of competition, as elsewhere. I suspect in lines 23-25 the name of the athlete honored, possibly an Athenian with demotic Βη[σaiέα]. I should feel more confidence about it if it were possible to restore the same name in all three passages. Perhaps this can be done. The monument will then record honors voted to the athlete,

³⁵ *Rev. de Phil.*, XVIII, 1944, pp. 18-21. Fragments *b* and *c* are mentioned by Dow, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 89, no. 6 and fragment *b* once again, *ibid.*, p. 90, no. 38 (Addendum).

with the usual citations of the name within crowns, as well as the victories, also represented by crowns, won in athletic contests.

The positions assigned in the text above to fragments *e*, *f*, and *g* are quite arbitrary. I believe only that the crowns which contain the athlete's name (if this interpretation is correct) should be near together and preferably at the same height on the stone.

PRYTANY DOCUMENTS (52-55)

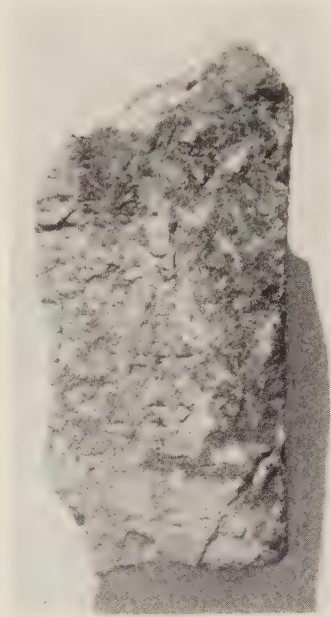
52. Fragment of Pentelic marble, with rough-picked back and smooth right side preserved, found on March 30, 1933, in Section Θ.

Height, 0.136 m.; width, 0.06 m.; thickness, 0.036 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 642.

The writing is not stoichedon, and the lines are spaced rather widely with a vertical unit for each line of *ca.* 0.012 m. The writing indicates the date.



No. 52

Early Second Century B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 50

|----- ἔδοξεν τῶι | δήμω[ι^{rr}]
 |----- εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν | ἀπαγ[γέλ]
 [λουσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς ----- φυλῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσιῶν ὧν]
 [ἔθνον τὰ πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶι τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Προσ]τατηρ[ίωι]
 [καὶ τεῖ Ἀρτέμιδι τεῖ Βουλαίαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς π]άτρ[ι]
 [ον ἦν^{rrr} ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμωι τὰ μὲν ἀγαθ]ὰ δέχ[ε]
 [σθαι τὰ γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθνον ἐφ' ὑγίαια κα]ὶ σωτη
 [ρίαι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν συμμάχων· ἐπει]δὴ δὲ [οἱ]
 [πρυτάνεις τῆς -----]

The formulae are characteristic of the so-called "prytany" inscriptions, but I have not as yet discovered that this piece belongs with any other text previously published.

53. A small fragment of white marble, with the finely picked left side and rough back preserved, found on April 19, 1933, in a modern wall in Section I.

Height, 0.198 m.; width, 0.175 m.; thickness, 0.136 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 717.

The writing is not stoichedon, and each line occupies vertically a space of *ca.* 0.01 m. or 0.011 m. The writing gives the indication of date.

Early Second Century B.C.

 Σωφά[νης]
 Ἡλιοδω[ρος]
 Νουμήνιο[ς]
 5 [Δ]ιονύσιος
 | . . | αρασ | -- |
 | . . . | ό | δ | ω | ρος |



No. 53

54. Two fragments of a stele of Pentelic marble. Fragment *a*, broken on all sides, was found in 1934 in Section Θ; fragment *b*, with the smooth-picked left side and rough back preserved, was found on March 31, 1933, in Section Z.

a: Height of inscribed face, 0.12 m.; width of inscribed face, 0.115 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 2175.

b: Height, 0.143 m.; width, 0.131 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

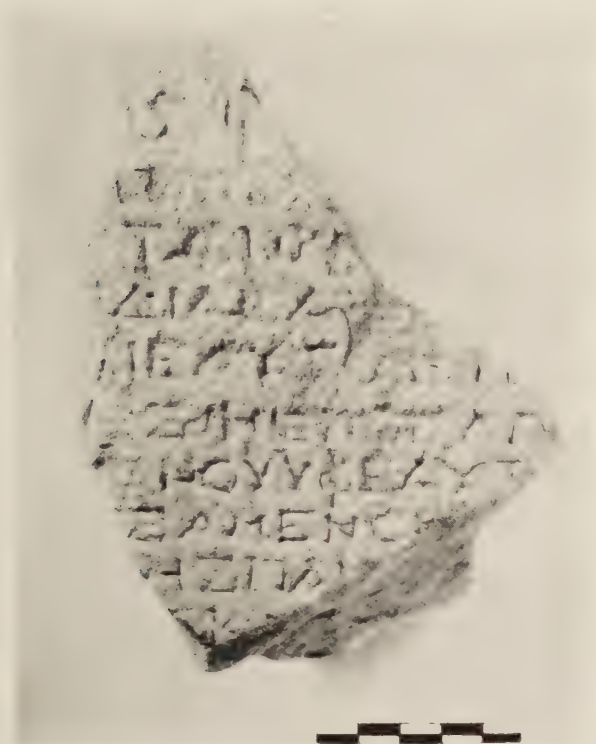
Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 629.

The writing is not stoichedon and the vertical spacing of the lines varies considerably, the observable unit on the preserved fragments ranging from 0.01 m. to 0.015 m. The fragments were identified by Sterling Dow as belonging to the same stele.

ca. 100 B.C.

[-----]των ω[-----]
 [-----] διὰ ταῦτα -----
 [-----] αὶ ἐαντὸν | ι | ἐ[-----]
 [----] ἀνάθ | εσιν ἐν ὄπλω | ι -----]

No. 54. Fragment *a*No. 54. Fragment *b*

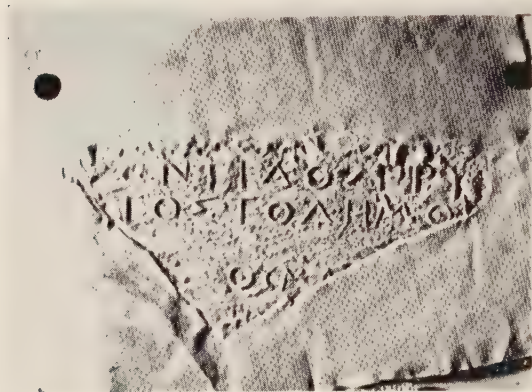
5 [-----]ένον ύφ' έαντ[----]
 [-----]ξάμενο[-----]
 [-----]τ|ήs Παν|διονίδος ---]
 [-----]σκ[-----]

lacuna

10 -----
. .			-----
.	χαιρ	-----	
.	ωνσ	-----	
ταδησω	-----		
15 Παιανιε	ις		
'Ιεροκλήs ^v			
Μητρό(δ)ωρ[ος]			
Λεωνίδης			
Ζωΐλος ^v			
Δ	ημόστρατος		
'Αν	δρων ^v		

Dow's association of the two fragments is confirmed by the fact that the deme Paiania (line 15) belongs to the tribe Pandionis (line 7). The privilege of setting up an *εἰκὼν ἐν ὄπλοι* (line 4) was frequently given in the prytany-decrees of the first century to the honored treasurer of the prytaneis. In spite of the difficulty of interpreting many of the lines of the present text, it is perhaps reasonable to suggest that it is a decree honoring the treasurer of Pandionis, with an appended list of the prytaneis of that tribe arranged according to demes, and without patronymics.

55. Fragment from the top of a block of Pentelic marble, with the upper surface dressed smooth, and with sides, bottom, and back broken, found on May 8, 1933, in Section H'.



No. 55
(Photograph from Squeeze)

Height, 0.98 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, in lines 1-2, 0.013 m.,
in lines 3-4, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 795.

Early Fourth Century B.C.

[Ἰπποθ]ωντίδος πρυτ[άνεις ἀνέθεσαν ἐπαι]
[νέσαν]τος τῷ δήμῳ ἐ[πὶ ---- ἄρχοντος]

I	II	III	IV
Θυμα[ιτάδαι]			
H[-----]			

This monument belongs to the category represented by *I.G.*, II², 1740 ff. The restoration suggests a width of the stone sufficient for four narrow columns.

LATE GRAVE MONUMENTS (56-62)

56. Fragment from the top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on March 14, 1933, in a modern cesspool in Section H.

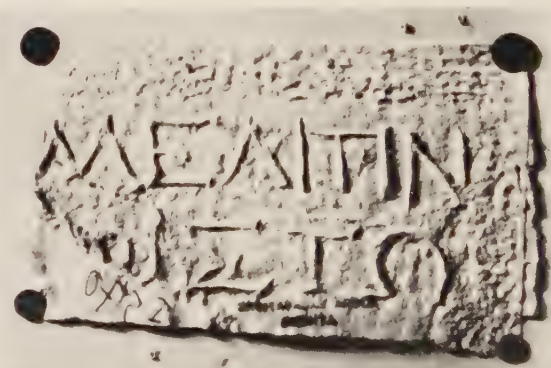
Height, 0.32 m.; width, 0.27 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 570.

ca. 200 B.C. (?)

Μελιτίν[η]
[Ἀ]ρίστωρ[ος]
vacat



No. 56
(Photograph from Squeeze)

57. The top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on May 12, 1933, in the wall of a modern house in Section Θ.

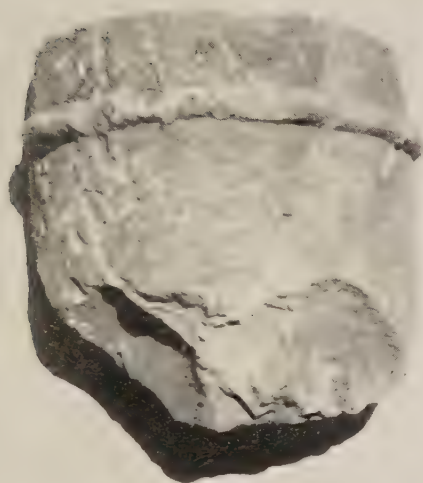
Height, 0.299 m.; diameter, 0.33 m.

Height of letters, 0.04 m.

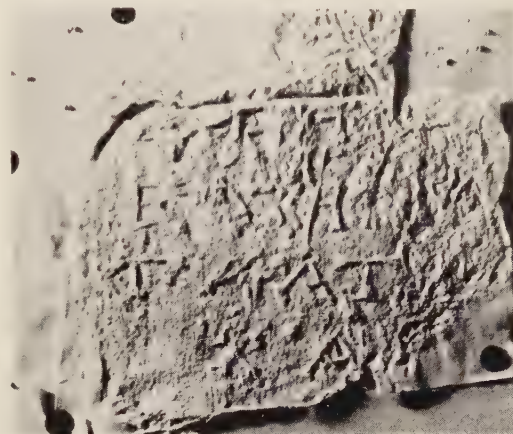
Inv. No. I 804.

ca. 100 B.C.

[Ἑρ]μογένης



No. 57



No. 58

(Photograph from Squeeze)

58. Part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on April 19, 1933, in a modern house in Section I.

Height, 0.284 m.; diameter as preserved, 0.216 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 716.

First Century B.C. ?

Ε|ὕ|ή|μερος|

Εὐημ|έρου|

Πλατ|αιεύς|

χα|ίρε|



No. 59

59. A columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on February 28, 1933, in a modern wall in Section H.

Height, 0.55 m.; diameter, 0.24 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 507.

First Century B.C. ?

Πόπλιος
Κορινήλιος
Ἀγαθήμερος

60. Part of the top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on March 8, 1933, in the wall of a modern shop in Section I.

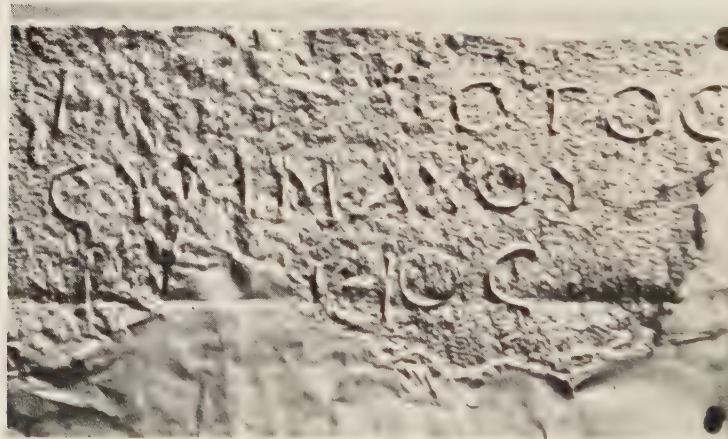
Height, 0.28 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.15 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 563.

First Century B.C.

Μην|ό|δοτος
Συμμάχου
Μ|ιλ|ήσιος



No. 60

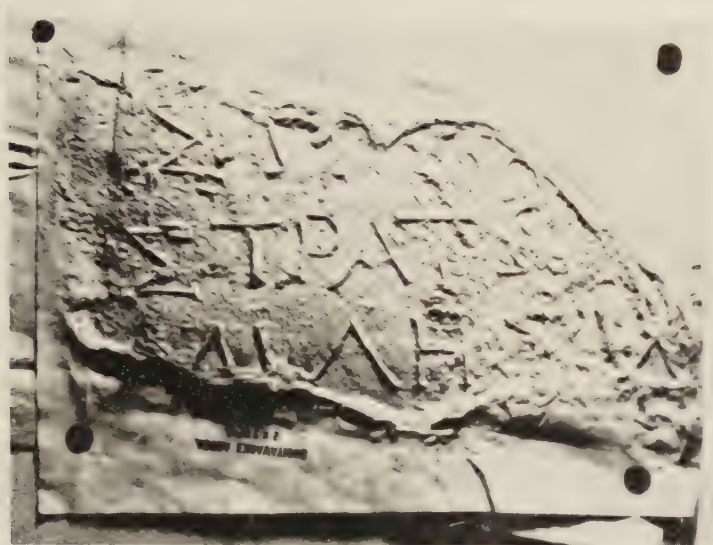
(Photograph from Squeeze)

61. Part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on March 4, 1933, in a modern wall in Section I.

Height, 0.31 m.; width, 0.29 m.; thickness, 0.24 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 543.



ca. 100 B.C.

Σωτ[-----]
 Στράτων[ος]
 Μιλησία

No. 61
 (Photograph from Squeeze)

62. Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, found on June 5, 1933, in a well in Section Θ.

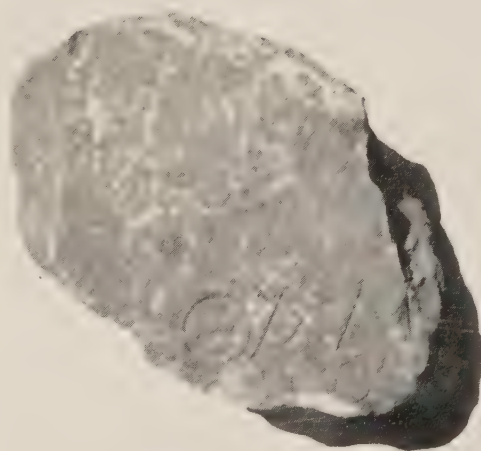
Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.28 m.; thickness, 0.15 m.

Height of letters, 0.045 m.

Inv. No. I 951.

First Century after Christ (?)

Θαλῆ[ς]
 Ὀτρυν[νεύς]



No. 62

DEDICATIONS OF ROMAN DATE (63-70)

63. Three fragments of a dedicatory base of Hymettian marble. Fragment *a* preserves the upper left corner, but is broken at the back, the right side, and the bottom; it was found on February 27, 1934, in Section K. Fragment *b* is mended from two pieces and preserves part of the upper right corner; the corner piece was found on March 5, 1934, in Section K, the other on March 30, 1933, in Section I.

Fragment *c* preserves part of the left side and bottom; it was found on February 20, 1934, in the wall of a modern house in Section K.

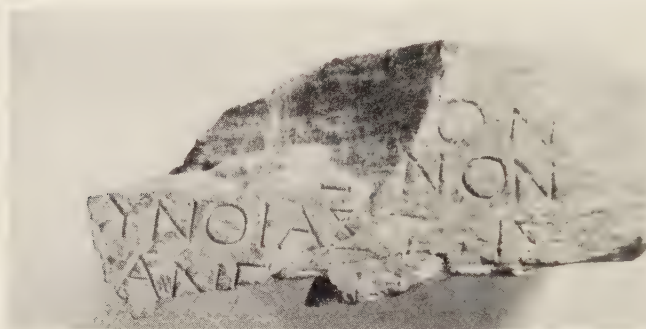
a: Height, 0.135 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.215 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 650b.



No. 63. Fragment *a*



No. 63. Fragment *b*

b: Height, 0.145 m.; width, *ca.* 0.295 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 650a + c.

c: Height, 0.075 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.24 m.

Height of letters not preserved.

Inv. No. I 1370.



No. 63. Fragment *c*

ca. A.D. 20

[ὁ δῆμος]

Γάϊον Ἀ[σίνιον Γαΐου υἱὸν

στρατη|γὸν ἀποδεδειγ|μένον

ἀρετῆς [τε καὶ ε]ὐνοίας τῆς

5 εἰς ἑα|υτὸν ἔνεκα] ἀνέθη|κεν]

The text duplicates that of *I.G.*, II², 4158. Kirchner adopts Graindor's identification of the Gaius Asinius here mentioned as the son of Gaius Asinius Gallus who was consul in 8 B.C. The present Asinius was praetor *ca.* 20 A.D. and consul in 23 A.D. Cf. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 63, no. 8.

64. Inscribed lintel block of Pentelic marble, found on May 20, 1933, built into the Valerian Wall in Section I.

Height, 0.38 m.; width, 2.62 m.; thickness, 0.545 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.-0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 848.

A photograph of this inscription was published by T. L. Shear in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 332 (Fig. 19), together with a brief commentary, but without a transcription of the Greek text. This is given here:

ca. 100 A.D.

Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάδι καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ Νέρβα Τραϊανῷ Γερμανικῷ καὶ
τῇ πόλει τῇ
Ἀθηναίων ὁ ἱερεὺς Μουσῶν Φιλοσόφων Τ. Φλάβιος Πάνταινος Φλαβίου Μενάνδρου
Διαδόχου
υἱὸς τὰς ἔξω στοάς, τὸ περίστυλον, τὴν βιβλιοθήκην μετὰ τῶν βιβλίων, τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα
κόσμον, ἐκ τῶν ιδίων μετὰ τῶν τέκνων Φλαβίου Μενάνδρου καὶ Φλαβίας Σεκουνδίλλης
ἀνέθηκε

Shear calls attention to the desirability of dating the inscription before 102 A.D., because the emperor Trajan is named in line 1 without the cognomen *Dacicus*, and he identifies the priest of the Muses, T. Flavius Pantainos, with the archon of approximately the same date, [Π]άνταινος Γαργ[ήτιος].³⁶ This identification may indeed be correct, though it should be noted that the absence of demotics in our present text indicates that the men named were not Athenian citizens when the dedication of the library was made. Our suggestion is that the priest came from the famous library in Alexandria.³⁷ Pantainos, the archon, was of course an Athenian.

The father of Pantainos was Flavius Menandros, and Pantainos named his own son after him. But the grandfather had the distinguished post of *διάδοχος*, a title given to the heads of various Schools at Athens, which the son was evidently proud to record with his name. The remains of the building of which this lintel formed a part have not yet been completely studied, but a preliminary ground plan may be seen in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, Plate I (no. 28), in which the "outer porticos" are clearly delineated.

Shear has published in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 41-42, a stone from the Agora (Inv. No. I 2729) which gives notice of library regulations and which was found near the dedicatory inscription recorded here.

³⁶ Cf. Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 109.

³⁷ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. *Museion*, col. 808, lines 40 ff.

65. Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken at the top, back, and both sides, found on May 10, 1933, in a modern wall in Section I. The surface is finely picked in a characteristic style which makes possible the association of the new piece with one earlier published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 71-72 (no. 67).



No. 65

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

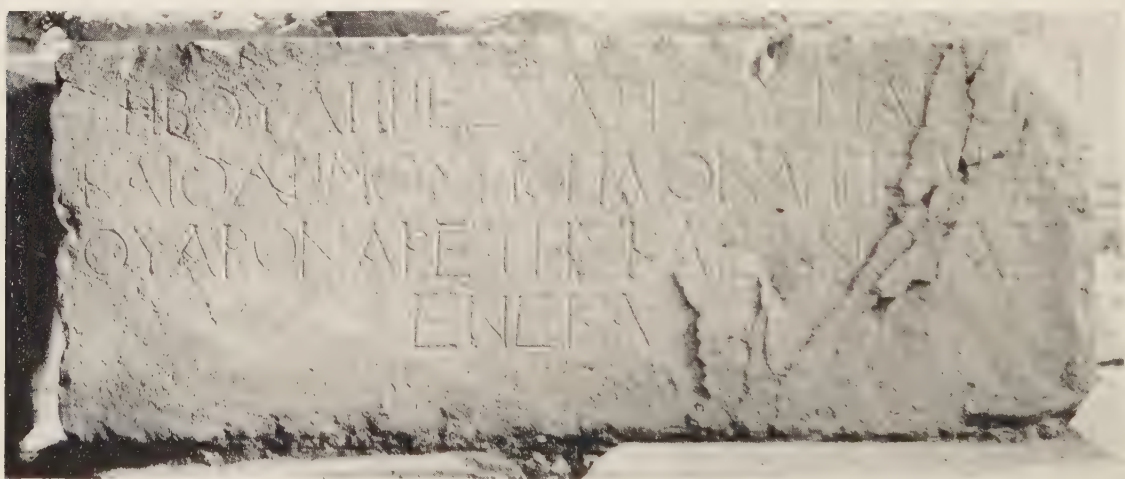
Inv. No. I 809.

If the three lines of the inscription were symmetrically spaced, the restoration should be somewhat as follows:

[ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου καὶ ὁ δῆμος]
 [.] ἀν[ιον Σα]βῖνον
 [ἀρετ]ῆς εἰ[νεκεν]

The earlier text was published also as *I.G.*, II², 4205a. The left stroke of the mu at the end of line 1 is on the edge of the stone.

66. An inscribed base of Hymettian marble, found on June 2, 1933, built into a tower in the Valerian Wall in Section I. The sides, back, and top of the block are smooth, but the inscribed face shows marks of the chisel. On the top, in the left front corner, is a circular cutting 0.12 m. in diameter and 0.035 m. deep; near the right side of the top is a second cutting.



No. 66

Height, 0.305 m.; width, 0.785 m.; thickness, 0.70 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.04 m.

Inv. No. I 928.

Second Century after Christ (?)

ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρχίου πάγου
καὶ ὁ δῆμος Πόπλιον Ἀππολήιον
Οὐάρων ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐνοίας
ἔνεκα

Publius Appuleius Varus is not named in the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*², unless indeed one deems it possible that he is the same as the famous author and philosopher (no. 958). So little is known of the author's name that this contingency may be given at least some consideration, though one ought to mention the slight evidence of one codex that his praenomen was Lucius.⁸⁸ On the other hand, if the inscription belongs to an earlier date, a possible identification may be made with the Appuleius of *Inscr. de Délos*, no. 1702.

67. Fragment of Hymettian marble, with the smooth left side preserved, found on April 12, 1933, in Section I.

Height, 0.32 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.175 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.023 m. in line 1, *ca.* 0.02 m. in line 2.

Inv. No. I 708.

Second Century after Christ

Νεοκλῆς | ὁ Ἐπι-
κούρου πα[τήρ]

This commemorative inscription honors the father of the famous philosopher. Reasons of symmetry preclude here the possibility of expanding pi and alpha in line 2 as a demotic, and the narrow width of the stone suggests that the fragment is part of a herm.

From about the same date as this text we possess a letter to the Epicureans at Athens from Plotina, the wife of Trajan (*I.G.*, II², 1099) and a record of her intercession with Hadrian to extend the rights of succession to those also who were not Roman citizens. The new inscription makes a small documentary contribution to the activity of the school.



No. 67

⁸⁸ See Schwabe in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Appuleius (9), cols. 246, 249.

68. A large statue base of Pentelic marble, found on March 24, 1933, in Section H.

Height, 1.10 m.; width, 0.60 m.; thickness, 0.475 m.

Height of letters, 0.055 m.

Inv. No. I 633.

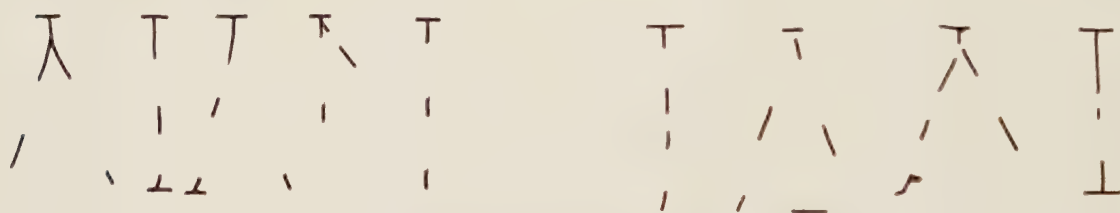
The inscription has been erased, but traces of every letter but one remain.

A.D. 129-138

[Αἰαν[τ]ίδαι]

This inscription seems to be like that for Erechtheis published by Dittenberger as *I.G.*, III, 3868 (Ἐρεχθίδαι), and not repeated in Kirchner's *editio minor* of the dedications. Dittenberger's text was taken from Pittakys, *L'ancienne Athènes*, p. 288, who recorded merely "Sur un fragment le mot: ΕΡΕΧΘΙΔΑΙ." Dittenberger edited the text to read Ἐρεχθ(ε)ίδαι, and added the note: Si modo Pittakis haec recte exscripsit, anathema fuit a tribu Erechtheide dedicatum.

A similar interpretation may be given to the present text. Evidently it was a dedication by the tribe Aiantis. One is inclined to assume that there may have been similar dedications by all the tribes, and the date of the lettering suggests that they may all have been statues of Hadrian. The reasons for the erasure remain obscure.



No. 68. Drawing of the preserved traces of letters

69. Fragment from the upper left corner of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the original thickness preserved, found on May 13, 1932, in Section ΣΤ.

Height, 0.135 m.; width, 0.128 m.; thickness, 0.044 m.

Height of letters, 0.039 m.

Inv. No. I 237.

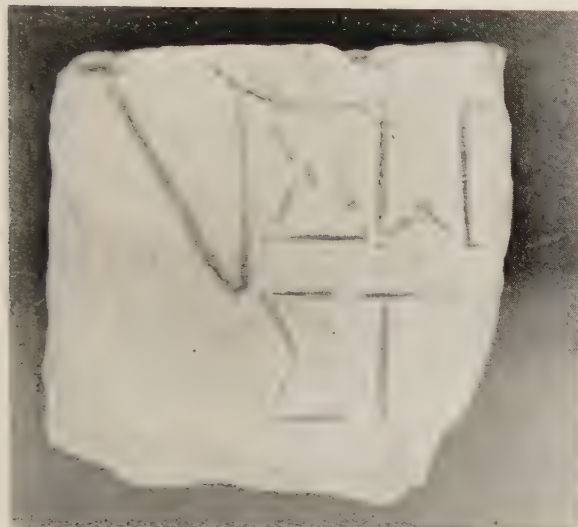


No. 68

A.D. 129-138

Σω[τῆρι καὶ Κτί|
 στη[ι Αὐτοκράτορι|
 [Ἀδριανῶι Ὀλυμπίωι]

The back, the top, and the side are rough-picked. For this type of dedication, see *I.G.*, II², 3324-3368, 3367a, and *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 249-251, nos. 49-52.



No. 69



No. 70

70. A dedication in honor of the emperor Geta was published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 76 (no. 75). A new fragment, broken on all sides, was found in a modern wall in Section I on May 10, 1933.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 808.

This fragment joins the largest of the pieces already published to form part of the text in lines 7-10, as follows:

μ[εγίστου] Εὐτυχ[οῦ]|
 ς κ[αὶ Ἰουλίας] Δόμν[ης]|
 Σε[βαστῆς υἱόν,] Πό[πλι]|
 [ον Σεπτίμιον Γέταν]

There is an irregular division between lines 7 and 8, and there must have been some crowding, relieved however by the presence of three iotas, in line 8. The earlier text is published also as *I.G.*, II², 3416a.

PRYTANY DOCUMENTS OF ROMAN DATE (71-73)

71. Stamires, in a letter to the editor dated February 7, 1936, has proposed convincing restorations for the early lines of the text first published as *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 52:

ca. 180-190 A.D.

	’Α [γ α θ ῆ ι Τ υ χ η ι]	
	ἐπ[ὶ ἄρχοντος -----]	
	γ’ πρ[υτανείας οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἀδριανίδος]	
	φυλῆ[ς τειμήσαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς αἰσίτους]	
5	[ἀνέγραψαν]	
	Βησαιεῖς	
	vacat	Second
	Αἴ(λιος) Πυθαγ[όρας]	column
	Μάρκος Φιλ -----	missing
10	Φίλιππος -----	
	Μ -----	
	Λ -----	

The inscription is a prytany list of Hadrianis. The earlier publication gave the reading Μ --- ηλ --- in line 11, but it seems best to attempt no interpretation of the partial strokes near the bottom of the stone. Ailios Pythagoras is named also in another prytany list of Hadrianis published as *Hesperia*, IV, no. 12, where the restoration in line 11 should be changed from |Φ|λ. Πυθαγόρας to [Αἴ|λ(ιος) Πυθαγόρας. See *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 50; XI, 1942, p. 311.

72. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with the rough-picked back preserved, found on February 17, 1932 in Section Δ.

Height, 0.145 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.055 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.-0.018 m.

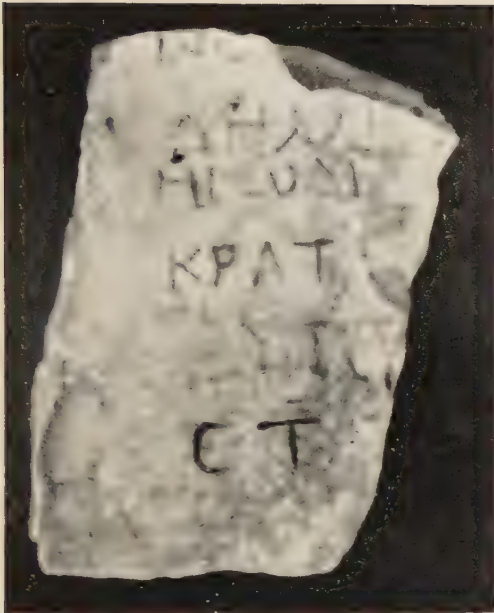
Inv. No. I 161.

Second Century after Christ

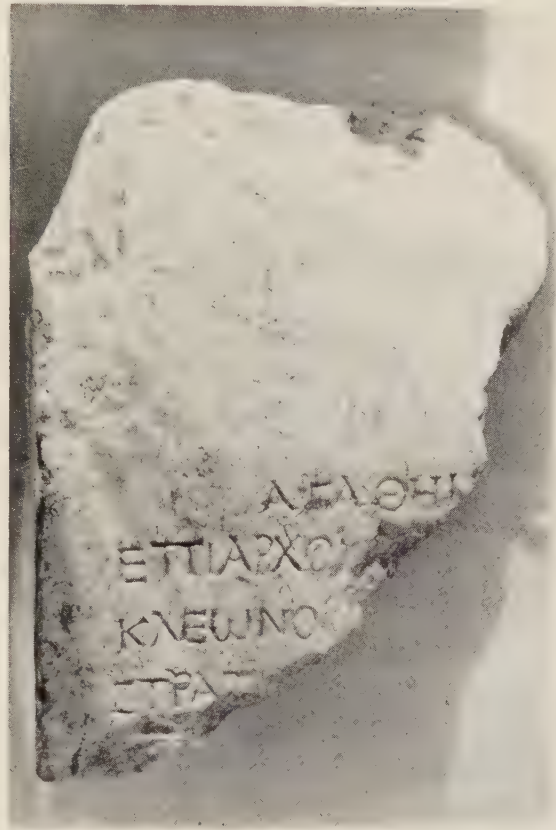
 Νο|-----|
 Δημή[τριος --]
 Ἡρώδη[ς --]

Συπ[αλήττιοι]

Στρ|----|



No. 72



No. 73

A thin vertical guide-line marks the left face of the column of names. For this reason, and also because of the extent of uninscribed stone at the left, it must be assumed that the present text belongs to a column of the original monument other than the first. The tribal connection is indicated by the name of the deme Sypalettos, which—so far as present evidence shows—remained throughout antiquity wholly in Kekropis.³⁹

73. An inscribed herm of Pentelic marble found on June 6, 1933, in Section H'. Only the right shoulder and chest remain, but the original thickness is preserved. The sides are carefully dressed and show no trace of mortises.

³⁹ I have been tempted to assume that part of Sypalettos went to Attalis when that tribe was created, and thus to achieve uninterrupted cycles for the secretary of the Council through the second

Height, 0.225 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.-0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 950.

ca. 210 A.D.

Ἀγαθῇ [Τύχη]
ἐπὶ ἄρχον[τος Γ. ' Κυίντον]
Κλέωνος Μ[αραθωνίου,]
στρατη[γού]ντος ἐπὶ τὰ
5 [ὄπλα Π. Αἰλ. Ἰσοχρύσου]
[Παλληνέως οἱ πρυτά]
[νεις τῆς ----- φυλῆς]

For similar documents of the same year see *I.G.*, II², 1825 and 1826. The date is given according to Oliver's table in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 89.

UNCERTAIN

74. Fragment from the upper part of a narrow stele of Pentelic marble, found on February 4, 1932, in a late wall in Section ΣΤ.

Height, 0.325 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, ca. 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 142.

Of Roman date

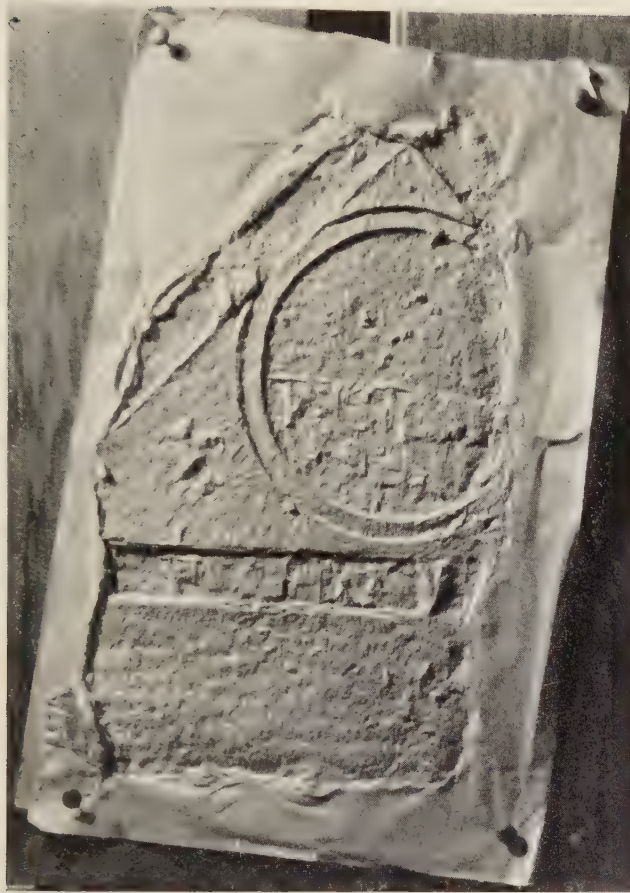
Πιστο[κρ]
άτης

The name here recorded was inscribed on the lower half of a shield in the pediment. There are also traces of letters on a raised band which separates the pediment from the stele proper.

75. In Supplement V of *Hesperia* (1941) Dinsmoor published several new fragments of the Latin inscription written by Lord Elgin for John Tweddell. The largest of these (Agora Inv. No. I 1257 d) he illustrated (*op. cit.*, p. 22, Fig. 8),⁴⁰

century B.C. The disturbing element at present is the appearance of a secretary from Sypalettos in 146/5, if that deme belonged entirely to Kekropis. The cycles would not be interrupted if this secretary could be given to Attalis. See the table in Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxx.

⁴⁰ The dimensions are: height, 0.53 m.; width, 0.36 m.; thickness, 0.14 m. It was found on June 14, 1939.



No. 74

(Photograph from Squeeze)

but the four smaller pieces, together with two others, are illustrated here for the first time.

Fragment *a*:

Height of face, 0.15 m.; width of face, 0.153 m.; thickness, 0.132 m.

Height of letters, 0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 1257 *a* (Published by Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 23).

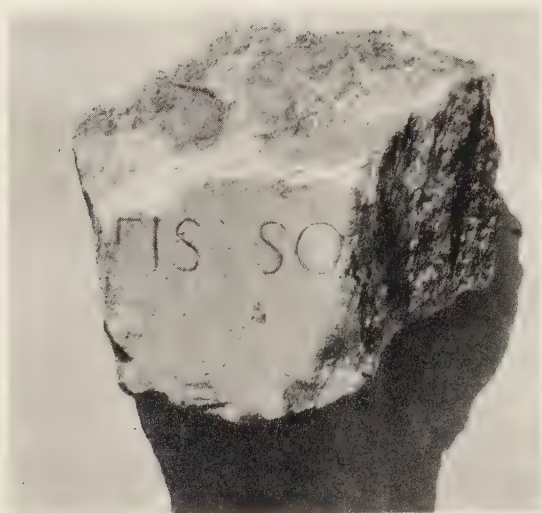
This fragment makes part of lines 5-6 of the text as given below. I have read additional traces of letters in line 6.

Fragment *b*:

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 1257 *b* (Published by Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 23).

No. 75. Fragment *a*No. 75. Fragment *b*No. 75. Fragment *c*No. 75. Fragment *d*

Fragment *c*:

Height, 0.125 m.; width, 0.145 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, 0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 1257 *c* (Published by Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 23).

This fragment makes part of line 9 of the text as given below.

Fragment *d*:

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.20 m.

Height of letter, 0.033 m.

Inv. No. I 1257 *c* (Published by Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 23).

Fragment *e*: This fragment was found in Section Z before the opening of the excavation season of 1933. It is broken at the top and at the right. The left side is smooth-picked, and the bottom and back are rough-picked. It joins Agora Inv. No. I 1257 *d*.

Height, 0.50 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.034 m.

Inv. No. I 406.

Fragment *f*: This fragment is identified by the lettering from a squeeze made in the Epigraphical Museum and now in Princeton. The stone has the inventory number of the Museum 3929.

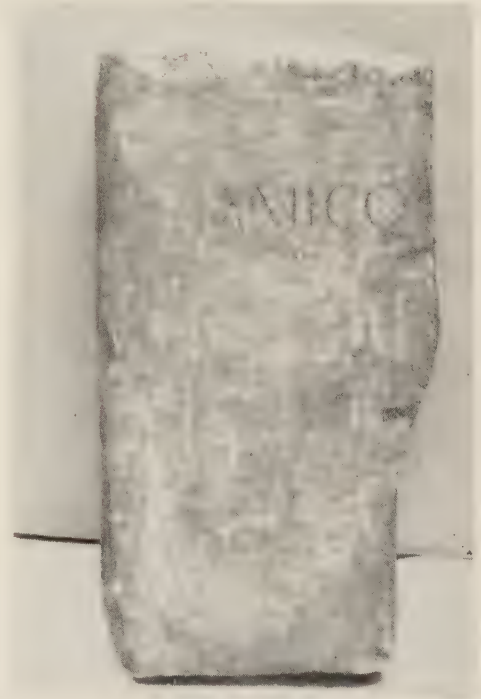
Fragment *g*: This fragment was brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936. It has the rough-picked back preserved but is otherwise broken.

Height, 0.28 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, 0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 3523.

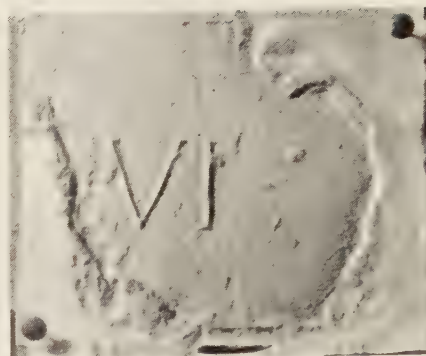
I have no suggestion for the assignment of Fragments *b*, *d*, and *f*, and so give their text without further attribution in line 7. The other fragments add somewhat to the inscription, though their precise positions cannot be determined (except for Fragment *e*) until there is an opportunity to try the stones for possible joins.



No. 75. Fragment *e*



No. 75. Fragment *f*
(Photograph from Squeeze)



No. 75. Fragment *g*
(Photograph from Squeeze)

O(ssa) H(ic) S(ita) S(unt)
 [J]OHANNIS. TWEDDELL. AN[GLI]
 PROVINCIA NORTVMBRIA
 CANTAB[R]IGIAE LITERIS IM[BVTI]
 5 [COLLEGII S. TRINITA]TIS SO[CII]
 ----- Oꝛ S -----
 /// RGR /// R /// ERE
 QVI
 [OBIIT VIII KA]L. SEX[TILIS MDCCIC]
 10 [HOC M]Q[NVMENTVM]
 [TO]MAS DE ELGIN COMES
 AMICO OPTIMO OPTIMEQ(ue) MERITO
 M(emoriae) C(ausa) F(aciendum) C(uravit)

Tweddell was elected a Fellow of Trinity College in 1792. This honor was recorded on the family tablet in the parochial chapel of Haydon, in Northumberland, with the following inscription by Dr. Parr: ⁴¹

ITEM QVE JONNIS TWEDDELL
 FILII EORVM NATV MAXIMI
 ET COLLEG. SACROSANC. TRINITAT.
 APVD CANTABRIGIENSES SOCII
 QVI ATHENIS OB. VIII KAL. AVGVST.

It now appears again in the inscription at Athens. Line 9 of the Athenian text has also been restored with reference to the tablet in England.

⁴¹ See R. Tweddell, *The Remains of John Tweddell*² (1816), p. 22.

76. Two fragments of the epitaph of Benjamin Gott were published by Dinsmoor in *Hesperia*, Supplement V (1941), pp. 26-27. These are illustrated here. There is also an additional piece which gives the end of line 5 of the inscription, which was found on February 24, 1933.

Height, 0.163 m.; width, 0.302 m.;
thickness, 0.109 m.

Height of letters, 0.036 m.

Inv. No. I 459.



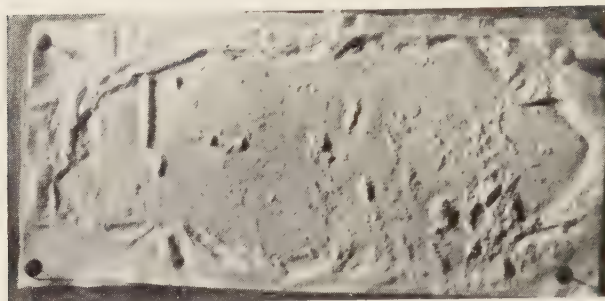
No. 76 a



No. 76 b

The characteristic marble and lettering identify the fragment. The two preserved letters are part of the text MORTUUS EST. See Dinsmoor, *loc. cit.* William Miller has cited evidence from the unpublished Journal of Mrs. Halliday, of July, 1847, that Benjamin Gott's inscribed gravestone was "removed to the new English churchyard" by the Ilissos.⁴² In view of the fact that three of the four known fragments have now appeared in the excavations of the Agora, it may be questioned whether the tombstone was ever removed. Miller states that he found no traces of any slab either in the Protestant cemetery or in the English corner of the Athenian cemetery to which the body was subsequently transferred.

⁴² William Miller, *The English in Athens before 1821* (The Anglo-Hellenic League, London, 1926), pp. 17-18.



No. 76. Inv. No. I 459

(Photograph from Squeeze)

ERYTHRAI AND ATHENS

77. Last year I published three fragments which I thought belonged with known decrees concerning Erythrai (*I.G.*, I², 10-13).⁴³ The stoichedon pattern, so far as it could be determined, was in all instances the same, but there remained the thickness of the fragments that had to be questioned in further study. I am now convinced that a difference in thickness between fragments *a* and *b* of *I.G.*, I², 12/13 was the ground on which Nesselhauf based his assurance to Highby that these two stones were from different monuments.⁴⁴ The larger Agora fragment (*Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 82, no. 2 *a*) has approximately the same thickness as *I.G.*, I², 12/13 *b* (0.093 m.). This may now be stated with confidence, though one must still compare the treatment of the reverse surfaces before claiming finally that they belong together. Neither can belong with *I.G.*, I², 12/13 *a*, and since neither has any mention of Erythrai in its text it is best provisionally to assume that they have nothing to do with that city or with the other Erythraian documents. Similarly, the attribution of *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, no. 2 *b* and no. 2 *c* must be considered uncertain.

This leaves for Erythrai only those fragments which mention the name: *I.G.*, I², 10 (known solely from Boeckh's publication of Fauvel's copy), *I.G.*, I², 11 (in the British Museum), and *I.G.*, I², 12/13 *a* (now in Athens). Quite recently I have had an opportunity of examining the stone in London.⁴⁵ It has a rough back with some few marks that may represent strokes of a chisel. If they are such strokes, the back is probably original. Rough as it is, it may be original anyway. The thickness varies

⁴³ *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 82-83.

⁴⁴ See L. I. Highby, "The Erythrae Decree," *Klio*, Beiheft XXXVI (1936), pp. 4-6, especially p. 6, note 2. The thickness of fragment *a* was given by Kirchhoff (*I.G.*, I, 11) as 0.15 m., and of fragment *b* (*I.G.*, I, 12) as 0.09 m. He noted the discrepancy as evidence that they were not from one inscription.

⁴⁵ On January 11, 1946. I record here my warm gratitude to Bernard Ashmole for his great help and many courtesies while I was working in the Museum. Notes on readings of the text are reserved for future publication.

from 0.15 m. to 0.18 m., and is thus almost precisely that recorded for the fragment still preserved in Athens.⁴⁶ There is no published record of the thickness of *I.G.*, I², 10; and I doubt if it will be known for certain unless the stone (or some part of it) is recovered.

So *I.G.*, I², 11 may be assigned to the same text with *I.G.*, I², 12/13 *a*. Neither has rho with a tail, in spite of the notes by Hiller,⁴⁷ though the London fragment has many different shapes of rho, mostly quite angular and all more or less so. The only obstacle to uniting both fragments with *I.G.*, I², 10 is the apparent prevalence of the rho with tail in that inscription.⁴⁸ Highby has considered this and come to the conclusion that the rho with tail in Boeckh's version of Fauvel's copy may be attributed to the printer (*C.I.G.*, I, Add. 73 *b*).⁴⁹

In my judgment the use of the rho with tail was an embellishment of the text introduced by Fauvel, or whoever it was that made Boeckh's copy. Whenever he knew the word he wrote rho with a tail: line 3, *τριῶν*, *Ἐρυθραίων*, *παρῶσι*; line 7, *Ἐρυθραίων*; line 8, *ἄνδρας*; line 10, *τριάκοντα*; line 11, *τεττάρων*; line 14, --- *αρχων*; line 21, *Ἐρυθραίων*; line 29, *ἡέτερον*; line 31, *χρέματα*, *Ἐρυθραίων*; line 32, *τυράννοισ*, *Ἐρυθραίων*; line 35, *Ἐρυθραίων*, *χρέματα*; line 38, *Ἐρυθρᾶσι*. This is a formidable array, but less significant than the mistakes which show the character of the letter in cases where the word was not known. Occurrences of rho with tail copied for some other letter may be dismissed as of no value in evidence for our present purpose: line 7 (beginning), probably for epsilon; line 14, for the initial letter of *ἑμέρας*;⁵⁰ line 31, for epsilon in *δέ*. There are left the following instances: line 4, tau for rho in *ἡεροποιός* (implying no tail); line 5, iota for rho in *τριῶν* (implying no tail), rho for rho in *πρίασθαι* (implying a tail, but Fauvel may have guessed the word); line 6, kappa for rho in *ἡέρεαν* (implying a tail), omikron for rho and iota for rho in *Ἐρυθραίων* (both cases implying no tail); line 13, rho for rho in *φρόραρχον* (implying a tail), but in the same word pi for rho (implying no tail) and rho without a tail (but rounded) in its own right; line 14, pi for rho in *τριάκοντα* (implying no tail);⁵⁰ line 15, rho for rho in *ἐπαρμένος* (implying a tail); line 17, kappa for rho in *ἡερῶν* (implying a tail); line 18, nu for rho in *ἡερέα* and nu for rho in *δραχμῆσι* (in both cases implying no tail);⁵¹ line 20, iota for rho in *ἄριστα* (implying no tail); line 29, rho for rho and iota for rho in *Ἐρυθραίων* (the indications evenly divided). In lines 39-43 the text is so corrupt that one does not know which letters were meant; however, rho with tail occurs twice and without tail (rounded) three times. The readings

⁴⁶ I have not found the thickness of the London stone recorded in earlier publications.

⁴⁷ Cf. *A.J.P.*, LVIII, 1937, p. 361.

⁴⁸ Kirchhoff noted the difference in rho's as evidence that they belonged to more than one document. Cf. commentary on *I.G.*, I, 10.

⁴⁹ Highby, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁵⁰ A new reading, the justification of which is reserved for a future publication.

⁵¹ For the text, see below.

of line 45, where rho with tail occurs twice, are uncertain. When one bears in mind the possibility that Fauvel thought all the rho's had tails and that he so wrote them whenever he knew from the context what the letter was it is not surprising that some letters which actually were rho, even in unintelligible words, should be so recorded.⁵² But it is surprising to find also that letters we now know to have been rho were copied by Fauvel as iota (four times), pi (twice), nu (twice), once as rho without a tail, and as omikron and tau. Where we find that Fauvel was not exercising an intellectual judgment about the identity of the letters he copied the evidence favors rho's without tails in *I.G.*, I², 10. Yet it must be conceded that the evidence is ambiguous, and that the two instances of kappa for rho, at least, would be more comfortably explained if the rho's had tails.

Both Fauvel's copy and the Athens fragment are to be restored with a stoichedon line of 47 letters.⁵³ Both unquestionably deal with Erythrai. And these are the considerations that led Highby to bring them together. Another small consideration may now be added, for lines 17-19 of *I.G.*, I², 10 make reference to an oath to be sworn by the Erythraian demos, and the formula of this oath appears in *I.G.*, I², 12/13 *a*. Last year I ventured the suggestion⁵⁴ that more might yet be done with Fauvel's text. Now I wish to propose readings for lines 17-19 which, except possibly at the beginnings of lines 18 and 19, must surely give what was once on the stone. Indeed, much of what I suggest is even in Fauvel's copy—like the verb *κατακαίειν*—but not recognized by editors of the document:

----- τέν δὲ βολὲν μὲ ὄλ[ε]ζον κατα[καί]
 [εν ἔ β]ὸν τὰ *ἡιερῆα*. ἐὰν δὲ μέ, ἐναι ζεμιῶσαι [χι]λί[α]σ[ι] δραχ[μῆσ]
 [ι, καὶ ἡ]ό[τ]αν ἡο δέμος ὁμνύει τὸν δέμον κατακαίειν μὲ ὄλεζον.

⁵² Fauvel's copy was communicated to Boeckh by H. K. E. Koehler, of St. Petersburg. One wonders whether Boeckh depended on Koehler's copy of Fauvel's copy (apparently Boeckh thought he had the original) or whether Boeckh's directions to the printer were to use angular rho, the result being a rho with tail when Boeckh intended one without (this is almost the same as Highby's view, but seems unlikely because Boeckh must have noticed the error when he read the proof). Our conclusion is that the rho with tail goes back at least to Koehler, and if to him probably to Fauvel. It is more difficult to explain how Fauvel came to make the error in the first place. Nevertheless, the stone must have been badly corroded and he may have mistaken the shapes of one or two rho's at the beginning and gone on recording them incorrectly throughout. Or perhaps it is best not to try to rationalize the error; if we had only Hiller's notes on *I.G.*, I², 12/13 *a* and the stone were lost, we should have thought that it too had rho with a tail. A cursory inspection of Fauvel's copies of other early Athenian inscriptions reveals that when he saw rho with a tail in *C.I.G.*, I, Add. 527 *b* he failed to recognize it, and copied a sigma with three bars instead.

⁵³ R. Meiggs, *J.H.S.*, LXIII, 1943, pp. 33-34, has made an epigraphical analysis of the Erythrai decrees which deserves careful attention. He discusses the form of rho in *I.G.*, I², 10, and the length of line. Highby's difficulties with the stoichedon pattern, which led Meiggs to think that perhaps the text was not stoichedon, can all be overcome; I regard a stoichedon line of 47 letters as practically certain.

⁵⁴ *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 83-84, note 58.

The words *κατὰ hierôn kaioménon* were in part deciphered by Kirchhoff at the beginning of line 17; thus it is a natural continuation to read the lines that followed as specifying the value of the sacrifice. Of especial interest is the discovery that the Demos, like the Council, was required to take an oath, and that it should be over burnt offerings of no less value. The text of the bouletic oath is given in lines 20-28 of *I.G.*, I², 10, but the oath of the Demos was not recorded until the end of the inscription, in lines 15-17 of *I.G.*, I², 12/13 *a*. New readings, which I record here for the first time, permit the following tentative restorations:⁵⁵

- [----- τὸν δὲ λόρκο]
 [ν ὁμύναι κατὰ hierôn kaioménon Δία καὶ Ἀπόλλο καὶ Δέμετ]
 [ρα ἐ]ναντί[ον τῆς βολῆς Ἐρυθραῖσι καὶ τῷ φροράρχῳ, ἐφιορκῶσ]
 [ι ἐ]παρομέ[νος ἐχ]σόλε[ιαν καὶ παισί· ὁμύναι δὲ τὸν δέμον τά]
 15 δε· οὐκ ἀπο[στέ]σομα[ι] Ἀ[θηναίῳ τῷ πλέθος οὔτε τὸν χσυνμάχῳ]
 ν τὸν Ἀθεν[αίῳ]ν οὔτ' αὐ[τὸς ἐγὼ οὔτ' ἄλλοι πείσομαι, τῷ δὲ γνό]
 [μ]ει τῇ[ι] Ἀθ[ε]ναίῳ πείσ[ομαι· ἀναγράφσαι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν λό]
 [ρ]κον ἐ[ν] λι[θ]ίνει στέλει [καὶ τὸν λόρκον τὸν τῆς βολῆς ἐμ πόλ]
 ει, Ἐ[ρυθ]ρα[ῖσιν] δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀκρ[οπόλει τὸν φροράρχον ἀναγράφσαι]
 20 ι ταῦ[τά τ']. *vacat*

In Hiller's version of the text, as also in Highby's, the last sentence has been incorrectly restored, for it implies that one stele (*λιθίνει στέλει* being singular)⁵⁶ was set up in Athens and in Erythrai, and it gives to Erythrai, apparently, the extraordinary privilege of vetoing the whole decree: [--- ἐὰν καὶ Ἐρυθραίοις δόχσ[ε]ι ταῦ[τα]]. Surely this cannot be right. These lines provide for inscribing the present document (*ταῦτα*) and the oath just recited (*τὸν λόρκον*) and the oath of the Council (*καὶ τὸν λόρκον τὸν τῆς βολῆς*, *I.G.*, I², 10, lines 20-28) on a stone stele on the acropolis; on the acropolis at Erythrai the phourarch, so I assume, was directed to inscribe the same.⁵⁷

78. There are new facts to report about *I.G.*, I², 6, the text of which I published last year in *Hesperia* as no. 1 (XIV, 1945, pp. 61-81). The most important is the discovery, made by Raubitschek and communicated to me, that *I.G.*, I², 9 must be from the lower part of Face A. The difficulty of combining *I.G.*, I², 9 with the tradi-

⁵⁵ For lines 11-14 cf. *I.G.*, I², 10, lines 15-17. The combination of the Council at Erythrai and the phourarch is suggested by their designated future collaboration in the establishment of succeeding councils (*I.G.*, I², 10, lines 13-14).

⁵⁶ Such directions, however, were not always precise; cf. *S.E.G.*, III, 18: *γράφσαι δὲ ἐστέλει λιθίνει καὶ στέσαι ἑκατέρωθεν*.

⁵⁷ I read no traces of letters in line 12, or in line 13 above [ἐχ]σόλε[ιαν]. The words *τὸς Ἐρυθραίος* might be substituted for *τὸν φροράρχον* in line 19, but in this case the definite article is probably undesirable.

tional text of Face A necessitated a new examination of this stone in London, and earlier this year I spent two days studying the readings not only of Face A, but of Faces B and C as well.⁵⁸

The new text from the lower part of Face A may be presented as follows (cf. *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 79):

- [.]ι: τὸν ἈθENAΐον μὲ
 45 [ἐκ γ]ῆς [πο τ]ούτον τὸν πόλεον μ
 [ε]δὲ ἡαμὸ[s β]ιᾶσθαι ἐὰν μὲ [δί]κ
 [ε]ν ὀφλόν[τα] ἐπιχορίαν ἔ ἐς πο
 [λ]εμῖος λ[εφ]θέντα· ἡέτις δ' ἂν τ
 [ὁ]μ πόλεον μὲ ἐθέλει, δ[ί]κας δι
 50 [δ]όναι καὶ δέχεσθαι ἈθENAΐ[ο]
 [ι]σιν ἀπὸ χσν<μ>βολὸν.

In lines 45-46 the adverb may be read alternatively as μ[ε]δὲ ἡαμὸ[ι]. In line 46 the letter hitherto read as the rho of [—]ρᾶσθαι seemed to me, when I saw the stone, better read as iota. If the letter is iota the verb [β]ιᾶσθαι is almost inevitable. Normally one would expect βιάζεσθαι, but the rarer form may not be out of place in this early decree about Eleusinian affairs, and if Taylor's judgment is correct, though he disagrees with Kühner-Blass, the present passive βιᾶται appears in the *Timaeus* of Plato (63 C). Hence the verb may not be completely foreign to Attic Greek, and I should interpret the form here in question also as present passive: "The Athenian shall not in any way be forced from the land of any one of these cities, unless he has been convicted in a local court or has gone over to the enemy." At the end of line 46 there is no trace of tau of τ[ι]ς, and the sigma is surely kappa. The word to be restored must be [δί]κ[ε]ν, with the alleged upsilon on *I.G.*, I², 9 being read as nu. Presumably the last two strokes of it alone were preserved. In line 47 εἰσπο— becomes ἔ ἐς πο—.

In lines 48-51 the relative clause ends with ἐθέλει: "Whatever one of the cities is not willing shall have recourse to arbitration with the Athenians by agreement." Clearly here is mention of the δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβολῶν and a valuable addition to our testimonia concerning them.⁵⁹ The letter usually read as nu in χσνύρολον in line 51 is beta: its vertical stroke measures 0.013 m. and the top and bottom sloping strokes each measure 0.008 m. Between their tips is an interval of 0.006 m., but the two central sloping strokes have been lost. The word was written χσνβολὸν, with mu accidentally omitted. In line 50 there is no trace of chi at the end of the line, and

⁵⁸ Again I must express my warm appreciation to Ashmole for doing everything possible to facilitate my study of the stone.

⁵⁹ See the notes by A. W. Gomme, *Commentary on Thucydides*, I (1945), pp. 236-243, with references.

the letter read as mu of $\mu[\acute{\epsilon}]$ is alpha. Part even of the theta following it is preserved, to yield the reading $\text{Ἀθελναί}[\omicron]\sigma\nu$.

These necessary changes in the accepted readings of Face A emphasize the great difficulty that scholars have experienced in deciphering the letters of this worn and corroded surface. I wish to record here two other observations in earlier lines, though I have no suggestions for a continuous text:

In line 42 the word after $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\sigma\alpha\nu$ seems to have been $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa[\iota.]$. I believe that the first three letters are certain. This suggestion was made to me by A. M. Woodward, and the study of the stone confirms it.

In lines 43-44 the word $\eta\epsilon\mu[\acute{\iota}]\sigma\epsilon\alpha[\nu]$ is doubtful. The fourth letter looks like omikron, and I see no reason now, from the stone, why the fifth letter should be sigma. I should think $\eta\epsilon$ $[\beta]\omicron\acute{\epsilon}$ a possible reading except that the fifth letter looks no more like lambda than it does like sigma. The doubtful mu of $\eta\epsilon\mu[\acute{\iota}]\sigma\epsilon\alpha[\nu]$ I think may have been almost any letter.

On Face B there is an error in my transcript of last year (*loc. cit.*, pp. 78-79) in line 11. Instead of $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ the correct reading, as given by earlier editors, is $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\sigma\iota$. I made also something of a point that the masculine relative $ho[\acute{\iota}]$ in line 32 could not refer to the feminine $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ which immediately precedes it, and my suggestion was to read the clause as an expression of purpose: $ho[s]$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$. It was at once evident, upon examination of the stone, that the second letter of line 33 was not nu but iota. Hence all difficulties of interpretation are resolved by the reading $h\acute{o}[\sigma]ai$ $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$, the verb being in the indicative mood.

Face C continues to offer its full share of unsolved problems, but two minor points may be disposed of at once. The verb in line 20 (*Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 77) is $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\tau\omicron$. Lambda, not delta, is quite clear upon the stone. And in line 29 the reading is $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\varsigma$, not $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$. The necessary adjustment in the interpretation is not great, and is easily made.

Last year I made no restoration of lines 22-25, and I realize that it is hazardous to do so even now. But one may go a certain way with confidence. In line 22 the tenth letter from the end is nu. In line 24 I believe that one may write $[\mu]\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\mu$, the upsilon determined more by the general aspect of weathering than anything else and the sigma represented by its preserved upper stroke. At the end of the line the letters are $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon[---]$. Almost the bottom third of the last epsilon is preserved. In any event the restoration cannot have been $\acute{\epsilon}\nu[ai]$ because one notes that in this inscription the verb $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$ is always written with the full initial diphthong. For this reason I now restore $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$ $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ rather than $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\nu}\alpha\iota$ $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}$ in line 15. And in line 25 the stone contradicts the photograph to give the sixth letter as nu (previously read by others) rather than delta.

After $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\tau\omicron$ in line 20 is a triple mark of punctuation, so that it is clear that one clause ends and a new one begins at this point. Somewhere in lines 22 and 23 must

be the specification of the amount the Eumolpidai and Kerykes are to receive. If one tries to restore an amount at the end of line 22, there is hardly room to prepare a subject for what has always been taken as the verb $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ in the middle of line 23, and it is awkward if the amount is postponed until after the verb. This consideration, together with the fact that where the same verb appears in line 49 of Face A the form is $\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota$, leads me to suggest a radically different solution, and to take the letters in the middle of line 23 as part of the genitive plural $\theta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega[\nu]$. In a measure, this reading is supported by the fact that the letter after $[h]\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omicron$ in line 22 seems to have been pi. The perquisites of the Eumolpidai and the Kerykes were five portions from the female sacrificial victims, and the following restoration assumes that they could initiate no one—unless $\acute{\alpha}\phi' \epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ —who had not met the obligation of this sacrifice. The $\pi[\acute{\epsilon}]\nu[\tau\epsilon \mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon]$ of line 22 have the same meaning, for example, as the $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon \mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$ of *I.G.*, II², 334, lines 8-16, and the use of $\theta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega[\nu]$ in line 23 is paralleled by that of *I.G.*, II², 1361, lines 6-7: $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\nu\alpha\iota \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\acute{\alpha} \iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha \tau\acute{\omega}[\nu \mu\acute{\epsilon}]\nu \theta\eta\lambda[\epsilon] \iota\omega\nu \tau\eta\iota \iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\iota, \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \acute{\alpha}\rho\rho\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu \tau\acute{\omega}\iota \iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota$. At the end of line 23 a vertical stroke after the phi (which may have belonged to epsilon) confirms the restoration $\acute{\alpha}\phi' \epsilon[\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma]$. In line 26 a double mark of punctuation follows $[\mu\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu]\omicron$, and so ends the clause.⁶⁰

The most significant changes in readings gleaned from a study of the stone occur in lines 33 and 34. Unquestionably the main body of line 33 is occupied by the phrase $\acute{\epsilon}\chi[\sigma\epsilon]\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota \text{'}\Lambda\theta\epsilon\nu[\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\varsigma]$. The stone here yields readings which are a combination of Crönert's and of my own. And the riddle of $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\pi\alpha\nu \tau\acute{\omicron} \lambda\omicron\iota\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu$ in line 34, always unsatisfactory, is solved by the reading $h[\acute{\epsilon}]\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu \beta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron[\nu\tau\alpha\iota]$. This clause comes to an end in line 36, and—as I have restored it—may be translated as follows: "It shall be permitted to the Athenians to take care for the protection of the sacred money as long as they so desire just as for the money of Athena which is on the acropolis."

The next clause, lines 36-38, states that the hieropoioi shall steward the money on the acropolis. I have a note on line 37 that the initial tau in the phrase $\tau[\omicron] \tau\omicron[\acute{\iota}\nu \theta\epsilon\omicron\acute{\iota}\nu]$ does not show clearly and may perhaps have been epsilon; the note continues with a query whether the restoration may not be $[\acute{\epsilon}\nu] \tau\acute{\omicron}[\iota \eta\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota]$.

Lines 38-42 present still a serious problem, though there is little to add in the way of new readings. The left stroke only is preserved from the last letter in line 39. It slopes slightly. There is nothing certain preserved from the third letter of line 40; it need not have been omikron. The fifth letter of line 40 has left no trace, but there is uninscribed stone to show that it cannot have had a broad lower stroke, as of delta or epsilon. Letters like pi and nu are possible. At the end of line 42 the stroke following mu is upright and correctly placed for epsilon. I believe that it should be so read.

⁶⁰ For the texts see below, p. 253. I wish to thank W. S. Ferguson for helpful suggestions. In lines 39-40 I regard the problem of restoration as still unsolved.

Possibly the clue to how these lines should be restored is given in an item of expense recorded in *I.G.*, I², 313, lines 161-162: *σανίδια ἐν ο[ἶ]ς τὸς μύστας κ[ατα-γ]ράφ[οσι·]* *Εὐμολπίδαις*. Foucart observed that in this function the Eumolpidae acted alone, without the collaboration of the Kerykes.⁶¹ It so happens that in lines 38-39 of Face C the name *[Εὐμολπίδ]ας* may be restored alone, and that the Kerykes do not appear. The single delta is not much on which to base the name, but if the succeeding lines do in fact call for a monthly record of the initiates the known responsibility of the Eumolpidae for this record makes the restoration almost a necessity. My suggestion is that the Eumolpidae also had charge of the roster of orphans, and that these last lines are concerned only with the keeping of the rosters, and the publishing of them, and that they offer no evidence for the place of *μήσις*, as has been supposed, either in Eleusis or in Athens.

The new text of Face C, lines 20-46, is presented here:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>20 <i>τέος ἀνέλοτο·</i> <i>Ε[ὐ]μ[ολπίδ]ας κα</i>
 <i>ὶ Κέρ[υ]κας λαμβάν[εν παρὰ] τῷ μ</i>
 <i>ύστ[ο] ἡ[εκάστο] π[έ]ν[τε] μέρε τὼν</i>
 <i>[τεθυμ]ένον θελειῶ[ν, ἀτελῆ δ' α]</i>
 <i>[ὑτοῖς μ]ύστεμ μὲ ἐν[ῆ]ναι μνῆ</i>
 <i>[ν μεδέ]να πλὲν τῷ ἀφ' ἐ[στίας μν]</i>
 <i>[ομέν]ο· Κέρυκας δὲ μν[ῆ]ν τὸς νέ</i>
 <i>[ο]ς μύστας ἡέκαστον [καὶ Εὐμο]</i>
 <i>[λπιδ]ας κατὰ ταῦτά· ἐ[ὰν δὲ κατ]</i>
 <i>ὰ πλείους εὐθύνεσθα[ι χιλίας]</i></p> <p>30 <i>[ι] δρα[χ]μῆσι· μνῆν δὲ [ἡοὶ ἂν ἡεβ]</i>
 <i>ῶσι Κερύκον καὶ Εὐ[μολπιδῶν·]</i>
 <i>τῷ δὲ ἡιερό ἀργυρί[ο τῆς φυλα]</i>
 <i>[κ]ῆς ἐχ[σε]ῖναι Ἀθην[αίοις μέλ]</i></p> | <p><i>[ε]σθαι ἡ[έ]ος ἂν βόλο[νται καθά]</i>
 35 <i>περ τῷ τῆς Ἀθηναία[ς ἀργυρίο]</i>
 <i>τῷ ἐμ πόλει· τὸ δὲ ἀρ[γύριον τὸ]</i>
 <i>ς ἡιεροποιὸς τ[ὸ] το[ῖν θεοῖν ἐ]</i>
 <i>[μ] πόλει ταμιεύεσθ[αι· Εὐμολπ]</i>
 <i>[ί]δ[ας δ' ἔ]χεν ἐν τῷ μ[έσοι τὲν β]</i>
 40 <i>[ύ]β[λον τ]ὲν τῶν [ὀ]ρφ[ανῶν· γράφε]</i>
 <i>[ν] τὸς ὀρφανὸς παῖ[δας καὶ τὸς]</i>
 <i>[μ]ύστας ἡεκάστο μ[έ]νους χορὶς</i>
 <i>[τ]ὸς μύστας τὸς Ἑλε[υσῖνι μνο]</i>
 <i>[μ]ένους ἐν τῷ αὐλῇ [ἐντὸς τῷ ἡ]</i>
 45 <i>[ι]ερὸ τὸς δὲ ἐν ἄστει [μνομένο]</i>
 <i>ς ἐν τῷ Ἑλευσινίῳ.</i></p> |
|--|--|

The photographs of the London fragment published last year (*Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 64-65) were intended to show the relative disposition of the three faces of the stone, but the result has not been entirely successful. Face B must be lowered slightly (toward the bottom) in its relation to Face A. What I had taken for traces of the set-line on Face B turn out to be quite extraneous markings and may be disregarded. The chequer pattern of the stoichedon order on both Faces A and B is 0.018 m. (vertical) by 0.0173 m. (horizontal). On Face C the horizontal measurement is almost the same (0.0175 m.) but the vertical unit is smaller (0.0176 m.), and the chequer pattern evidently was planned in squares.

BENJAMIN D. MERITT

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

⁶¹ P. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis*, p. 151.

- 'Α[---], named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 52)
 Α[-----], ephebos of Hippothontis in 128/7, 211 (41 222)
 Α--- Βησαιεύς, councillor of Hadrianis ca. 180-190 A.D., 238 (71 12)
 'Αγαθήμερος: Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος 'Αγαθήμερος, on tombstone of first century B.C., 230 (59)
 'Αγέλαος 'Αγελάων ἐξ Οἶον, ephebos of Leontis in 128/7, 210 (41 169)
 'Αγέλαος (ἐξ Οἶον), ca. 148 B.C., father of 'Αγέλαος, 210 (41 169)
 "Αδραστο[s] (Κεκροπίδος), ca. 148 B.C., father of "Ατταλος, 211 (41 212)
 'Αδριανός: [Αὐτοκράτωρ 'Αδριανὸς 'Ολύμπιος], on dedicatory monument A.D. 129-138, 237 (69)
 'Αθηναγόρ[α]ς Πιρρίνιον Κινδα[ντίδη]ς, ephebos of Ptolemais in 128/7, 211 (41 177)
 ['Αθη]ναγόρας Φιλάσιω[s], paredros in first century after Christ, 219 (46)
 Αἰγυπτία, named in grave monument of fourth century B.C., 179 (26)
 Αἴλιος: [Πο. Αἴλ(ιος) 'Ισόχρυσος Παλληνεῖς], στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα ca. 210 A.D., 240 (73)
 Αἴλιος: Αἴ(λιος) Πιθαγ[όρας] Βησαιεύς, councillor of Hadrianis ca. 180-190 A.D., 238 (71 8)
 Αἰσ[---], named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 55)
 Αἰσχέας, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 17)
 Αἴσχωρ(ων) (Χαλκιδεῖς), ca. 339 B.C., father of 'Αρχέλεως, 189 (34 12)
 [Α]ἰσχινίδη[s], named in funeral monument ante 450 B.C., 169 (18 2)
 Αἰσχύλος Αἰσχύλου 'Υβάδης, ephebos of Leontis in 128/7, 211 (41 173)
 Αἰσχύλος ('Υβάδης), ca. 148 B.C., father of Αἰσχύλος, 211 (41 173)
 'Αλέξανδρος (Μελιτεῖς), ca. 63 B.C., father of 'Αλεξίων, 218 (45 12-13)
 'Αλέξανδρος (Ποτάμιος), ca. 148 B.C., father of Τιμοκράτης, 211 (41 172)
 'Αλεξίων 'Αλεξάνδρον Μελιτεῖς, paredros ca. 30 B.C., 218 (45 12-13)
 "Αλεξίς Χολαργεῖς, praised in ephebe inscription in 172/1, 201 (40 124-126)
 ['Αλν]άττης, named in funeral monument ca. 430 B.C., 171 (19 14)
 'Αμύκλας (Σκαμβονίδης), ca. 148 B.C., father of Πολυαίνετος, 211 (41 170)
 ['Α]μφικ[---], ca. 383 B.C., father of [Κ]αλλισθ[ένης], 187 (32 19)
 'Ανα[---], named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 31)
 'Ανα[ca. 15], chairman of proedroi in 127/6, 206 (41 4)
 'Αναξίφῶν Εὐφραγόρον 'Ραμνοῖσιος, orator in 171/0, 199 (40 9, 49)
 ['Α]νδρόνικος, ephebos of Kekropis in 220/19, 192 (37 20)
 ["Αν]δρων Παιανιε[ύς], councillor of Pandionis ca. 100 B.C., 227 (54 21)
 'Αντ[--- ---], ephebos of Oineis in 128/7, 210 (41 205)
 'Αντ[---], named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 33)
 'Αντιγ[--- ---], ephebos of Oineis in 128/7, 210 (41 206)
 'Αντιγένης, archon in 171 0, 199 (40 2, 43)
 'Απολλόδοτος Σθενίου Κήττιος, ephebos of Leontis in 128 7, 211 (41 174)
 'Απ[ολλόδωρος] ('Ατταλίδος), ca. 148 B.C., father of ['Α]χαῖ[ος], 211 (41 250)
 ['Απο]λλόδωρος 'Ιφ[ιστιάδης], poletes at beginning of second century B.C., 188 (33 3)
 ['Απολ]λόδωρος ('Οτρυνεῖς), ca. 233 B.C., father of [---], 221 (48)

- Ἀπολλοφάνης Ἀθηναί[ον] Κνδαθηναίεύς, ephebos of Pandionis in 128/7, 210 (41 160)
- Ἀπολλ[ώνιος] (Ἀτταλίδος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of [Πιθίλ]ας, 211 (41 249)
- Ἀπολλώνιος Διον[σίον], ephebos of Kekropis in 128/7, 211 (41 213)
- Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπ[ολλωνίου]ν Σοινιεύς, kosmetes in 128/7, 207-210 (41 53-54, 74-75, 79-80, 92-93, 105, 108, 130-131)
- Ἀπ[ολλώνιος]ς (Σοινιεύς), *ca.* 161 B.C., father of Ἀπολλώνιος, 207-210 (41 92, 105, 108)
- Ἀππολῆμος: Πόπλιος Ἀππολῆμος Οὐάρος, on dedicatory monument of second century after Christ, 235 (66)
- Ἀριστ[. . .]ς (Ἐρικεύς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Καλλίστρατος, 210 (41 157)
- Ἀρίστανδρος (Ἐκαλήθην), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Εὐμαχίδης, 211 (41 182)
- [Ἀ]ριστείδ[ης], named in funeral monument *ante* 450 B.C., 169 (18 4)
- [Ἀρ]ιστείδ[ης], ephebos of Kekropis in 220/19, 192 (37 21)
- Ἀριστίων Εὐδόξου Μ[ελιτεῖς], ephebos of Kekropis in 128 7, 211 (41 214)
- [Ἀριστ]όδικος, named in funeral monument *ca.* 430 B.C., 171 (19 17)
- Ἀ[ριστό]δικος, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 40)
- Ἀ[ριστοκ]λείδης, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 39)
- Ἀριστοκλείδης Ἀριστοκλέους Σοινιεύς, secretary *ca.* 325 B.C., 178 (25 10)
- Ἀριστοκλῆς (Σοινιεύς), *ca.* 358 B.C., father of Ἀριστοκλείδης, 178 (25 10)
- Ἀριστοκλῆς (Φλυεύς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Διοσκοῦρ[ίδ]ης, 211 (41 176)
- Ἀριστομένης (Προσπάτιος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Φιλονίδης, 211 (41 181)
- Ἀριστόνικ[ος] Λυσιμάχου], ephebos of Hippothontis in 128/7, 211 (41 219)
- Ἀριστόνο[μος] (. . .⁷. . . .ς), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of [Σ]ωσίννομος, 182 (31 13)
- [Ἀ]ρίστων, *ca.* 233 B.C., father of Μελιτίν[η], 228 (56)
- Ἀρχέλεως Αἰσχρων[ος] Χαλκιδεύς], honored in 306/5, 189 (34 12)
- Ἀρχιππος (Κνδαθηναίεύς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Κάστωρ, 210 (41 161)
- Ἀρχωνίδης, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 7)
- Ἀσίνιος: Γάϊος Ἀ[σίνιος], son of Γάϊος, στρατηγός *ca.* A.D. 20, 232, (63)
- Ἀσίνιος: [Γάϊος Ἀσίνιος], *ca.* 13 B.C., father of Γάϊος Ἀ[σίνιος], 232 (63)
- Ἀτταλος Ἀδράστο[ν—], ephebos of Kekropis in 128/7, 211 (41 212)
- Αὐτοκλῆς, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 21)
- Αὐτοκλῆς (Θορίκιος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Ὀλυνπιόδωρος, 211 (41 188)
- [Ἀχαιὸ]ς Ἀπ[ολλοδόρου—], ephebos of At-talis in 128/7, 211 (41 250)
- Γέτα: Πό[πλιος] Σεπτίμιος Γέτα], emperor, 237 (70)
- Γλαύκιππος, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 4)
- [Γλ]αύκιππος, *ca.* 383 B.C., father of —, 185 (32 12)
- Γρυφωνίδης Σημίων[ος] Θοραιεύς], paredros *ca.* 180 B.C., 216 (44 4)
- Δεινοκλῆς Φιλοστ[ράτου], ephebos of Kekropis in 128/7, 211 (41 215)
- Δελ[—], named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 53)
- Δημα[γόρας] Εὐθινόμου ? —], ephebos of Hippothontis in 128/7, 211 (41 221)
- [Δ]ημήτρ[ιος], named in funeral monument *ca.* 430 B.C., 171 (19 5)
- Δίων Στρατονίκου Ἀζηνιεύς, secretary of archons *ca.* 30 B.C., 218 (45 15-16)
- Δημή[τριος], councillor of Kekropis in second century after Christ, 238 (72)
- [Δημήτριος] (Κεκροπίδος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Κηφισόδωρος, 210 (41 208)
- Δημήτριος, ephebos of Pandionis in 186/5, 196 (38 32)
- [Δημ]ήτριος [Οὐλιά]δου [Ἀλωπε]κῆθεν, kosmetes in 116/5, 214 (42 60-62)
- Δημήτριος (Εἰτεαῖος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Εὐνικίδης, 211 (41 189)

- Δημήτριος Μητρο[δύρου Π]αιανιεύς, ephebos of Pandionis in 128/7, 210 (41 164)
- Δημήτριος (Ψαμνούσιος), *ca.* 63 B.C., father of Θεογένης, 218 (45 9-11)
- Δημήτριος (Φλυεύς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Νικοκλής, 211 (41 180)
- Δημοκλείδης (Κηφισιεύς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Τιμοκλής, 210 (41 146)
- Δημοκλείδης (Τειθράσιος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Πύρρος, 210 (41 154)
- Δημοκράτης (Παιανιεύς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Σωφά[ι]νης, 210 (41 165)
- Δῆμος [Βερ]ενικίδης, treasurer of the stratiotic fund in 116/5, 214 (42 56)
- [Δ]ημόστρατος Παιανιεύς, councillor of Pandionis *ca.* 100 B.C., 227 (54 20)
- Διογένης (Αιγίδος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Μηρόδωρος, 210 (41 152)
- Διογ[έν]ης (Αιαντίδος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of [Διονύσιος], 210 (41 241)
- Διόγνητος (Ψαμνούσιος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of [ca-6-os], 210 (41 243)
- Διόδοτος Ήρακλε[ίδου ---], ephebos of Kekropis in 128/7, 210 (41 209)
- Διονυσ[---] (Κεκροπίδος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Διονύσιος, 210 (41 210)
- Διονύσιος, archon in 128/7, 206-210 (41 6, 80, 101, 113, 141)
- [Δ]ιονύσιος, councillor in early second century B.C., 226 (53 5)
- [Διονύσιος] Διογ[έν]ου [---], ephebos of Aiantis in 128/7, 210 (41 241)
- Διονύσιος Διονυσ[---], ephebos of Kekropis in 128/7, 210 (41 210)
- Διονύ[σιος] (Κεκροπίδος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Ἀπολλώνιος, 211 (41 213)
- Διονύσιος (Κεφαλήθεν), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Θεόδωρος, 211 (41 186)
- Διονύσιος (Κηφισιεύς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Πλειστίας, 210 (41 147)
- Διονύσιος Διονυσίου Προσπάτιος, ephebos of Ptolemais in 128/7, 211 (41 183)
- Διονύσιος (Προσπάτιος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Διονύσιος, 211 (41 183)
- Διοπίθης Διοφάντων Μυρρινούσιος, named in grave monument *ca.* 350 B.C., 180 (28)
- Διοσκορ[ίδ]ης Ἀριστοκλέου Φλυεύς, ephebos of Ptolemais in 128/7, 211 (41 176)
- Διόφαντος (Μυρρινούσιος), *ca.* 383 B.C., father of Διοπίθης, 180 (28)
- Δόμνα: [Ἰουλία] Δόμν[α] Σε[βαστή], mother of the emperor Geta, 237 (70 8-9)
- Ἐξήκεστος, named in poletai record at beginning of fourth century B.C., 182 (31 18)
- [Ἐόρτιος] (Ἀχαρνεύς), *ca.* 219 B.C., father of Ἐρμόδορος, 196 (38 16)
- Ἐπηρατίδης (Σφήτιος), *ca.* 178 B.C., father of Τίμαρχος, 209 (41 103, 115)
- Ἐπι[---], ephebos of Aigeis in 186/5, 196 (38 28)
- [Ἐπί]κουρος, philosophus, his father Νεοκλῆς honored in inscription of second century after Christ, 235 (67)
- Ἐπικράτης Τίμωνος ἐκ Κηδῶν, ephebos of Erechtheis in 128/7, 210 (41 148)
- Ἐπιστήμων, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 3)
- Ἐράτων (Εὐπυρίδης), *ca.* 160 B.C., father of [ca-10-]ης, 207 (41 78)
- [Ἐρ]μογένης, on tombstone *ca.* 100 B.C., 229 (57)
- Ἐρμ[ο]γένης (Αἰγλιεύς), of latter part of third century B.C., father of Ἐρμόδορος, 197 (39 3)
- Ἐρμόδορος Ἐορτίου Ἀχαρνεύς, paidotribes in 186/5, 196 (38 16)
- Ἐρμόδορος Ἐρμ[ο]γένου Αἰγλιεύς, ephebos (?) at beginning of second century B.C., 197 (39 3)
- Ἐρμόλαος (Λαμπρεῖς), *ca.* 358 B.C., father of [...]ενος, 181 (30)
- Ἐστ[ώ]δωρος Προβαλί(σιος), hoplomaches in 172 1, 201 (40 III 118-120)
- Εὐ[...]ίδης Ἐχεφίλων Ἀχαρνείας, chairman of proedroi in 171 0, 199 (40 6-7)
- Εὐανδρ[---] (Αντιοχίδης), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of [ca-6-]ος, 210 (41 247)
- [Ε]ὐγείτω[ν], named in funeral monument *ante* 450 B.C., 169 (18 10)
- Εὐδοξος (Μελιτεύς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Ἀριστίων, 211 (41 214)
- Εὐ[...]ή[μερος] Εὐημ[έρον] Πλατ[αιεύς], on tombstone of first century B.C., 229 (58)

- Εὐήμ[ερος] (Πλαταιεύς), of first century B.C., father of Ε[ὐ]ή[μερος], 229 (58)
 [Εὐθύδομος ?] (Ἰπποθωντίδης), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Δημα[γόρας], 211 (41 221)
 Εὐθυκλῆς (Βερενικίδης), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Θεοκλῆς, 211 (41 179)
 [Εὐθύ]μαχος, named in poletai record at beginning of fourth century B.C., 182 (31 5)
 Εὐθύμαχος (Ἀγρινήθεν), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of [...⁹....]ος, 182 (31 6)
 Εὐμαχίδης Ἀριστάνδρον Ἐκαλήθ(ε)ν, ephebos of Ptolemais in 128/7, 211 (41 182)
 Εὐμηλο[ς] (Φιλαΐδης), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Στῆσαγόρας, 210 (41 136)
 Εὐνικίδης Δημητρίον Εἰτε[αῖος], ephebos of Akamantis in 128 7, 211 (41 189)
 [Ε]ὐξενος Εὐξένο[ν] Θεοραϊεύς, basileus *ca.* 180 B.C., 216 (44 1)
 Εὐξένο[ς] (Θοραϊεύς), *ca.* 213 B.C., father of [Ε]ὐξενος, 216 (44 1)
 Εὐφημίδης (Κρωπιδῆς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Νικίας, 210 (41 168)
 Εὐφραγόρης (Ῥαμνούσιος), *ca.* 204 B.C., father of Ἀναξιφῶς, 199 (40 9, 49)
 Εὐφρόν[ιος] (Θριάσιος), *ca.* 160 B.C., father of Σωσικράτης, 206-207 (41 2, 76)
 Εὐφρων, ephebos of Aigeis in 186/5, 196 (38 30)
 Ἐχέφυλος (Ἀχαρνεύς), *ca.* 204 B.C., father of Εὐ[...]ίδης, 199 (40 7)
 Ζηνόδοτος Θεοδ[---], ephebos of Kekropis in 128 7 211 (41 211)
 Ζήνων (ἐκ Κεραμέων) *ca.* 240 B.C., father of Μενεκράτης, 192 (37 16)
 Ζώϊλος Παιανιε[ύς], councillor of Pandionis *ca.* 100 B.C., 227 (54 19)
 Ζώ[πιρος], archon in 186/5, 195-196 [38 12, 24]
 Η[---], ephebos of Aigeis in 186/5, 196 (38 27)
 Η[---] Θυμα[τάδης], councillor of Hippothonthis in early fourth century B.C., 228 (55 4)
 Ἡλιόδω[ρος], councillor in early second century B.C., 226 (53 3)
 Ἡρακλε[ίδης] (Κεκροπίδης), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Διόδοτος, 210 (41 209)
 Ἡρακλείδης (Κολωνήθεν), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Μηνόδωρος, 210 (41 167)
 Ἡρώδη[ς], councillor of Kekropis in second century after Christ, 238 (72)
 Ἡφαι[στ-^{ca. 24}-]ι[ος], antigrapheus in 128/7, 209 (41 102, 114)
 Θαλή[ς] Ὀτρυν[εύς], a tombstone of first century after Christ, 231 (62)
 [Θαρ]ρῖνος Λαμπρεύς, secretary of epheboi in 128/7, 207-211 (41 46, 136, 295-297)
 Θάρανδρος Νικοστ[ράτου] Πα[ια]νιεύς, ephebos of Pandionis in 128/7, 210 (41 163)
 Θεογένης (Ἐρμειος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Στρατόνικος, 211 (41 190)
 Θεογένης Δημητρίον Ῥαμνούσιος, paredros *ca.* 30 B.C., 218 (45 9-11)
 Θεοδο[ρίδης], archon in 127/6, 206-207 (41 1, 76)
 [Θε]οδ[ωρίδης], orator *ante* 126 B.C., 207 (41 38)
 Θεοδ[---] (Κεκροπίδης), *ca.* 140 B.C. father of Ζηνόδοτος, 211 (41 211)
 Θεόδωρος Διονυσίου Κεφαλήθεν, ephebos of Akamantis in 128/7, 211 (41 186)
 Θεόδωρος (Χολαργούς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Τιμοκράτης, 211 (41 185)
 Θεοκλῆς Εὐθυκλέους Βερενικίδης, ephebos of Ptolemais in 128/7, 211 (41 179)
 Θεομένης Ξυπ[εταίων], named in poletai record at beginning of fourth century B.C., 182 (31 9 and 16)
 [Θεόμ]ηστος Θεομνή[στ]ον Ἀναφλ[ύ(στιος)], ephebos of Antiochis in 220/19, 192 (37 29)
 Θεόμνη[στ]ος (Ἀναφλύστιος), *ca.* 240 B.C., father of [Θεόμ]ηστος, 192 (37 29)
 Θεοτιμίδης, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 10)
 Θε[ό]τιμος, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 13)
 [Θ]ονόδοσι[ος], epimeletes at beginning of third century B.C., 190 (36 9)
 Θυμοχάρης (Σφήττιος), *ca.* 240 B.C., father of Φαῖδρος, 192 (37 15)
 Ἱεροκλῆς Παιανιε[ύς], councillor of Pandionis *ca.* 100 B.C., 227 (54 16)
 Ἱερων Ἀναγυρά[σιος], hyperetes in 128/7, 207-211 (41 46, 136, 300-302)

- [Ἰ]όλας, named in funeral monument *ca.* 340 B.C., 171 (197)
- [Ἰουλία] Δόμν[α Σεβαστή], mother of the emperor Geta, 237 (708-9)
- Ἰππ[αρχος] (Κεκροπίδος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Φωντίδης, 211 (41217)
- Ἰσόχρυσος: [Πο. Αἶλ(ιος) Ἰσόχρυσος Παλληνεύς], στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, 240 (73)
- Κ---, named in poletai record at beginning of second century B.C., 188 (335)
- Κ[---], of fourth century B.C., father of Φιλόκομος, 176 (23)
- Καλ[---], named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (2037)
- Καλ[---], named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (2054)
- [Κα]λλίμαχ[ος], named in funeral monument *ante* 450 B.C., 169 (186)
- Καλλιμαχος Καλλιμ[ά]χον Παιαν[ι]εύς, ephebos of Pandionis in 128/7, 210 (41162)
- Καλλίμ[α]χος (Παιανεύς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Καλλιμαχος, 210 (41162)
- Καλλιμέδων Χολλ[ε]ίδης, honored *ca.* 325 B.C., 178 (258)
- [Κ]αλλισθ[ένης] Ἀμφικ[...], named in poletai record *ca.* 350 B.C., 187 (3219)
- Καλλίστρατος, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (208)
- Καλλίστρατος Ἀριστ[...], Ἐρικεεύ[ς], ephebos of Aigeis in 128/7, 210 (41157)
- Κάστωρ Ἀρχίππον Κιθαθηναίεύς, ephebos of Pandionis in 128/7, 210 (41161)
- Κηφισόδορος [Δημητρίου], ephebos of Kekropis in 128/7, 210 (41208)
- Κι[---] (Λεωντίδης), *ca.* 206 B.C., father of [Κ]ράτιππος, 196 (3835)
- Κλει[νέ]τη [Νικ]ίωνο[ς] Ἀ[λ]αίως Θιγάτηρ, [---] Ἀ[λ]χαρνέως γυνή, named in grave monument *ca.* 350 B.C., 180 (29)
- Κλέα[νδρος (?)] (Ἀμαξαντεύς), *ca.* 240 B.C., father of [---], 192 (3726)
- [Κ]λεοκρ[---], named in funeral monument *ante* 450 B.C., 169 (1811)
- Κλέων: [Γ. Κίντος] Κλέων Μ[α]ραθώνιος, archon *ca.* 210 A.D., 240 (73)
- Κνίπων, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (2011)
- Κομ[---], named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (2034)
- Κορνήλιος: Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος Ἀγαθήμερος, on tombstone of first century B.C., 230 (59)
- Κρατ[---] of Aiantis, poletes at beginning of second century B.C., 188 (334)
- [Κ]ράτιππος Κι[---], ephebos of Leontis in 186/5, 196 (3835)
- Κρόμαχος Παλληνεύς, praised in ephebe inscription in 172/1, 201 (40 III 124-126)
- [Κ]τησικλῆς, named in funeral monument *ante* 450 B.C., 169 (181)
- Κύντος: [Γ. Κίντος] Κλέων Μ[α]ραθώνιος, archon *ca.* 210 A.D., 240 (73)
- Λ[---], named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (2014)
- [Λ]εαγόρ[ης], named in funeral monument *ca.* 430 B.C., 171 (196)
- (Λ)εγκόλοφος ἐξ Σαλα[μίνος], named in poletai record at beginning of fourth century B.C., 182 (318)
- Λεωνίδης Παιανιεύς, councillor of Pandionis *ca.* 100 B.C., 227 (5418)
- Λήναι[ος] (Κιθαθηναίεύς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Ἀπολλοφάνης, 210 (41160)
- Λυ[---], named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (2030)
- Λυκίσκο[ς], archon in 129-8, 209-210 (4180-81, 101, 113, 141)
- Λυκόφρων (Χολαργεύς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Μεκκράτης, 211 (41187)
- [Λυ]σαγό[ρης], named in funeral monument *ca.* 430 B.C., 171 (194)
- Λυσανίας, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (206)
- [Λυσίμαχος] (Ἰπποθωντίδης), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Ἀριστόνικ[ος], 211 (41219)
- Λυσίμαχος Φιλοξένον Φιλαί[δης], ephebos of Aigeis in 128/7, 210 (41150)
- Μ--- Βηστειεύς, councillor of Hadrianis *ca.* 180-190 A.D., 238 (7111)
- Μεγακλῆς (Ἀλωπεκῆθεν), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of Μέλητος, 182 (3119 and 24-25)

- Μέλητος Μεγακλέους Ἀλ[ωπ]εκῆθεν, purchaser of property in first part of fourth century B.C., 182 (31 19-20 and 24-25)
- Μελιτίν[η Ἀ]ρίστων[ος], on tombstone *ca.* 200 B.C., 228 (56)
- Μέναιχμος, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 18)
- Μένανδρος: Φλάβιος Μένανδρος, *ca.* 133 A.D., son of T. Φλάβιος Πάνταινος, 233 (64)
- Μένανδρος: Φλάβιος Μένανδρος Διαδόχος, *ca.* 67 A.D., father of T. Φλάβιος Πάνταινος, 233 (64)
- [Μ]ενεκράτης, archon in 220/19, 192 (37 13)
- Μενεκράτης Ζήνωνος ἐκ [Κεραμέων], ephebos of Akamantis in 220/19, 192 (37 16)
- Μενεκράτης Ανκόφρονος Χελ[αργεύς], ephebos of Akamantis in 128/7, 211 (41 187)
- Μηνόδοτ[ος] (Ἀντιοχίδος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of [~~ca.~~ 6-α]ρχος, 210 (41 245)
- Μην[ό]δοτος Σιμμάχου Μ[ελ]ήσιος, on tombstone of first century B.C., 230 (60)
- Μηνόδορος Διογένου Πῶ ---, ephebos of Aigeis in 128/7, 210 (41 152)
- Μηνόδορος Ἡρακλείδου Κολονῆθεν, ephebos of Leontis in 128/7, 210 (41 167)
- Μητρώ[δωρος] (Παιανιεύς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Δημήτριος, 210 (41 164)
- Μητρώ(δ)ωρ[ος] Παιανιε[ύς], councillor of Pandionis *ca.* 100 B.C., 227 (54 17)
- Μίκος, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 12)
- Μνησίας, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 22)
- [Μν]ησιδ[ημος], named in funeral monument *ca.* 430 B.C., 171 (19 3)
- Ν[---], named in funeral monument *ca.* 430 B.C., 171 (19 II 17)
- Να[---], named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 29)
- [Να]ναγ[όρης], named in funeral monument *ca.* 430 B.C., 171 (19 9)
- Νέανδρος ἐκ Κεραμέων, praised in ephebe inscription in 172/1, 201 (40 II 124-126)
- [Νέανδρος] (ἐκ Κεραμέων), *ca.* 219 B.C., father of [Πεδιεύς], 196 (38 17)
- Νεοκλῆς, on dedicatory monument of second century after Christ, father of the philosopher Ἐπίκουρος, 235 (67)
- Νέων Φιλοκράτου Οἰναῖος, ephebos of Ptolemais in 128/7, 211 (41 178)
- Νι[---], named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 56)
- Νίκανδρος | Εὐωνιμέυς], akontistes in 128/7, 207-211 (41 45, 134-135, 278-280)
- Νικησίας Σιτ[άρχ]ον [Ἐρετριεύς], honored in 306/5, 189 (34 13)
- Νικίας Εὐφημίδου Κρωπίδης, ephebos of Leontis in 128/7, 210 (41 168)
- Νικίων Φιλίππου [Ἀ]λαιεύς, named twice in grave monument *ca.* 350 B.C., 180 (29)
- Νηκρ[---], named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 15)
- Νικόδικ[ος], named in poletai record at beginning of fourth century B.C., 182 (31 12)
- [Ν]ικοκλῆς (Ῥαμνοΐσιος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of [~~ca.~~ 7-], 210 (41 242)
- Νικοκλῆς Δημητρίου Φλυεύς, ephebos of Ptolemais in 128/7, 211 (41 180)
- Νικόμαχος [Νικομάχου] Ἀφιδναῖος, akontistes in 186/5 and 172/1, 196 (38 16), 201 (40 II 118-121)
- [Νικόμαχος] (Ἀφιδναῖος), *ca.* 219 B.C., father of [Νικόμαχος], 196 (38 16)
- Νικόστ[ρατος] (Παιανιεύς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Θάρσανδρος, 210 (41 163)
- Νίκων Ξενο[---], ephebos of Pandionis in 186/5, 196 (38 33)
- [Νίκ]ω[ν] Βηρύτιος, paidotribes in 128/7, 207-211 (41 44, 134, 267-268)
- No---, councillor of Kekropis in second century after Christ, 238 (72)
- Νόθιππος ἐξ [Οἶον], demarchos in first of fourth century B.C., 182 (31 34)
- Νουμήνιο[ς], councillor in early second century B.C., 226 (53 4)
- Ξενο[---] (Πανδιονίδος), *ca.* 206 B.C., father of Νίκων, 196 (38 33)
- Ξενοκλῆς [Π]ε[ραε]ύς, owner of house *ca.* 350 B.C., 185-187 (32 II 20)
- Ξενοφίλο[ς . . .]ε[. . .]ον Οἰναῖος, ephebos (?) at beginning of second century B.C., 197 (39 2)
- Ω[---], named in funeral monument *ca.* 430 B.C., 171 (19 II 16)

- Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Ἀποκλέους Θο[ρίκιος], ephebos of Akamantis in 128/7, 211 (41 188)
- Οὔαρος: Πόπλιος Ἀπολλήμιος Οὔαρος, on dedicatory monument of second century after Christ, 235 (66)
- [Οὔε]ντίδιο[ς] Ῥο[ύφος] Φυλάσιο[ς], paredros in first century after Christ, 219 (46)
- [Οὐλιά]δης (Ἀλωπεκῆθεν), *ca.* 149 B.C., father of [Δημ]ήτριος, 214 (42 60-62)
- Π[.]ιος, of Akamantis, honored *ca.* 325 B.C., 178 (25 9)
- [Παν]τάγνωτο[ς], named in funeral monument *ca.* 430 B.C., 171 (19 13)
- Πάνταινος: Τ. Φλάβιος Πάνταινος, priest of the Muses *ca.* 100 A.D., 233 (64)
- Πατροκλῆς, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 16)
- [Πεδιεύς Νεάνδρον ἐκ Κεραμέων], aphetes in 186/5, 196 (38 17)
- [Π]εδιεύς ἐκ Κεραμέων, aphetes in 128/7, 207-211 (41 45, 135, 289-291)
- [Π]εδιο[κλῆς] (Κηφεισιεύς), *ca.* 63 B.C., father of [.]ει[---], 218 (45 6)
- Περσ[αῖος Συμμάχον Κικυννεύς], hoplomachos in 186/5, 195 (38 15)
- [Πέ]ταλος, named in funeral monument *ante* 450 B.C., 169 (18 7)
- Πιστ[---], named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 35)
- Πιστο[κρ]άτης, of Roman period, 240 (74)
- Πλειστίας Διονυσίου Κηφισιεύς, ephebos of Erechtheis in 128/7, 210 (41 147)
- Πολυαίνετος Ἀμύκλον Σκαμβονίδης, ephebos of Leontis in 128/7, 211 (41 170)
- Πολύχαρμος[^{ca. 13}], orator in 127/6, 206 (41 5)
- Πρα[---], named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 32)
- Πρα[...⁶...]_s, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 38)
- Πρ[όξενος] (Σφήττιος), *ca.* 219 B.C., father of Σῶσος, 196 (38 17)
- Πρωτογ[ένης] (Κεκροπίδος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Φανοκλῆς, 211 (41 216)
- Πυθαγόρας: Αἰ[λίος] Πυθαγ[όρας] Βησαιεύς, councillor of Hadrianis *ca.* 180-190 A.D., 238 (71 8)
- [Πυθίλ]ας Ἀπολλ[ωνίου---], ephebos of Attalis in 128/7, 211 (41 249)
- Πυθοκλ[ῆς], named in poletai record at beginning of second century B.C., 188 (33 6)
- Πυθοκλῆς, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 5)
- Πυκνέ[ας], of fourth century B.C., father of [---]έλῆς, 176 (23)
- Πυρρῖνος (Κυδαντίδης), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Ἀθηναγόρ[α]_s, 211 (41 177)
- Πύρρος Δημοκλείδου Τ[εθράσιος], ephebos of Aigeis in 128/7, 210 (41 154)
- Πυσ[τίλος Ὀγήθεν], toxotes in 128/7, 207-211 (41 45, 135, 284-285)
- Ῥῖνων, of fourth century B.C., father of [---]ῆς, 179 (27)
- Ῥοῦφος: [Οὔε]ντίδιο[ς] Ῥο[ύφος] Φυλάσιο[ς], paredros in first century after Christ, 219 (46)
- Σαβῖνος: [...^{ca. 6}...]άν[ιος Σα]βῖνος, on dedicatory monument, 234 (65)
- Σεκουνδίλλα: Φλαβία Σεκουνδίλλα, *ca.* 133 A.D., daughter of Τ. Φλάβιος Πάνταινος, 233 (64)
- Σημίον (Θοραιεύς), *ca.* 213 B.C., father of Γνιφωνίδης, 216 (44 4)
- Σθένιος (Κήττιος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Ἀπολλόδοτος, 211 (41 171)
- Σίτ[αρχ]ος (Ἐρετριεύς), *ca.* 339 B.C., father of Νικησίας 189 (34 13)
- Στ[---], named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 37)
- Στῆσαγόρας Εὐμήλο[ν Φιλαί]δη[ς], ephebos of Aigeis in 128/7, 210 (41 156)
- Στρ[---] Σνπ[αλήττιος], councillor of Kekropis in second century after Christ, 239 (72)
- Στρατόνικος (Ἀζηριεύς), *ca.* 63 B.C., father of Δίων 218 (45 15-16)
- Στρατόνικος Θεογένον Ἐρ[μειος], ephebos of Akamantis in 128/7, 211 (41 190)
- Στράτων (Μιλήσιος), *ca.* 133 B.C., father of Σωτ[---], 231 (61)
- [Σύμμαχος] (Κικιννεύς) *ca.* 219 B.C., father of Περσ[αῖος], 195 (38 15)
- Σύμμαχος (Μιλήσιος), of first century B.C., father of Μη[ρό]δοτος, 230 (60)

- [Σ]ωκράτης, named in funeral monument *ante* 450 B.C., 169 (188)
- Σώσανδρος Σω[σικρ]ά[τ]ον[ς] Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, secretary in 171/0, 199 (40.3-4, 44)
- [Σ]ωσίας, named in funeral monument *ante* 450 B.C., 169 (189)
- Σωσίβιος Τέλονος Ὑβάδης, ephebos of Leontis in 128/7, 211 (41.174)
- Σωσιγένης, archon in 172/1, 199 (40.10, 27, 31, 83)
- Σω[σικρ]ά[τ]η[ς] (Ἀλωπεκῆθεν), *ca.* 204 B.C., father of Σώσανδρος, 199 (40.3, 44)
- Σωσικράτης Εὐφρον[ίου] Θριάσιος, secretary in 127/6, 206-207 (41.1-2, 76)
- Σω[σί]μαχος Μιν[ρ]ινούσιος, honored *ca.* 325 B.C., 178 (25.7)
- [Σ]ωσίνομος Ἀριστονό[μον ...⁷...], purchaser of property at beginning of fourth century B.C., 182 (31.12-14)
- Σώσος Πρ[οξένου] Σφήττιος, toxotes in 186/5, 196 (38.17)
- [Σ]ῶσος Φ[—α—] Αἰγ[ι]λιεύς, ephebos (?) at beginning of second century B.C., 197 (39.1)
- Σωτ[—] Στράτων[ος] Μιλησία, on tombstone *ca.* 100 B.C., 231 (61)
- Σωτάδ[η]ς Σολεύς, hoplomachos in 128/7, 207-211 (41.44, 134, 274-275)
- Σωτάδας Σωτάδου Φι[λαΐδης], ephebos of Aigeis in 128/7, 210 (41.155)
- Σωτάδας (Φιλαΐδης), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Σωτάδας, 210 (41.155)
- [Σ]ωτη[ρ]ί[δης], named in funeral monument *ante* 450 B.C., 169 (18.13)
- Σωφά[ι]νης Δημοκράτου Παιανιεύς, ephebos of Pandionis in 128/7, 210 (41.165)
- Σωφά[ν]ης, councillor in early second century B.C., 226 (53.2)
- Σώφιλος Σωφίλου Ἐρικεεύς, ephebos of Aigeis in 128/7, 210 (41.151)
- Σώφιλος (Ἐρικεύς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Σώφιλος, 210 (41.151)
- Σώφιλος (Κολλυτεύς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Φίλων, 210 (41.153)
- T[—], named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20.28)
- T[—], *ca.* 358 B.C., father of Τιμοκ[ράτ]ης, 189 (35.9)
- T[—], *ca.* 300 B.C., father of [—]ήδης, 190 (36.8)
- Τεῖσις Φι[—], ephebos of Hippothontis in 128/7, 211 (41.220)
- Τέλων (Ὑβάδης), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Σωσίβιος, 211 (41.174)
- Τίμαρχος Ἐπηρατίδου Σφ[ήττιος], orator *ca.* 145/4, 209 (41.103, 115)
- Τιμο[—], *ca.* 213 B.C., father of Τιμοκράτης, 216 (44.5)
- Τιμοκλῆς Δημοκλείδου Κηφισιεύ[ς], ephebos of Erechtheis in 128/7, 210 (41.146)
- Τιμοκρ[άτ]εια ——— Φηγαέω[ς] γυνή], *ca.* 200 B.C., 221 (47)
- Τιμοκ[ράτ]ης T[—], thesmothetes *ca.* 325 B.C., 189 (35.2, 8-9)
- Τιμοκράτης Τιμο[—], paredros *ca.* 180 B.C., 216 (44.5)
- Τιμοκράτης Ἀλεξάνδρου Ποτάμιος, ephebos of Leontis in 128/7, 211 (41.172)
- Τιμοκράτης Θεοδώρου Χολαργεύς, ephebos of Akamantis in 128/7, 211 (41.185)
- Τίμων (ἐκ Κηδῶν), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Ἐπικράτης, 210 (41.148)
- Τραϊανός: Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Σεβαστὸς Νέρβα Τραϊανὸς Γερμανικός, on dedicatory monument *ca.* 100 A.D., 233 (64)
- Φ[—], named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20.51)
- Φ[—] (Αἰγυλιεύς), of latter part of third century B.C., father of [Σ]ῶσος, 197 (39.1)
- Φ[. . .]τιος Ἴων[ίδης], honored *ca.* 325 B.C., 178 (25.6)
- Φαῖδρος Θυμοχάρου Σφή[ττιος], ephebos of Akamantis in 220/19, 192 (37.15)
- Φανοκλῆς Πρωτογ[ένου] ———, ephebos of Kekropis in 128/7, 211 (41.216)
- Φανόμαχος, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20.20)
- Φι[—] (Ἰπποθωντίδης), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Τεῖσις, 211 (41.220)
- Μάρκος Φιλ[—] Βηραιεύς, councillor of Hadrian *ca.* 180-190 A.D., 238 (71.9)
- Φίλιππος (Ἀλαιεύς), *ca.* 383 B.C., father of Νικίων, 180 (29)

- Φίλιππος --- Βησαιεύς, councillor of Hadrianis
ca. 180-190 A.D., 238 (71 10)
 Φιλιστόων, treasurer of thiasos *ca.* 215 B.C., 214
 (43)
 [Φι]λόδημος[ς], named in funeral monument
ante 450 B.C., 169 (18 5)
 [Φι]λοθε[---], named in funeral monument *ante*
 450 B.C., 169 (18 12)
 Φιλοκράτης (Οἰναῖος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of
 Νέων, 211 (41 178)
 Φιλόκωμος Κ[---], dedicator in fourth century
 B.C., 176 (23)
 Φιλόξενος (Φιλαΐδης), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of
 Λυσίμαχος, 210 (41 150)
 Φιλόξενος (Σφήττιος), *ca.* 240 B.C., father of
 Χαρικλῆς, 192 (37 17)
 Φιλόστ[ρατος] (Κεκροπίδος), *ca.* 148 B.C., father
 of Δεινοκλῆς, 211 (41 215)
 [Φί]λτων, named in funeral monument *ante* 450
 B.C., 169 (18 3)
 Φιλτωνίδης, named in funeral monument at end
 of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 24)
 Φίλων, ephebos of Aigeis in 186/5, 196 (38 29)
 Φίλων Σωφίλων Κολλυτ[εύς], ephebos of Aigeis
 in 128/7, 210 (41 153)
 [Φίλων Φί]λωνος Παλ[ληνεύς], ephebos of Anti-
 ochis in 128/7, 210 (41 246)
 [Φί]λων (Παλληνεύς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of
 [Φίλων], 210 (41 246)
 Φιλωνίδης Ἀριστομένον Προσπάτιος, ephebos of
 Ptolemais in 128/7, 211 (41 181)
 Φλαβία: Φλαβία Σεκουνδύλλα, *ca.* 133 A.D.,
 daughter of T. Φλάβιος Πάνταινος, 233 (64)
 Φλάβιος: Φλάβιος Μένανδρος, *ca.* 133 A.D., son of
 T. Φλάβιος Πάνταινος, 233 (64)
 Φλάβιος: Φλάβιος Μένανδρος Διάδοχος, *ca.* 67 A.D.,
 father of T. Φλάβιος Πάνταινος, 233 (64)
 Φλάβιος: T. Φλάβιος Πάνταινος, priest of the
 Muses *ca.* 100 A.D., 233 (64)
 Φοξ[---], named in funeral monument at end
 of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 36)
 Φωντίδης Ἰππ[άρχων], ephebos of Kekropis in
 128/7, 211 (41 217)
 Χα[---], *ca.* 383 B.C., father of --- πόλοχος, 187
 (32 23)
 Χαιρέδημος, named in funeral monument at end
 of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 23)
 Χαρ[---¹⁹---], orator in 128/7, 209 (41 116-
 117)
 Χάρης Χάρητος Παιανιεύς, ephebos of Pandionis
 in 128/7, 210 (41 159)
 Χάρης (Παιανιεύς), *ca.* 148 B.C., father of Χάρης,
 210 (41 159)
 Χαρί[ας?], archon in 164/3, 222 (49)
 Χαρικλείδης, named in funeral monument at end
 of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 19)
 Χαρικλῆς Φιλοξένου Σφήτ[τιος], ephebos of Aka-
 mantis in 220/19, 192 (37 17)
 Χρόμων, named in funeral monument at end of
 fifth century B.C., 173 (20 9)
 [.]ξε[--- Π]εδιο[κλέους Κ]ηφεισι[είς], polemarchos
ca. 30 B.C., 218 (45 5-7)
 [..]ατοκ[---], named in funeral monument *ca.*
 430 B.C., 171 (19 8)
 [..]μοκλείδης Ἀφιδναῖος, honored *ca.* 325 B.C.,
 178 (25 11 8)
 [..]φων[---], named in funeral monument *ca.*
 430 B.C., 171 (19 2)
 [..]-γρασ[---], councillor in early second cen-
 tury B.C., 226 (53 6)
 [...]ε[.]ον (genitive) (Οἰναῖος), of latter
 part of third century B.C., father of Ξεινό-
 φιλο[ς], 197 (39 2)
 [---]ό[δ]ω[ρος], councillor in early second
 century B.C., 226 (53 7)
 [...]ανδρος, named in funeral monument *ca.*
 430 B.C., 171 (19 12)
 [...]βουλος ἐξ Οἴων, named in poletai record at
 beginning of fourth century B.C., 182 (31
 34-35)
 [...]γ[ό]ρης, named in funerary monument *ca.*
 430 B.C., 171 (19 16)
 [...]λει[.], named in funeral monument at
 end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 2)
 [...]μω[---], named in funeral monument *ca.*
 430 B.C., 171 (19 19)
 [...]όδω[ρος] Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, honored *ca.* 325
 B.C., 178 (25 11 9)
 [...]ός, named in funeral monument *ca.* 430
 B.C., 171 (19 11)
 [...]ς, named in funeral monument *ca.* 430
 B.C., 171 (19 15)

- [. . .⁵ . . .]ενος Ἐρμολάου Λαμπτρέως, named in grave monument *ca.* 325 B.C., 181 (30)
- [. . .⁵ . . .]κλήης, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 25)
- [.]λ [---], named in funeral monument *ca.* 430 B.C., 171 (19 18)
- [. . .⁶ . . .]άτης, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 41)
- [. . .⁶ . . .]ίδης, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 47)
- [. . .⁶ . . .]ιος, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 44)
- [. . .⁶ . . .]λος, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 43)
- [. . .⁶ . . .]ος, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 42)
- [. . .⁶ . . .]ρατος, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 30)
- [. . .⁶ . . .]ς, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 46)
- [. . .⁶ . . .]ς, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 45)
- [. . .⁶ . . .]ων, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 48)
- 173 (20 48)
- [. . .⁶ . . .]άν[ιος Σα]βίνος, on dedicatory monument, 234 (65)
- [. . .⁶ . . .]αρχος Μηνοδότ[ου---], ephebos of Antiochis in 128/7, 210 (41 245)
- [. . .⁶ . . .]ος Διογνήτου Παμ[νούσιος], ephebos of Aiantis in 128/7, 210 (41 243)
- [. . .⁶ . . .]ος Εὐανδρ[---], ephebos of Antiochis in 128/7, 210 (41 247)
- [. . .⁷ . . .]ων, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 49)
- [. . .⁶ . . .]οι[---], ephebos of Hippothontis in 220/19, 192 (37 25)
- [. . .⁶ . . .] Κλεά[νδρον (?) Ἀμαξ]αντεύ[ς], ephebos of Hippothontis in 220/19, 192 (37 26)
- [. . .⁶ . . .] Οἰναῖος, honored *ca.* 325 B.C., 178 (25 II 7)
- [. . .⁶ . . .] Ν[ικοκλέους Πα]μ[νούσιος], ephebos of Aiantis in 128/7, 210 (41 242)
- [. . .⁸ . . .]ος, named in funeral monument at end of fifth century B.C., 173 (20 26)
- [. . .⁸ . . .]ΠΟ[---], ephebos of Aiantis in 128/7, 210 (41 240)
- [. . .⁹ . . .]ης Ἀχαρνέως, honored *ca.* 325 B.C., 178 (25 II 5)
- [.]ος Εὐθυμάχου Ἀγριν[ήθεν], purchaser of property at beginning of fourth century B.C., 182 (31 5-6)
- [. . .⁹ . . .]ν Ὁγήθεν, named in dedication *ca.* 325 B.C., 177 (24)
- [. . .⁹ . . .]ς Φλευέως, honored *ca.* 325 B.C., 178 (25 II 6)
- [. . .¹⁰ . . .]ης Ἐράτωνος [Εὐ]πινρίδης, chairman of proedroi in 127/6, 207-208 (41 78-79)
- [. . .¹¹ . . .]νος Κε[φα]λήθεν, secretary in 128/7, 209 (41 101-102, 113-114)
- [.¹⁵ . . .] Ἀ[χαρνέως], praised at beginning of third century B.C., 190 (36 15)
- [. . .¹⁸ . . .] Βερεικίδ[ης], orator in 128/7, 209 (41 104)
- [. . .]ει[---], ephebe official crowned in 220/19, 192 (37 10-12)
- [. . .]έλης Πικνέ[ου], dedicator in fourth century B.C., 176 (23)
- [. . .]ήδης Τ[---], epimeletes at beginning of third century B.C., 190 (36 8)
- [. . .]ης Πίνωνος [---], named in grave monument of fourth century B.C., 179 (27)
- [. . .]νεμ[---], ephebos of Aiantis in 128/7, 210 (41 229)
- [. . .]ο[---], honored *ca.* 325 B.C., 178 (25 5)
- [. . .]ΟΑ.Ο[ς], kosmetes in 172/1, 200 (40 50)
- [. . .]πόλοχος Χα[---], purchaser of property *ca.* 350 B.C., 187 (32 23)
- [. . .]ωρῶς [---], chairman of proedroi in 171/0, 199 (40 47)
- Ἀλαεύς, poletes at beginning of second century B.C., 188 (33 2)
- [. . .]Ἀνα]καιεύς, poletes at beginning of second century B.C., 188 (33 4)
- [. . .]Ἀ[χαρνέως], *ca.* 350 B.C., husband of Κλκαί[νέ]τη, 180 (29)
- [. . .]Ἀπολ]λοδώρον Ὀτρυνεύς, στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας *ca.* 200 B.C., 221 (48)
- [. . .] Φηγαεύ[ς], *ca.* 200 B.C., husband of Τιμοκρ[άτεια], 221 (47)

INDEX TO ENGLISH NAMES

- Benjamin Gott, 245 (76)
John Tweddell, 244 (75)

THE RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT

THE UPPER FILL¹

IN HESPERIA, VII, 1938, pp. 363 ff., I described a rectangular, rock-cut shaft or well on the eastern slope of Kolonos Agoraios between the Hephaisteion and the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios and published the objects from its lower fill, the latest of which date from the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. In this article I publish the objects from the upper fill of the shaft, from a depth of about twelve metres to the top. These objects date from the first two decades of the fifth century B.C. and are of considerable importance from a chronological standpoint for two reasons: first, because the absolute date of some of them is fixed beyond question within a few years by the ostraka that were found with them, and second because, being stratified, they often illustrate the course of development or relative chronology of various types of pottery. It may be stated here at the outset that the generally accepted chronology of early red-figure and late black-figure is confirmed by the evidence of this well.²

¹ The manuscript of this article, on which I have worked at intervals for a number of years, was completed in Athens in June, 1942. Because of the war I have in general not had access to books and periodicals dated later than 1939, though in a few cases I have been able to consult works that appeared in 1940. In the early stages of the preparation of this article I have had advice and assistance from many of my colleagues at the Agora Excavations and especially from Miss Lucy Talcott. Miss Alison Frantz has made many of the photographs, a few are by Hermann Wagner, and a good number are by myself. The drawings are by Piet de Jong and J. Travlos, except the two graffiti, Plate XXVIII 18 and No. 32, for which I am responsible. Besides the standard abbreviations for periodicals and reference works, the following abbreviations are frequently used:

A. B. L. = C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*.

Graef-Langlotz = B. Graef und E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*.

Richter and Hall = G. M. A. Richter and L. F. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*.

Shapes and Names = G. M. A. Richter and M. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*.

Sixth = P. N. Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*.

² By generally accepted chronology I mean that expounded in detail by E. Langlotz, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfigurigen Vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen Plastik*. For recent discussions see Richter and Hall, especially pp. 5 ff. and 27 ff., and *A. B. L.*, *passim*. Particularly instructive owing to the similarity of the material involved is Miss Haspels' discussion of some of the Rhitsona grave groups (*A. B. L.*, pp. 108 ff.) and the subsequent exchange of views on the subject between her and Mrs. Ure (*J. H. S.*, LVII, 1937, p. 265 and *J. H. S.*, LVIII, 1938, pp. 257 ff.). The late Emanuel Löwy in "Der Beginn der rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei" (*Sitzungsberichte Ak. Wien*, 217, Abh. 2) has recently attempted to show that red-figure did not begin until after 480 B.C. His arguments have already been amply refuted by Raubitschek in a review (*A. J. A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 710 ff.) and his conclusion is shown by the evidence of this well and many other contemporary Agora deposits to be invalid. His statement (pp. 90-91) that no ostraka dateable before 480 B.C. written on red-figured sherds had been found at the Agora was literally true at the time it was made, though even then many early ostraka, including those from this well, had been found in

As stated in the previous article, the shaft is rectangular in shape, measures 2.40 by 1.20 metres at the top, 2.70 by 1.10 metres at a depth of 9.00 metres, and is cut down through the soft natural rock of the hill for a depth of nearly twenty metres.³ The bottom eight metres were filled up in the third quarter of the sixth century B.C., and the mouth of the shaft appears then to have been covered over for about a generation during which time nothing fell in. Some time around 490 B.C. the mouth was uncovered and the shaft began to be used as a dump. The masses of broken pottery⁴ found between depths 12.00 m. and 5.00 m. suggest that the dump was used by near-by potters' shops for disposing of their broken, mis-fired, or otherwise unsaleable wares.⁵ This view is borne out by the finding in the well of mis-fired pieces of pottery (cf. Nos. 75, 219 and 220) and of a considerable number of vase fragments containing traces of a powdery substance brick red in color which is undoubtedly red ochre (miltos).⁶ It is further confirmed by the presence of numerous groups of closely related vases, each of which is obviously the product of a single workshop or painter. Of these we may note especially the four small red-figured cups, Nos. 33-36, and their black-glazed counterpart, No. 226; the red-figured cups with satyrs, Nos. 42-44; the skyphoi by the Theseus painter, Nos. 61-67; the skyphos fragments, Nos. 83-89 and 96-106; and the "little lion" lekythoi, Nos. 122-138.

The twenty cubic metres or so of fill between depths 12.00 m. and 5.00 m.⁷ were not thrown in all at one time but gathered over a period of years. This is most clearly shown by the ostraka. In the lower part, between 12.00 m. and 9.00 m., there were none, for this fill gathered before the practice of ostracism had begun. At 9.00 m. and 8.45 m. were the three ostraka of Megakles, Nos. 1-3, who was banished in 486 B.C., the second year in which an ostrakophoria was held, while at depths 6.00 m., 5.00 m., and 4.50 m. were the ostraka of Aristides, Nos. 12, 14, and 15, who was banished in 482 B.C. The top five metres or so of fill, which contained very little pottery, were probably thrown in all at one time around 480 B.C. at the time of the Persian invasion or during the clearing up of the area afterward. The pottery too indicates the same thing. The red-figure from the lower depths is clearly earlier than that from higher

closed deposits with red-figured pottery. Since then an ostrakon (Agora Inv. No. P 16,761) written on a fragment of a red-figured column krater has been found which bears the name of Kallixenos, son of Aristonymos, of Xypete, who was a "candidate" for ostracism in the late eighties of the fifth century (see below, Nos. 8 and 9).

³ Further details about the actual shaft will be found in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 363-4.

⁴ About a hundred five-gallon tinsful: see below.

⁵ The actual remains of a potter's shop of the next generation have been found about 20 metres to the east of the shaft, behind the Stoa of Zeus: see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 19-21.

⁶ Cf. No. 146 and an unpublished amphora fragment from depth 10.90 m. (Inv. No. P 1334). Other samples have been kept among the uncatalogued sherds from depths 9.60 m. and 10.90 m. and still others are recorded as having been found. On the use of red ochre by potters, see G. M. A. Richter, *The Craft of Athenian Pottery*, pp. 53 ff., and Richter and Hall, pp. XXXVII f.

⁷ Not including some irregular breaks in the sides between 9.00 m. and 10.50 m. which would increase the amount.

up. A development can also be noted in the shape of various kinds of vases, for example, the kylixes with concave lips, Nos. 230-233, and the lekythoi of "little lion" shape, Nos. 122-138 and 260-263.

The date of the fill between 5.00 m. and 9.00 m. is fixed beyond question by the ostraka that were found in it. For the fill below 9.00 m. we have no such certain guide. It is obviously earlier, but just how much earlier it is difficult to say precisely. As the shaft was being dug some changes in the color of the earth were noted at about 9.50 m. to 10.50 m., and it may be that this represents a break of a few years during which the mouth of the shaft was covered over and nothing fell in. If this is the case, we then have two "groups" of pottery, the lower of which will have gathered over a short period in the nineties, the upper during a similar period in the eighties, 486-482 B.C. being indicated by the ostraka. The changes of earth were not sharply defined, however, and there was a good deal of "overlapping," sherds from a single vase being found both above and below the changes. It seems better, therefore, to consider the fill as a continuous accumulation. This would make the date of the fill between 9.00 m.-12.00 m. fall in the years around 490 B.C., which accords well with the date we should assign on stylistic grounds to the latest pieces of pottery in it. To cite one example only: the Gela painter's lekythos with the winged quadriga, No. 117, which comes from the deepest part of the upper fill, belongs in the neighborhood of 490 B.C. according to Miss Haspels' analysis of the development of the painter's style (*A.B.L.*, pp. 78 ff.). A good deal of the pottery from this fill seems, however, to be somewhat earlier and one would like to date it on stylistic grounds nearer 500 B.C., for example, some of the red-figure and the black-figured skyphoi by the Theseus painter. The presence of this earlier material is probably to be explained by supposing that when the mouth of the shaft was re-discovered some time about 490 B.C., the neighboring potters' shops took advantage of it to dispose of a lot of old, broken pottery that had been accumulating and cluttering up their yards for some years previously.

Although the shaft was stratified, as we have just seen, too much emphasis cannot be placed on stratification in determining the date of any given object. It is true that, in a general way, the deeper an object was found the earlier it is, but this evidence cannot be pressed for a number of reasons. In order to understand this it will be necessary to discuss how the fill gathered in the shaft and how it was excavated. It will be remembered that the shaft was some two and a half metres long and over a metre wide. Earth falling into a space of this size would not gather in even, horizontal layers but in irregular, sloping or cone-shaped ones so that at any given time there would be a difference of perhaps a metre to a metre and a half between the highest point of the fill and the lowest. It was not possible to observe these soft, sloping layers as we excavated, however, for the fill was generally of uniform color and consistency. The shaft was therefore excavated in the most convenient way, namely, in more or less horizontal layers. The depth was measured at the end of each day's work, and all objects found that day were kept together and recorded as having been found

at that depth.⁸ From the above it will be seen that, because of the sloping layers in which the fill gathered, two fragments thrown in at the same time might be found at depths a metre to a metre and a half apart, one fragment having stuck at the top of the slope, the other having rolled to the bottom. Again, because of the sloping layers, it is impossible to fix a precise depth for the many objects made up of more than one fragment. For example, if a broken kylix were thrown in, its handles might stick at the top of the slope, rim and body fragments might slide part way down, while the base might roll to the bottom. Thus there would be a difference of perhaps a metre and a half between the highest and the lowest fragment, and our record would show fragments from three or more different depths. Finally, the depth at which an object was found can give only the date at which it fell into the shaft. How long before that it had been made, how long it had stood on the shelves of the potter's shop before being broken or discarded, or how long it had been lying around before finding its way into the shaft, we cannot say, although the interval seems never to have been very long.⁹ A good illustration of this source of error is the ostrakon of Hipparchos, No. 10, which was found at a depth of 6.00 m. Hipparchos was ostracized in 487 B.C., and, had the ostrakon fallen into the shaft immediately after the ostracism, we should have expected to find it at a depth of 9.00 m. to 9.50 m., just below those of Megakles, Nos. 1-3, who was ostracized in 486 B.C. It apparently lay around for about five years or so before falling in.¹⁰ From the above it is clear that, although stratification gives a general indication of the date of an object, it is not necessarily an absolutely certain guide. In the catalogue below I have therefore arranged the objects by kind and not by depth. Within each kind, however, the arrangement is often by depth, as for example in the case of the ostraka and the red-figure. For the reader's convenience I append a chart showing the depth or depths at which each object published here was found.

The catalogue which follows contains only a selection of the objects from the shaft. All complete or nearly complete pieces have been included, and, of the fragments, a selection of the most important, interesting, or typical. Much, of course, has had to be omitted, especially among the fragmentary black-glazed and coarse wares. Besides the objects presented here, there are about 130 more listed in the

⁸ This means, of course, that they were found between that depth and the depth recorded at the end of the previous day: for example, an object recorded as having been found at a depth of 9.00 m. was actually found between 8.45 m. and 9.00 m.

⁹ There is remarkably little material earlier than about 500 B.C., except of course a scattering of geometric and proto-Attic sherds which are almost always present in small numbers in fills of the archaic and classical periods. The only earlier piece which is anywhere nearly complete is the mid-sixth century oinochoe with boxers, No. 199; the loomweight, No. 367, can be counted as a sherd.

¹⁰ We have already noted another similar situation in discussing the earlier objects from the fill between 9.00 m. and 12.00 m. Other sources of error which may be noted are the following: the rate at which the shaft filled was not necessarily constant; some sections may have filled almost overnight while others may have taken years: during the handling of the masses of pottery after its discovery, washing, drying, and mending, single fragments must sometimes have strayed.

Agora inventory, mostly insignificant pieces or duplicates of catalogued examples, and six trays and ninety-four five-gallon tins full of sherds. Nothing has been discarded. Occasionally I publish material from other parts of the Agora for comparison or to fill out gaps. All ostraka and possible ostraka have been included. Besides their intrinsic interest, the fact that they were discovered in this stratified deposit enables us to suggest dates for the "candidacy" of the various unknown persons, and also shows that votes were cast against Themistokles in the *ostrakophoria* of 482 B.C. Among the other graffiti and dipinti I have included only such pieces as are complete or make sense. Fragments with incomplete inscriptions of a few unintelligible letters have been omitted. The little olpe, No. 16, inscribed ΔΕΜΟ[ΣΙΟΝ] and the plate, No. 17, signed by the hitherto unknown potter Salax and praising the fair Eumares are the most interesting pieces. Almost all the red-figured pottery has been included, only a few small, insignificant fragments having been omitted. It is perhaps worth noting that there is relatively little red-figure compared with the amount of black-figure, as is usually the case in Agora deposits of this period. The most interesting pieces of red-figure are the kylix, No. 40, with a woman and a dwarf, the diskobolos kylix, No. 52, with its contrasting red and black glaze, and the krater fragments, No. 53, with a satyr playing the flutes. In choosing black-figured pieces for publication I have set a much higher standard and have omitted many hundreds of fragments of routine skyphoi, lekythoi and so forth, publishing only a representative selection. Noteworthy among the black-figured pieces are the bowl with dancing men, No. 184, the miniature hydria with fountain scene, No. 197, the group of skyphoi by the Theseus painter, Nos. 61-67, the lekythoi by the Gela painter, Nos. 117-121, and the attractive group of small lekythoi of "little lion" shape, Nos. 122-138. Only the more complete black-glazed pieces are described here. There remain many thousands of fragments, among which will be found pieces of vases of types not included in this catalogue. To have tried to include an example of every type of vase represented would have meant introducing too much material from other places. However, the value of these unpublished fragments will become evident at the time of the final publication of the Agora Excavations, for they will provide a useful check on the date of the various types of vase they represent. The coarse, unglazed or semi-glazed pottery, of which there is a great deal, did not make up at all well, and only a few pieces were complete enough for publication. Among the fragments many come from vases of recognizable types, however, and they will be valuable at the time of the final publication in the same way as the black-glazed fragments. Of non-Attic pottery, Nos. 310-318, I publish five Corinthian pieces, one piece of bucchero, and three vases of unknown fabric. Besides these there is a scattering of Corinthian fragments from all depths. Much of the unglazed coarse pottery must also be non-Attic,¹¹ but, as little work has been done in this field, and as the material from this well is so fragmentary, no discussion of it is attempted here. Finally the catalogue is completed with the figurines, lamps, bone styli, loomweights, and spindle whorls.

¹¹ For example the fragments published here as Nos. 4, 5, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 22, 27, 28, and 29.

CHART SHOWING DEPTH AT WHICH EACH OBJECT WAS FOUND

Depth	Ostraka	Other Graffiti and Dipinti	Red- figure	Black- figure: Skyphoi	Black-figure: Lekythoi	Black-figure: Miscellaneous	Black-glazed and Miscellaneous Pottery	Non- Attic	Terra- cotta Figu- rines	Terra- cotta Lamps	Bone Styli	Loom Weights and Spindle Whorls
Top to 5.00 m.	14, 15		59, 60		180		233, 242, 308					
to 6.00 m.	10, 11, 12, 13	28	55, 56, 57, 58	80, 95	138, 178, 179	216, 217,	232, 253, 271, 287					369
to 6.80 m.		18, 27, 29		68, 107, 114	176, 177	186, 189, 196	232, 239, 287, 307	318	322, 323	337, 346, 348	355	364- 366
to 7.40 m.	8, 9	26	54, 56	75, 76, 80, 94 111, 112	175	196, 206, 225	231, 235-237, 240, 245 247-249, 263, 270, 296, 307	318		333, 341, 345- 347		368
to 8.00 m.	6, 7	30	24, 44, 48, 25, 50, 52, 53, 55	71-76, 93, 109	138, 148	199, 215	235, 247, 271, 294, 295, 299	314, 316	324, 327	341, 349	353, 354	367
to 8.45 m.	2, 3, 4, 5		52, 53	80, 82, 93, 105, 106, 115	137, 147, 167-175	(188), (190), 197-199, 214	234, 279, 281, 288, 292, 298, 300, 303	310, 313, 314		329, 332, 335, 338, 341	352	
to 9.00 m.	1	23	40, 49, 50, 51	(61-67), 70, 103, 104	121, 163-166	188, 190, 191, 194, 195, 197, 198, 200, 202, 212, 213	229, 250, 279, 285, 302, 304-306	311	325	328, 342, 344	350 351	
to 9.60 m.		19	40-48	61-67, 70, 77, 92 113, 116	118, 159, 162, 176, 183	187, 188, 190, 192, (193), (219-221), (223-224)	238, 250, 258, 259, 266, 274, 275, 278, 283-286, 301	311		328, 342, 344		363
to 10.10 m.			40	61-67, 79, 90, 101, 102, 108	118, 124, 146, 159-161	187, (188), (190), 192, 193, 201, 203, 210, 211, 219-221, 223-224	258, 272, 273, 282, 286, 291, 297			331, 334, 339, 340		362
to 10.35 m.		16, 38, 39, 17, (43), 22 (46)	61-67, (77), 79, 83-89, 92, 100	118, 119, 124-126, 145, 158, 182		208, 209, 219-221, 223-224	252, 255-258, 262, 268, 276, 289		319, 320, 321			359- 361
to 10.90 m.		20, 32-37, 21 48	(61-67), 69, 78, 79, 83-89, 91, 97-99, 110	118-120, 124-126, 143, 145, 154-157, 181		(193), 204, 207, 218-224	227, 228, 241, 243, 244, 246, 251, 254, 264, 265, 268, 280, 290	312, 315		330, 331, 336, 343		358 370
to 11.45 m.		16, 17	32-38	(61-67), 79, 81, 83-89, 91, 96-99, 110	117, 119, 123, 127-136, 139-144, (146), 149-156	207, 218-224	227, 228, 230, 241, 243, 246, 260, 261, 264, 265, 267, 269, 277, 293			330		
to 12.00 m.		31-36, 49		81	117, 122		226, (227), 267					357

CATALOGUE ¹²

OSTRAKA

Nos. 1-15

I include here all ostraka and all fragments that may possibly be ostraka. Their importance has already been pointed out in the introduction. It would have been desirable to publish drawings of the ostraka in order to show the letter forms more clearly, but as many of the pieces were not accessible at the time this article was being prepared for publication, I have been forced to omit them. In general the photographs show most of the letters clearly enough.

1. Ostrakon of Megakles, son of Hippokrates. Plate XXV.

P 2617. From depth 9.00 m. H. 0.07 m. W. 0.10 m. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 461, fig. 10; cf. Jérôme Carcopino, *L'ostracisme athénien*², pp. 82 and 143.

The sherd is from the rim of a semi-glazed krater similar to No. 305 below. The glaze on the interior and on the top of the rim has almost entirely flaked off. The letters are neatly incised on the inside of the sherd with the rim of the pot forming the lower edge of the ostrakon: ΜΕΛΑΚΛΕΣΗΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΟΣ. This ostrakon and the next two were doubtless prepared for the *ostrakophoria* of 486 B.C. when Megakles was sent into exile (Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 22, 5). At the end of the 1940 campaign the Agora collection contained nine ostraka with this name. For others see *I.G.*, I², 908, and *A.A.*, 1937, 195, and fig. 12.

2. Ostrakon of Megakles, son of Hippokrates. Plate XXV.

P 2650. From depth 8.45 m. H. 0.071 m. W. 0.069 m. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 461, fig. 10. Cf. Carcopino², pp. 82 and 143.

The sherd is from the lower part of the wall of a krater similar to that cited under the last item. Part of a horizontal band of black glaze on the exterior is preserved. On the interior is dull black glaze. The letters are neatly incised on the exterior. They run vertically with respect to the pot and read ΜΕΛΑΚΛΕΣ[Η]ΟΗΠΠΟΚΡΑ[ΤΟ]ΥΣ.

3. Ostrakon of Megakles, son of Hippokrates. Plate XXV.

P 2651. From depth 8.45 m. H. 0.078 m. W. 0.10 m. *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 295, fig. 7. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 461, fig. 10. Cf. Carcopino², pp. 82 and 143.

Three joining fragments preserve part of the wall of a krater similar to that cited under No. 1. There is light-brown glaze wash on the exterior, and parts of two horizontal bands of brown glaze are preserved. On the interior there is dull black glaze. The letters are incised on the exterior. They run diagonally with respect to the pot and read ΜΕΛΑΚΛΕΕΣΗΟΗΠΠΟΚΡΑ. The last word was never completed.

4. Ostrakon of Hipparchos, son of Charmos (?). Plate XXV.

P 2652. From depth 8.45 m. H. 0.02 m. W. 0.039 m.

The sherd is a single small fragment from

¹² The following abbreviations are used in the catalogue: H. = height, W. = width, T. = thickness, L. = length, (preceded by P., = preserved height etc.), D. = diameter, est. = estimated, max. dim. = maximum dimension preserved. Dimensions and depths are given in metres (m.). The first number which appears after the heading of each object is the Agora inventory number, e.g. P 2617. This number should always be cited when reference is made to any of the objects published here. Vases have been mended from many fragments, and clay is normal Attic unless otherwise stated.

the wall of a large, heavy closed pot. The clay is buff in color and contains large particles of grit. There is no glaze. Parts of two letters are preserved, PM, which may conceivably be restored [HIPPAP+OΣ+Α]PM[O]. If this restoration is correct, the sherd will be an ostrakon from the *ostrakophoria* of 487 B.C. Compare below, No. 10.

5. Ostrakon of Boutalion. Plate XXV.

P 2653. From depth 8.45 m. H. 0.032 m. W. 0.035 m.

The sherd is a single small fragment from the wall of a large closed pot. The clay is dark buff in color and there is no glaze. The letters are incised on the inside and read BOVT---EΠ---. The first of these names is quite surely to be restored *Βουταλίων*, for the Agora collection contains six other sherds with this name.¹³ Five of these also preserve the demotic, *Μαραθώνιος*, and it seems quite certain that all are ostraka. The present piece has what are probably the first two letters of the patronymic, EΠ---, which is not otherwise recorded. The name, as far as it is now known, is thus *Βουταλίων Έπ---* *Μαραθώνιος*. Nothing is known of this Boutalion. The circumstances of finding of this ostrakon, however, suggest that he was a "candidate" for ostracism in one of the first two or three *ostrakophoriai*, that is, in 487, 486 or perhaps 485 B.C.¹⁴ A Boutalion of Marathon who may have been the grandson of our Boutalion was *ταμίας τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν* in 420/19 B.C.: see *I.G.*, I², 370, line 12.

6. Ostrakon of Hippokrates, son of Anaxileos. Plate XXV.

P 2702. From depth 8.00 m. H. 0.053 m. W. 0.075 m. *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 295, fig. 10; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 461, fig. 10. Cf. Carcopino², pp. 82 and 118.

The sherd is a fragment of a roof tile. There is dull red glaze on the slightly concave upper surface and through this the inscription has been incised in neat, clear letters, HIPPOKPATEΣ ANA+ΣIΛEO. Six other sherds in the Agora collection, all of which seem surely to be ostraka, bear this name (cf. *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 179, fig. 6; and *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 40, fig. 39), but the person is not otherwise known. The context in which the present piece was found suggests that he was a "candidate" for ostracism at one of the first three or four *ostrakophoriai*. See also below on Nos. 7 and 13.

7. Ostrakon of Hippokrates (?). Plate XXV.

P 2703. From depth 8.00 m. H. 0.034 m. W. 0.022 m.

The sherd is a small fragment from the wall of a large, unglazed, closed pot. The clay is dark buff in color. Four letters are incised on the outside which are probably to be restored H[IPPOKPA]TE[Σ]. Since the sherd was found at the same depth as the last item, it is probably part of a vote against Hippokrates, son of Anaxileos (compare No. 6), rather than one against Hippokrates, son of Alkmeonides (compare No. 13).

8. Ostrakon of Kallixenos, son of Aristonymos. Plate XXVI.

P 2734. From depth 7.40 m. H. 0.015 m. D. 0.064 m.

The ostrakon is a kylix base of the first variety described by Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 229 and fig. 60, I; cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 242-243. The stem is missing and part of the base is broken. The inscription is neatly incised on the under side of the base, KALLI+ΣENOΣ APIΣTONVMO. A second inscription, Π, the numeral 50, was probably put on while the

¹³ Mentioned *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 361. On one of the pieces (Agora Inv. P 5004) the name is spelled *Βουταλίαν*.

¹⁴ A similar date is suggested by the circumstances of finding of another of his ostraka, Agora Inv. P 6133.

kylix was still whole, this type of graffito being fairly common on vases.¹⁵ Eighty-eight ostraka bearing the name of Kallixenos have been found thus far at the Agora, and he ranks second after Themistokles with 183. Nothing is otherwise known of the man except that his deme was Xypete (see next item).¹⁶ From the depth at which this ostrakon and the next were found, about half way between those of Megakles (486 B.C.) and those of Aristides (482 B.C.), it would be reasonable enough to guess that he was a "candidate" for ostracism in the year 484 B.C. Many other ostraka with his name have, however, been found in deposits with ostraka of Aristides and Themistokles from the *ostrakophoria* of 482 B.C., and it has been suggested that he was a "candidate" in that year (*Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 32-33). It may be that he was, but the evidence from this well suggests a slightly earlier date, 483 B.C., 484 B.C., or possibly even earlier. While there is of course no need to assume that all the Kallixenos ostraka were cast at one *ostrakophoria*, it is perhaps worth suggesting that he may have been one of the principal "candidates" in 483 B.C. This supposition would fit the evidence from this well, and would also fit the evidence from the other deposits. His chief opponent may well have been Hippokrates, son of Alkmeonides (see No. 13 below).

9. Ostrakon of Kallixenos, son of Aristonymos. Plate XXVI.

P 2758. From depth 7.40 m.; the right-hand fragment from depth 6.00 m. H. 0.016 m. D. est. 0.08 m.

Three joining fragments preserve slightly less than half the base of a kylix of the second variety described by Broneer, *loc. cit.* The stem is missing. The inscription is neatly incised on the upper side of the base, [KALLI] + ENOΞ [APIΞT] ONVMO + ΞVP[ETAION]. It had not

been possible to interpret the letters after the patronymic until the discovery in the 1939 campaign of two ostraka of Kallixenos which give his demotic, Xypetaion (Agora Inv. P 15493 and P 15600). The letters on the present ostrakon are now seen to fit this word. The upsilon and the badly shaped pi are quite clear. In front of the upsilon and actually connected with it, making it look like a nu, is part of a stroke which may be interpreted as the upper bar of a sigma. In front of this again is part of another stroke, the top of the vertical bar of the chi.

10. Ostrakon of Hipparchos. Plate XXVI.

P 2776. From depth 6.00 m. H. 0.066 m. W. 0.077 m. *Illustrated London News*, Sept. 3, 1932, p. 359 and Aug. 26, 1933, p. 328; *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 391, fig. 10, A; *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 295, fig. 6; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 461, fig. 10; Carcopino², pp. 81-82 and 142-143, and plate I, 1, facing page 80.

The sherd is from the mouth of a plain, unglazed storage amphora of dark buff clay with lighter buff slip. Part of the rim and the upper stub of one of the handles are preserved and between these is incised the inscription: HIPPAP + OΞ. The ostrakon appears to be complete as it stands. It lacks the usual patronymic or demotic. This ostrakon must have been prepared in 487 B.C. on the occasion of the first *ostrakophoria* when Hipparchos, son of Charmos, of the deme Kollytos was exiled (Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 22, 4). The fact that it was found here in association with ostraka of Aristides which are surely from the *ostrakophoria* of 482 B.C. merely indicates that it did not find its way into the shaft for about five years (see introduction). At the end of the 1940 campaign the Agora collection contained eleven ostraka of Hipparchos; compare above, No. 4.

¹⁵ Cf. Miss Milne's "Notes on the Graffiti" in Richter and Hall, p. 221, nos. 11 and 19.

¹⁶ It may be that we possess a rough portrait of him. An unpublished ostrakon (Agora Inv. P 7103) bears the name Kallixenos and beside the name is incised a rough profile of a man's head with wreath and long pointed beard. For other such incised sketches see below on No. 30.

11. Ostrakon of Themistokles. Plate XXVI.

P 2777. From depth 6.00 m. H. 0.068 m. W. 0.077 m. *Illustrated London News*, September 3, 1932, p. 359; and August 26, 1933, p. 328; *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 295, fig. 9; Carcopino², pp. 82 and 157 with note 7.

The sherd is from the rim of a krater similar to No. 305 below. There is dull, rather streaky, black glaze on the interior and on the top of the rim. On the exterior there is a thin glaze wash. The inscription, neatly incised on the exterior below the rim, reads ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΣ ΦΡΕ[ΑΒΙΟΣ]. Themistokles was ostracised in 471 B.C. (Carcopino², pp. 157 ff. and 178). The presence of this ostrakon in a definitely pre-Persian deposit and associated with ostraka of Aristides (Nos. 12, 14 and 15 below) who was banished in 482 B.C. shows, however, that votes were cast against Themistokles in that year. Ostraka of Themistokles and Aristides have been found together in a number of other deposits at the Agora (cf. *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 32-33). Broneer has seen reason to attribute his group of 190 Themistokles ostraka to the *ostrakophoria* of 482 B.C. (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 242-243). At the end of the 1940 campaign the Agora collection contained 183 ostraka of Themistokles, whose name thus outranks all others.

12. Ostrakon of Aristides. Plate XXVI.

P 2778. From depth 6.00 m. H. 0.088 m. W. 0.071 m. Cf. Carcopino², pp. 81-82 and 150 with note 1.

The sherd is a fragment from the wall of a large unglazed storage amphora of light brownish clay. The inscription is incised on the exterior and runs vertically with respect to the pot. It reads [ΑΡΙΣΤΙΔΕΣ] [ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟ].

This ostrakon must have been prepared for the *ostrakophoria* of 482 B.C. when Aristides was banished. Cf. Nos. 14 and 15 below.

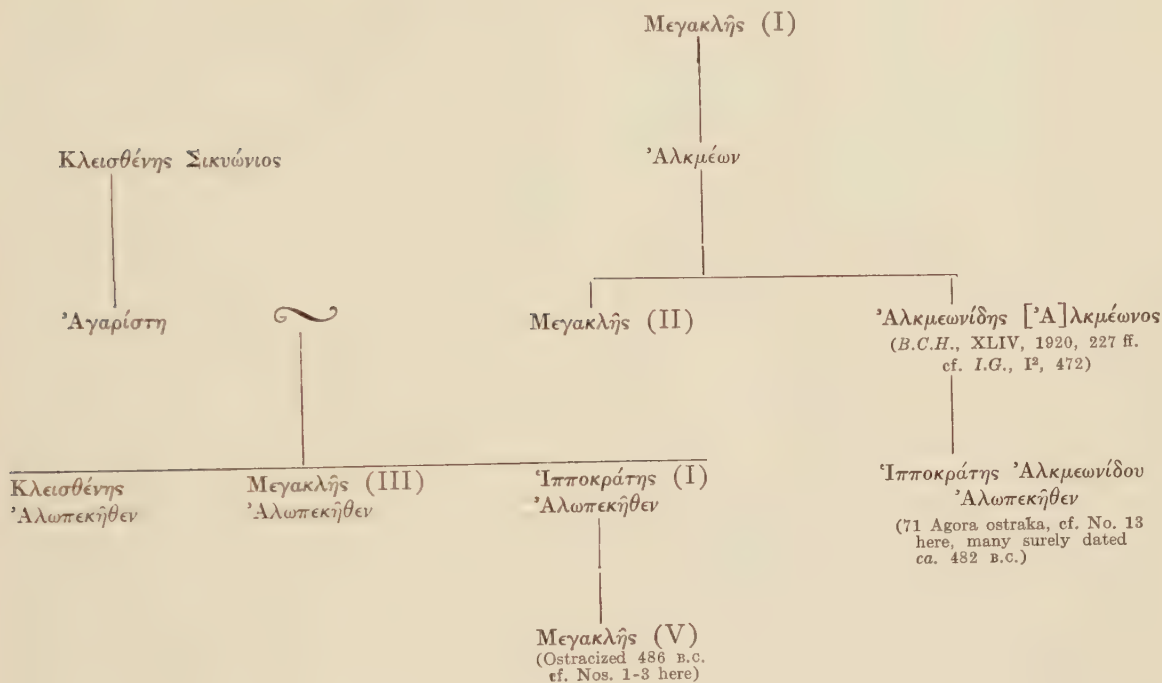
13. Ostrakon of Hippokrates, son of Alkmeonides. Plate XXVI.

P 2779. From depth 6.00 m. H. 0.084 m. W. 0.096 m. *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 295, fig. 11, and p. 296; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 461, fig. 10, and p. 460; Carcopino², pp. 82 and 118.

The sherd is a fragment from the wall of a large, unglazed storage amphora of brownish buff, micaceous clay. The inscription is on the outside and runs along the upper edge of the sherd. It reads [ΗΙΠ]ΠΟΚΡΑΤΕΣ ΑΛΚΜΕΟΝΙΔΟ.

At the end of the 1940 campaign the Agora collection contained 63 ostraka with this name. Since, as we shall see, this Hippokrates belonged to the great Alkmeonid family, and since this family belonged to the deme of Alopeke, eight ostraka in the Agora collection which read Ἱπποκράτης Ἀλωπεκῆθεν probably refer to the same person. His full name is thus Ἱπποκράτης Ἀλκμεωνίδου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, there are 71 votes in all against him, and he ranks third in total number of votes after Themistokles and Kallixenos. Although he is not otherwise known, he can be identified with great probability as the son of the Alkmeonides, son of Alkmeon, who made dedications at Mt. Ptoön and probably on the Acropolis in the mid-sixth century B.C. (*B.C.H.*, XLIV, 1920, pp. 227 ff.; *I.G.*, I², 472; *Hermes*, LVII, 1922, pp. 477-478). Alkmeonides, son of Alkmeon, has already been very plausibly identified as the brother of the Megakles, son of Alkmeon, who married Agariste of Sicyon. The stemma, based on Kirchner, *P.A.*, II, p. 53, is thus as follows:

STEMMA FOR THE ALKMEONIDS



The contexts in which this and other ostraka with the same name have been found show that the man was a "candidate" for ostracism in the late eighties of the fifth century, probably either in 483 B.C. (see above on No. 8) or in 482 B.C. (see *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, pp. 32-33). He is not to be confused with Hippokrates, son of Anaxileos (above, No. 6) nor with Hippokrates, son of Megakles, of Alopeke, father of the Megakles who was ostracized in 486 B.C.

14. Ostrakon of Aristides, son of Lysimachos. Plate XXVII.

P 2797. From depth 5.00 m. H. 0.046 m. W. 0.115 m. *Art and Archaeology*, XXXIV, 1933, p. 27. Cf. Carcopino², pp. 81-82 and 150 with note 1.

The sherd is a fragment of a heavy, coarse, unglazed pot. The clay is reddish to dark buff and there is a pale buff slip on the exterior.

The inscription is incised on the exterior and reads ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΕΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑ+Ο. Like No. 12, this ostrakon must have been prepared for the *ostrakophoria* of 482 B.C.

15. Ostrakon of Aristides, son of Lysimachos. Plate XXVII.

P 2799. From depth 4.50 m. H. 0.069 m. W. 0.079 m. *Illustrated London News*, September 3, 1932, p. 359, and August 26, 1933, p. 328; *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 391, fig. 10, B; *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 295, fig. 8; Carcopino², plate I, 5 (facing p. 80); cf. also pp. 81-82 and 150 with note 1.

The sherd is a fragment of a coarse, unglazed tile of light brown clay. The inscription is on the smooth upper surface and reads ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔ[ΕΣ] ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟ. Like Nos. 12 and 14, this ostrakon must also have been prepared for the *ostrakophoria* of 482 B.C.

OTHER GRAFFITI AND DIPINTI

Nos. 16-30

Included here are such pieces as are of interest chiefly or solely for their graffiti or dipinti. For graffiti and dipinti which appear incidentally on other pieces see Nos. 8, 32, 37, 38, 52, 56, 59, 81, 149, and 186. There are nonsense inscriptions on some of the red-figured pieces. Fragments with incomplete inscriptions of a few unintelligible letters have been omitted: there are 22 such pieces from this well listed in the Agora catalogue.

16. Fragment of an official olpe. Plate XXVII.

P 1406. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m.; one piece from *ca.* 11.45 m. P.H. 0.065 m. Height of epsilon, 0.01 m.

Four joining pieces preserve part of the body of a small olpe shaped like Plate XXVII, P 13429. The body is reserved, and part of the black line around it is preserved. Above the line is part of an inscription in black glaze which may be read and restored ΔΕΜΟ[Σ]ΙΟΝ]. This inscription marks our pot as official: see L. Talcott in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 353-354 and H. A. Thompson in *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 141-142. Thompson mentions three other official olpai of this shape, one of which I illustrate here on Plate XXVII.¹⁷ Another olpe of similar shape but covered with black glaze (cf. No. 272 below) and with the inscription in added red, ΔΕΜΟ[Σ]ΙΟΝ, comes from a well of the late sixth to early fifth century B.C. in Section Delta (Agora, Inv. No. P 16790).

17. Plate with painted inscriptions. Plates XXVII-XXVIII and LXIV.

P 1386. From depth 10.35 m.; one fragment from depth 11.45 m. H. 0.028 m. D. 0.228 m. Published with an inaccurate, pseudo-facsimile of the inscription in D. M. Robinson and E. J. Fluck, *A Study of the Greek Love-Names*, pp. 108-110, no. 96.

Seven fragments are preserved which make

up into two groups. Group *a* gives some of the floor and a bit of the foot, group *b* a little of the floor, foot and rim. Since both groups preserve some of the foot, the complete profile of the plate can be drawn accurately (Plates XXVIII and LXIV). The floor is not quite flat and the under side is decorated with a series of concentric grooves and ridges, the grooves being painted with black glaze and the ridges left reserved; the circular hollow at the centre is black with a small reserved dot and circle. The foot is straight and narrow. Its inner face is glazed, its outer reserved. Part of one of the suspension holes which pierced it is preserved. The rim is entirely reserved. The reserved surfaces are very firm and smooth in texture and have a polished look. This effect may well have been produced by polishing, but a very fine clay slip is also a possibility. It seems not to be transparent glaze wash (*lasur*).

In the centre of the floor are three concentric circles (D. of outer circle 0.076 m.) between the lines of which are two inscriptions (Plate XXVIII). Lines and inscriptions were both done in black glaze which has largely flaked away, leaving, however, perfectly clear traces. The inner inscription reads ΣΑΛΑΞ[Σ] ΕΠΟ[ΙΕ]ΣΕΝ[ΑΙ]. The potter Salax is not otherwise known, and the name as far as I have found is unique. Since a σάλαξ is a miner's sieve, however, the name is not inappropriate for a person, perhaps a slave or a metic, who began his career in a potter's shop sifting and washing the clay. F. Bechtel (*Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen*, p. 603) cites some other names formed in this way, for example, the sculptors Smilis and Toron whose names are both derived from sculptor's tools.

The outer inscription may be read ΕΥΜΑΡΕΣ[Σ] ΚΑΛΟ[Σ] + [ΑΡΙΑΙ] ΔΟ[ΚΕΙ]. Robinson and Fluck have attempted to identify Eumares, but, since they did not know that the plate is to be dated around 500 B.C., their attempt is fruitless. If he is to be connected with Antenor's family, which is by no means certain, he will

¹⁷ Agora Inv. No. P 13429. From an early well of the fifth century B.C. in Section Psi. Mouth, handle, and some of body restored in plaster. H. as restored, 0.145 m.

most likely be an otherwise unknown son of Antenor named after Antenor's father, Eumares (cf. *I.G.*, I², 485). The name Charias is restored *exempli gratia* and was chosen because it fits the available space. Any name of the right length beginning with chi or xi (+ς) would of course do. Of δοκεῖ the iota is practically certain, and the epsilon and the kappa are highly probable.¹⁸ For 0.009 m. to the left of the kappa a very narrow strip of the bottom of the inscribed area is preserved, more than enough to show the lower part of the next preserved letter. No trace of a letter appears, however. We may therefore restore here an omicron which does not fill the entire space between the lines: compare the omicron of καλός which does not touch the line below, and the omicron of ἐποίησεν which does not touch the line above. For δοκεῖ compare *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 348-350; J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases*, p. 358; and *A.B.L.*, pp. 53 and 117.

18. Kylix stem with graffito. Plate XXVIII.

P 2759. From depth 6.80 m. P. H. 0.03 m. D. of stem 0.024 m.

A single fragment preserves the stem and the immediately adjacent part of the bowl of a black-glazed kylix. There is a slightly raised band, set off above and below by an incised line, at the lower end of the stem (cf. Nos. 227 ff.). On this band a name, probably that of the owner of the kylix, is neatly incised. The letters are disposed in such a way as to fill exactly the available space. The first and last letters of the name, which adjoin each other, are separated by a punctuation mark consisting of three dots arranged vertically. The name Χαριά[ν]θη, though a normal formation (cf. Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen*, pp. 55 and 466) has not hitherto been reported so far as I have found.

19. Base of shallow skyphos with graffito. Plate XXVIII.

P 2610. From depth 9.60 m. D. of base 0.081 m.

Two joining fragments preserve most of the ring foot and some of the lower part of the body of a shallow skyphos. The inscription is incised on the bottom within the base ring: >ΜΙΚΡΙΝ[Ο]Υ. It is probably the name of the owner of the pot. For the name compare W. Pape and G. E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*³, p. 1419.

20. Base of bowl with graffito. Plate XXVIII.

P 1335. From depth 10.90 m. D. of foot 0.07 m.

Fragment from the base of an open bowl with low ring foot, probably a "one-handler": cf. No. 252. Incised within foot ΔΡ.

21. Base of skyphos with graffito. Plate XXVIII.

P 1350. From depth ca. 10.90 m. D. of foot 0.091 m.

Three joining fragments preserve most of base of open bowl with low ring foot, probably a shallow skyphos. Incised within foot Η.

22. Base of bowl with graffito. Plate XXVIII.

P 1407. Depth ca. 10.35 m. D. of foot 0.062 m.

Base of an open bowl with false ring foot. Brownish clay with some mica and grit. Thin, dull, streaky black to brownish glaze on interior. Non-Attic. Incised within foot Π (= ΠΡ or ΠΔ).

23. Kylix base with graffito. Plate XXVIII.

P 2639. From depth 9.00 m. D. of base 0.08 m.

Base, stem, and some of bowl preserved. Shape comparable to Nos. 228 and 234. Incised on under side of base ΚΑ.

24. Kylix base with graffito. Plate XXVIII.

P 2704. From depth 8.00 m. D. of base 0.07 m.

Base and stem preserved. Shape comparable to Nos. 231-232. Incised on under side of base ΜΕΙ.

¹⁸ Instead of the epsilon, K or R might possibly be restored, and instead of the kappa, Α, Ν or Ρ.

25. Fragment of kylix base with graffito. Plate XXVIII.

P 2705. From depth 8.00 m. Max. dim. 0.044 m.

Fragment of base and start of stem preserved. Incised on under side of base **ΚΦ**. Ligature of **Π**, **Ε**, and some other letter, perhaps **Α** or **Δ**. Lower part of ligature chipped away.

26. Kylix base with graffito. Plate XXVIII.

P 2735. From depth 7.40 m. D. 0.075 m.

About three quarters of base and start of stem preserved. Shape comparable to No. 222. Incised on under side of base **Π**.

27. Fragment of amphora neck with dipinto. Plate XXVIII.

P 2764. From depth 6.80 m. P. H. 0.13 m.

A single fragment preserves some of mouth and bulging neck and start of shoulder of a large amphora. Torus lip painted dull reddish brown. On neck a circle with central dot (which has been smeared into a stroke) done in same paint. Above and to left of circle a deeply impressed line done while clay was soft. Below line a stain. Gritty, brownish buff clay. Non-Attic.

There are fragments of several other similar amphora necks from the same depth (uncatalogued), which, however, have simply a circle without the central dot; another from depth 12.00 m. is of slightly different fabric, the clay having a distinctly orange tinge. Compare also the example of different shape from depth 12.40 m. published in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 379, no. 11, as probably from the lower fill of the shaft. For complete amphorae similar to the one presented here see *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 608, no. 213 and reference *ad loc.*

28. Fragment of amphora with graffito. Plate XXVIII.

P 2780. From depth 6.00 m. P. H. 0.08 m.

Three joining fragments give some of shoulder of a large, unglazed amphora. Brownish-red clay. Non-Attic. Incised on shoulder **Α**.

29. Stamped amphora handle. Plate XXVIII. SS 9628. From depth 6.80 m.

Part of handle only preserved. A circle 0.014 m. in diameter deeply impressed in clay before firing. Brownish buff clay.

30. Fragmentary black-figured skyphos with graffito drawing. Plate XXVIII.

P 2714. From depth 8.00 m. P. H. 0.08 m. H. of graffito 0.016 m.

The vase is very fragmentary, only some of the lower part being preserved. It was a slightly smaller version of such skyphoi as No. 75. In a narrow reserved zone above the foot, black dots. Above this a zone of black glaze in which is incised a head in profile. The main figured decoration, dancing satyrs or the like, was on the upper part of the vase. On the interior a small reserved medallion with dot and circle.

Two examples of impromptu incised sketches on pots are cited by Hackl, *Jahrbuch*, XXII, 1907, pp. 104-105. There is another on the Kallixenos ostrakon mentioned above under No. 8. Other examples on pots at the Agora are as follows: (1) a running satyr on a fragment of a sixth-century skyphos (Agora Inventory P 16789); (2) two figures and a branch on a black-glazed fragment of the sixth to fifth century (P 9889); (3) pigmies and cranes on a fragment of a pyxis lid of the third quarter of the fifth century (P 10,352).

RED-FIGURE

J. D. Beazley's *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1942, appeared after this article was written. Many of the pieces published here are listed therein: see pp. 998-999 of Beazley's index.

All the red-figure from the shaft is published here except a few small, insignificant scraps.

31. Fragment of kylix: I, head of youth. Plate XXIX.

P 1264. From depth 12.00 m. D. est. 0.20 m.

Three joining fragments preserve one handle, rather less than a quarter of the rim, and part of the interior medallion. The rim is plain and the bowl has a single, continuous curve. There are no pictures on the exterior. Only a small

part of the interior medallion is preserved, bordered by a narrow reserved line. The head and part of the shoulders of a youth are preserved. He wears a wreath which is done in added red and he seems to have a cloak thrown over his left shoulder. Relief contour for most of the profile and for the shoulders. A short incised line marks part of the back edge of the ear.

32. Fragments of kylix: A, athletes. Plate XXIX.

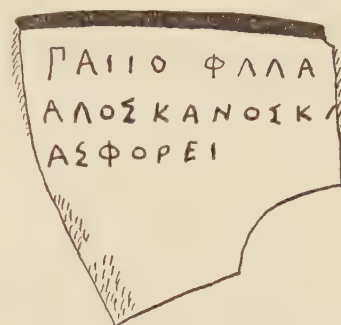
P 1265. From depths 12.00 m. (frag. *a*), 11.45 m. and 10.90 m. D. at lip est. 0.25 m. Max. dim. of frag. *a*, 0.048 m.

Six fragments belonging to this cup are preserved, of which only two join each other. One of the fragments (*a*) preserves part of the plain rim, the others parts of the bowl. The vase is divided up into contrasting areas of black and red glaze. On the exterior the upper half of the body is covered with black glaze and decorated with athletes done in the red-figured technique, while the lower half of the body is covered with red glaze and decorated with occasional lines of black glaze whose disposition may be seen on Plate XXIX. The interior is covered with red glaze except for a narrow line of black at the lip (cf. drawing in text) and a black medallion about 0.11 m. in diameter at the centre, of which a small segment is preserved on fragment *e*; no trace of figured decoration remains on the medallion, though there may well have been some. On the use of contrasting black and red glaze, see below under No. 52.

Fragment *a* preserves the head and shoulders and some of the body and arms of a nude youth, probably in the act of throwing the discus: cf. E. N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, fig. 121. He wears a wreath done in added red. Fragments *b* and *c* give part of the legs and one foot. They probably belong to this figure, though not necessarily so. Fragment *d* preserves one hand and some of the body and neck of an athlete with a javelin: cf. Gardiner, *loc. cit.*, figs. 142-143. Relief

contour throughout. At the top of fragment *e* is part of an object in black glaze which seems to have on it a finely incised line and perhaps a dot in added red. It may be part of a black-figured design (?).

On the inside on fragment *a* is an inscription incised in the red glaze (see drawing). The



No. 32. Facsimile of Graffito on
Inside of Fragment *a*

letters in the middle of the first line are uncertain as the glaze has flaked badly there, but elsewhere they are well preserved. The left edge of the inscription seems to be preserved, but something is clearly missing at the right.

The next three pieces, 33-35, form a group and are certainly the work of one hand. With them goes a little unfigured, black-glazed kylix, No. 226 below, which was found at the same depth and is identical in shape and fabric. Close to this group is No. 36, which also comes from the same depth. It stands somewhat apart, however, for the drawing is crisper and the shape of the kylix is different.

33. Small kylix: I, jumper. Plate XXX.

P 1272. Fragments from the following depths: most at 12.00 m., many at 11.45 m., some at 10.90 m. H. 0.052 m. D. at lip 0.125 m. D. of medallion 0.063 m.

The vase has been mended from many fragments. Since the photograph on Plate XXX was made many fragments of rim and body, one handle, and most of the other have been added, and the few missing parts restored in plaster.

For the shape, see below, No. 226. There are no pictures on the exterior. On the interior, in a medallion bordered by a narrow reserved line, is a nude youth running with a pair of jumping weights preparatory to making a broad jump: cf. Gardiner, *Athletics*, pp. 147-148. Relief contour except for feet, knees and lower edge of halteres.

34. Small kylix: I, reclining youth with krotala. Plate XXX.

P 1273. Fragments from the following depths: many at 12.00 m., most at 11.45 m., some at 10.90 m. H. 0.056 m. D. at lip 0.129 m. D. of medallion 0.063 m.

The vase has been mended from a number of fragments and the missing parts of rim and body have been restored in plaster. For the shape, see below, No. 226. There are no pictures on the exterior. On the interior, in a medallion bordered by a narrow reserved line, is a youth reclining on a couch. His arms are extended and he holds krotala in his hands. He is no doubt at a banquet: cf. the companion piece, No. 35. Relief contour except for the tip of the nose, the right shoulder, and at the left edge of the picture.

35. Small kylix: I, kottabos player. Plate XXX.

P 1274. Fragments from the following depths: many at 12.00 m., most at 11.45 m., some at 10.90 m. H. 0.055 m. D. at lip 0.132 m. D. of medallion, 0.054 m.

The vase has been mended from a number of fragments. Since the photograph on Plate XXX was made most of the missing pieces have been added and the few remaining gaps restored in plaster. For the shape, see below, No. 226. There are no pictures on the exterior. On the interior, in a small medallion bordered by a narrow reserved line, is a youth reclining on a couch. He is playing the game of kottabos and holds a skyphos in his left hand while he twirls a kylix with off-set rim on the index finger of his right hand. In the preliminary sketch the artist showed him holding a kylix

in his left hand instead of a skyphos. The rectangular attachment at the left of the kottabos stand (its upper part appears pointed because the background has been carelessly filled in) is probably the *μάγης* although the form is unusual, the *μάγης* ordinarily being a disc: cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. Ant.*, s.v. kottabos. Relief contour except for a short stretch above and below the mouth, for the top of the kottabos stand, and at the left edge of the picture.

36. Kylix: I, youth carrying amphorae on a pole. Plate XXX.

P 1275. Fragments from the following depths: many at 12.00 m., most at 11.45 m., some at 10.90 m. H. 0.12 m. D. at lip *ca.* 0.18 m. D. of medallion 0.077 m.

The vase has been mended from a number of fragments. Since the photograph on Plate XXX was made, some fragments including the missing part of the left-hand amphora and about half the rim of the vase have been added, and the whole restored in plaster. The shape is similar to No. 230 below. There are no pictures on the exterior. On the interior, in a medallion bordered by a narrow reserved line, is a youth running to the left. Over his left shoulder he carries a pole from either end of which hangs a large amphora with pointed bottom (what appears to be a knob at the bottom is due to careless filling in of the background). He wears a short, tight-fitting jacket and has a wreath on his head which was painted in added red. Added red is also used for the cords by which the amphorae are fastened to the pole. Relief contour throughout. The hair line is incised. For a pair of baskets carried on a pole see *C.V.A.*, Oxford, III, I, plate I, 4, and *C.V.A.*, Cambridge, fasc. I, plate XXXIII, 2. I know of no second example of a pair of amphorae so carried.

37. Fragment of kylix: I, youth adjusting pillow on couch. Plate XXIX.

P 1310. From depths 11.45 m. and 10.90 m. Max. dim. as restored, 0.084 m. D. of medallion est. 0.08 m.

Four fragments preserve the stem and much of the figured medallion. Two of the fragments join; the other two, which preserve parts of the feet, have been fixed in their approximate positions with plaster. The stem is short and thick. At its lower end is a slightly raised ring set off by incised grooves. It is glazed inside except at the top where it is reserved with a black dot and circle. There are no pictures on the exterior. On the interior, within a narrow reserved circle, is a youth standing beside a couch adjusting a pillow. Behind him, at the left edge of the fragment, is part of a narrow vertical object, probably a kottabos stand: cf. No. 35 above. Relief contour throughout. To the right of the feet are parts of two letters in added red: ΗΟ[ΠΑΙΣΚΑΛΟΣ]. The glaze has for the most part fired red; see the discussion below on No. 52. For the subject, compare the interior of a cup in the Brooks collection at at Tarporey: *J.H.S.*, XLIII, 1923, p. 135, fig. 2.

38. Fragment of kylix: I, diskobolos. Plate XXIX.

P 1330. From depth 11.45 m.; fragment with stem from depth 10.35 m. D. of medallion, est., 0.10 m.

Three joining fragments preserve the stem and about half the medallion. The stem is short and at its lower end are a rough raised ring and some irregular incised grooves. There is black glaze inside the stem except at the top which is reserved. There are no pictures on the exterior. On the interior, within a narrow reserved circle, is a nude youth, his right forearm and hand and most of both legs missing. He is probably in the act of throwing a diskos which will have been in his missing right hand. The moment represented is either the start of the backward swing (Gardiner, *Athletics*, p. 167, movement 3) or, more probably, the moment just before the throw as the diskos is about to leave the hand (*ibid.*, movement 6). The youth wears a red fillet on his head. The letters in the field are also in added red: Between left

arm and body, Ι; to left of left hand Π; to right of head ΚΑ. These may be read [Η]ΙΠ[---] ΚΑ[ΛΟΣ]. There is room for the aspirate in the missing part of the medallion by the left shoulder. Any name beginning with Hip--- may be restored. A dot close to the upper left part of the head seems to be a stain. Relief contour throughout. Dilute glaze is used for the short curls on the forehead and at the back of the neck, for the long curl on the cheek, and for a few lines on the body. For something of the style, compare the group of the *Prosa-goreuo* kylixes, Beazley, *Att. V.*, p. 37.

39. Fragment of kylix: I, crouching satyr holding up a cloak. Plate XXXI.

P 1382 bis. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m. D. at rim, est., 0.15 m. D. of medallion, est., 0.10 m.

Three joining fragments preserve the stem, part of the medallion, and a bit of the rim. Plaster has been used to secure the rim fragment, which joins over only a very small area. The rim is off-set with concave exterior. There is a raised ring at the bottom of the stem with an incised groove above and below it. There are no pictures on the exterior. On the interior, within a narrow reserved circle, is a crouching satyr holding up a cloak with both hands. Part of the red wreath on his head is preserved and there is also a red line on the preserved stub of his tail. Relief contour throughout.

For something of the pose (the action is of course quite different) compare Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, IV, 3215, which I know from a museum photograph in the possession of Miss Talcott. It is a red-figured kylix, apparently with an off-set lip, which has on the interior a satyr standing in a trough and reaching down into it. On the trough is painted the long, black drinking horn which occurs on a number of vases of the Pithos group (those cited below under No. 60). The Vienna cup is closely connected with the Pithos group, and our cup, on which the drawing is a little better, will not be far removed. On the Pithos group, see Nos. 42-44.

40. Kylix: I, seated woman and dwarf; A and B, conversation scenes. Plates XXXI and XXXII.

P 2574. Fragments from the following depths: a few at 10.10 m., most at 9.60 m., some at 9.00 m. H. 0.075 m. D. at lip 0.19 m. D. of medallion 0.107 m. Preliminary notices have appeared as follows: *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 294 and fig. 4; *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 266; *A.A.*, 1933, pp. 203-204 and fig. 6.

Both handles, most of the rim except for a single fragment from near one handle, much of the body and fragments of the foot are missing. One fragment does not join directly. Restored in plaster. The outline of bowl, stem, and foot forms a continuous curve broken only by a small jog on the upper surface of the last. The jog is emphasized by a narrow reserved band. The outer edge and resting surface of the foot, the edge of the lip and the space between the handle attachments are also reserved.

On the interior, within a medallion bordered by an incised groove and a narrow reserved line is a woman, seated, with a dwarf standing beside her. She wears chiton and himation and has a veil over her head. In her right hand she holds up a mirror. Behind her is one end of a couch with a striped pillow on it. The dwarf who stands beside her wears a cloak wrapped around the lower part of his body. He has a red fillet on his head and holds a large, knotted staff in his right hand. His hair and moustache are done in dilute glaze. There are imitation letters in added red in the field. Relief contour throughout. The subject of dwarf servants has been discussed by Pottier in *Mon. Piot*, XIII, 1906, pp. 159-160; see also Caskey-Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 52, number 59.

Exterior, A: four draped, standing figures and two animals. At the left are two figures facing each other, one of whom, probably the left-hand one, holds up an animal of which only two legs are preserved. At the right are again two figures facing each other and an animal between them, probably being held up. The upper parts of all the figures are missing

except the one at the extreme left, part of the back of whose head is preserved.

Exterior, B: part of a draped figure seated on a stool, and part of another draped figure standing in front, leaning on a staff. Under one of the handles is a spotted animal, under the other nothing. There are imitation letters in added red in the field. Relief contour throughout. On the exterior, midway between the ground line and the top of the stem, is a double line, neatly incised.

41. Kylix with off-set lip: I, seated man. Plate XXXII.

P 2575. From depth 9.60 m. D. at rim, est., 0.13 m.

Eight joining fragments preserve much of the bowl and stem, a bit of the off-set (concave) lip, and one handle stub. At the bottom of the stem is a pair of incised grooves. There are no pictures on the exterior. On the interior, within a narrow reserved circle, is a man seated on a plain stool holding a staff in his right hand and a flower in his left. Over his left shoulder he wears a cloak which also covers the lower part of his body but leaves his right shoulder bare. It is decorated with groups of small black dots. Behind him, on the wall, hangs a bag. In the field are nonsense letters in added red: at the left, $\Sigma E \Sigma E \Sigma \Lambda$ (the sigmas, especially the last one, might be retrograde nus); at the right \downarrow and E. In the exergue are nonsense letters painted in glaze NEME Σ . Relief contour throughout, except for beard. Traces of the preliminary sketch may be observed: drapery lines carrying back from the knee, and lines on the arms to indicate muscles. Besides the letters in the field, added red is also used for the flower and for the strings which support and hang down from the bag on the wall.

The next two pieces, 42 and 43, are almost identical and are undoubtedly the work of one hand. They are connected with a group of vases put together by Beazley which he calls the Pithos group (*J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, p. 2, where earlier references will be found) and

are especially close to Louvre G 90 and G 91 (E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, pl. 98) and to the New York kylix 07.286.32. A third piece, No. 44 here, stands a little apart both in shape and quality from Nos. 42 and 43, but has so many points of similarity that it cannot be separated from them and is probably a work of the same painter. Other pieces from this well which are connected with the Pithos group are Nos. 39, 55, 56 and 60.

42. Kylix: I, satyr kneeling beside garlanded pot. Plate XXXIII.

P 2576. From depth 9.60 m. D. at lip, est., 0.16 m. D. of medallion 0.095 m.

Both handles, most of the rim, and about half the foot are missing. For the shape compare Nos. 231, 234, and 235 below. There are no pictures on the exterior. On the interior, within a narrow reserved circle, is a satyr kneeling beside a narrow-mouthed, handleless pot. The pot has a garland around the body and a string around the neck which probably indicates that the mouth is sealed. It leans against a sort of exergue probably intended to represent a wall. The drawing is hasty and sketchy. Relief contour is used throughout, though it does not always coincide with the reserved contour, for when the background was filled in the glaze frequently ran over the relief contour. Some of the inner markings on the satyr's body are done with thinned glaze. Much of the red ochre wash still remains. On the group to which this vase belongs, see above.

43. Kylix: I, satyr kneeling beside garlanded pot. Plate XXXIII.

P 2577. From depth 9.60 m.; one fragment from depth 10.35 m. D. at lip, est., 0.16 m. D. of medallion 0.088 m.

Both handles and most of the rim are missing as well as several fragments of the figured medallion. In shape, subject, style, and details of rendering, this piece is closely similar to the preceding.

44. Kylix: I, satyr running with pelta and spear. Plate XXXIII.

P 2578. From depth 9.60 m.; fragments from depth 8.00 m. D. at lip, est., 0.17 m. D. of medallion 0.093 m.

Both handles, most of the rim, about half the foot, and small bits of the figured medallion are missing. The rim is plain. Body, stem, and foot have a continuous curve broken only by a small jog on the upper surface of the foot. The outer edge and resting surface of the foot are reserved. There are no pictures on the exterior. On the interior, within a narrow reserved circle, is a running satyr. He carries a pelta on his left arm, and in his right hand is a spear. The spear is done in added red. Added red is also used for the wreath on the satyr's head and for the "letters" of a mock inscription scattered around the field. Relief contour throughout. Dilute glaze is used for most of the interior markings on body, arms, legs, and pelta. Much of this interior marking does not show in the photograph.

This piece is somewhat different in shape from the last two, and the drawing is rather more careful. There are so many points of similarity, however, that it cannot be separated from them, and it is probably a work of the same painter.

45. Kylix: I, crouching warrior with pelta, tiara, and spear. Plate XXXIV.

P 2579. From depth 9.60 m. D. at lip 0.16 m. D. of medallion 0.095 m.

The foot and stem, one handle and much of the other, about half the rim with the adjacent parts of the body, and some of the figured medallion are missing. The rim is plain and the bowl rather deep. There are no pictures on the exterior. On the interior, within a reserved circle of irregular width, is a crouching warrior. He is nude except for the tiara which he wears on his head. On his left arm he carries a pelta or crescent-shaped shield decorated at its preserved end with a dot and circle, and in his right hand he carries a spear. A double

line marks his spinal column. Scattered around the field are blobby "letters" done in added buff. Relief contour throughout.

The warriors on this cup and the next recall the warriors on the group of oinochoai of shape 8 which are near the painter of Berlin 2268 (Beazley, *V.A.*, p. 74; *Att. V.*, p. 47).

46. Kylix: I, warrior with cloak, tiara, and spear. Plate XXXIV.

P 2580. From depth 9.60 m., one fragment from depth 10.35 m. D. at lip, 0.13 m. D. of medallion, 0.083 m.

The foot and stem, the handles, about half the rim with the adjacent parts of the body, and small fragments of the medallion are missing. The lip is off-set with a concave exterior. The stubs of the handles are preserved and, exceptionally, the space between them is glazed, not reserved as is usual. There are no pictures on the exterior. On the interior, within a narrow reserved circle, is a warrior advancing in a crouching position. He is nude except for a tiara on his head and a cloak which he carries over his extended left arm. In his right hand is a spear. Relief contour throughout. On subject and style see preceding item.

47. Fragment of kylix: I, head of youth. Plate XXXIV.

P 2581. From depth *ca.* 9.60 m. Max. dim. 0.058 m.

Two joining fragments preserve part of the interior medallion of a kylix. A small bit of the border of the medallion, probably a narrow reserved line, is preserved at the upper left corner of the fragment. Of the figured scene only the upper part of the head of a youth is preserved. He wears a red wreath. In front of him part of an oval object is preserved. The glaze has flaked somewhat, especially at the left end of the fragment and near the oval object. There is black glaze on the exterior of the fragment.

48. Skyphos base with rays. Plate XXXIV.

P 2585. From depths 10.90 m., 9.60 m., and 8.00 m. D. of base 0.098 m.

Seven joining fragments preserve most of the foot and bottom and the immediately adjacent portion of the body. Only a little of the very lowest part of the figured scene on the body is preserved. Parts of several feet can be made out. They have relief contour except for the soles. The vertical lines in the reserved zone above the foot of the vase are relief lines. The foot is spreading and is covered with excellent black glaze. A fine incised line sets it off from the body; there is a narrow reserved line on the top at its outer edge; and there is a red line on its under side. The bottom of the vase within the foot is reserved and decorated, as far as preserved, with a pair of black circles between two red ones.

Red-figured skyphoi of this type are not common at this period: cf. Beazley's remarks in *C.V.A.*, Oxford, III, I, plate LXV, 24. The Nikosthenes fragment to which he refers is Graef-Langlotz, I, no. 1409, pl. 77. Cf. also *ibid.*, II, no. 449, pl. 39.

49. Kylix fragment: I, satyr. Plate XXXI.

P 2618. The fragment with the head from depth 9.00 m., the other from depth 12.00 m. Max. dim. 0.075 m.

Two joining fragments preserve part of the figured medallion and part of the stem. At the lower end of the stem part of a raised ring and part of an incised line above it are preserved. There are no pictures on the exterior. On the interior, in a medallion bordered by a narrow, irregular reserved circle, are part of the head, body, and right arm of a satyr. He is seen from behind and is looking back over his right shoulder. In his right hand he holds a spear, part of which can be seen at the lower right corner of the fragment. Relief contour throughout.

50. Fragments of column krater: head of youth, vine, and decorative borders. Plate XXXIV.

P 2619. From depths 9.00 m. and 8.00 m. Max. dim., *a*, 0.066 m., *b*, 0.033 m.

Three fragments are preserved of which two join. Fragment *a* preserves part of the tongue

pattern at the top of the body, part of the ivy pattern at the right edge of the panel, and part of a vine in the field. The leaves of the vine are done in added red, the stem is reserved with relief contour. Fragment *b* preserves part of the head of a youth wearing a red fillet. The young beard on his cheek is done in dilute glaze.

51. Fragment of deep cup: foot of animal. Plate XXXIV.

P 2620. From depth 9.00 m. Max. dim. 0.049 m.

A single fragment preserves some of the lower part of the wall of a deep cup. On the exterior, above a narrow reserved line, is the hind foot of an animal. Relief lines for markings on foot, but no relief contour. Black glaze on interior.

52. Kylix glazed red and black: I, diskobolos. Plate XXXV.

P 2698. Most fragments from depth 8.45 m., some from depth 8.00 m. H. 0.10 m. D. at lip 0.22 m. D. of medallion 0.088 m.

Preliminary notices have appeared as follows: *Art and Archaeology*, XXXIV, 1933, pp. 293-294; *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 310-311, and fig. 19; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 459-460, and fig. 9; *A.M.*, LIX, 1934, p. 85, note 1 (mentioned for glaze); *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 347 (tentative attribution to Onesimos by F. P. Johnson).

One handle, part of the other, some of the rim and body, and most of the foot are missing. Restored in plaster. The single preserved fragment of the foot does not join the stem directly but has been placed in its approximate position.

The lip is off-set, sharply on the inside, slightly on the outside, and is covered inside and out with a fine, lustrous black glaze. The bowl is covered inside and out with an equally fine, lustrous red glaze with the exception of a black medallion at the centre of the interior

in which is the figured decoration. On the exterior the red glaze continues down over the stem and foot, broken only by a slightly raised black ring at the bottom of the stem and a black line about the middle of the upper surface of the foot which emphasizes a small step. The convex outer edge of the foot is reserved. The under side of the foot has a narrow reserved band at its outer edge, then a narrow band of black glaze; from there it has red glaze as far up as preserved. The inside of the stem is reserved as far down as preserved. The outer faces of the handles have black glaze, the inner faces and the patches between the attachments are reserved.

The scene on the interior medallion, Plate XXXV (for the whole interior see the first three items cited in the bibliography above), is a diskos-thrower represented at the moment just before the throw (cf. Gardiner, *Athletics*, figs. 118 and 119). His left foot is raised well off the ground, a unique position as far as I have found. In the field in added red is the inscription $\text{H}[\text{O}] \text{P} \dot{\text{A}} [\text{I}] \Sigma \text{K} \text{A} \text{LO} \Sigma$. Relief contour except for the bottom of the right foot, and for the hair, which is reserved. Stylistically the vase has been tentatively connected with the painter Onesimos (see bibliography above) but it seems to me to bear no relation to any of his works.

The use of contrasting red and black glaze, so well illustrated by this kylix, is found in a small number of other vases of the archaic period. The technical problems involved in producing this color contrast have been frequently discussed,¹⁹ but no really satisfactory explanation has ever been offered. Miss Talcott contributes the following note in which she suggests what seems to me to be the correct solution.

"Miss Richter's statement [*loc. cit.*] that red glaze, intentionally produced, resembles in every respect the ordinary black does not ap-

¹⁹ Most recently by Miss Richter in Richter and Hall, p. xlv. Other examples of this technique from this deposit, Nos. 32 and 239; cf. also the bowl illustrated below, Plate LVI, P 16753. Some East Greek fragments are published by Kunze, *A.M.*, LIX, 1934, pp. 83-85.

pear to be borne out by the fragments of such vases found in the Agora Excavations. In the examples which we have been able to examine closely the red is considerably thinner than the black on the same vases; it inclines to be duller; and it is much more given to peeling (cf. Graef-Langlotz, II, 211, pl. 10). It seems that we must look for some explanation of its color and character other than that which she suggests (namely the protection of the surfaces from the reducing atmosphere of the kiln). An examination of the vases on which a similar red color has been produced *accidentally* may perhaps provide a point of departure.

"These accidental differences in color appear to be of two types, produced in two different ways. In the first of these the red is caused by the protection of the surface from smoke during the process of firing, either by 'stacking,' or by the position of the vase among others in the kiln, common phenomena observable at all periods. The second type appears to occur because of some alteration in the proportions of the ingredients used in making up the glaze. It is this with which we are particularly concerned.

"Examples of the results of such alteration can be found in any large collection. On the kylix No. 37 above, the drawing-glaze has fired a dark red to black, but the background-glaze, and that used for some details (the filling in of the outline of the hair, the iris of the eye) has fired a lighter red. The general condition might perhaps have been caused by inadequate reducing conditions in the kiln, but the difference of color between the drawing-glaze and the background-glaze, which can be seen clearly in the photograph, presents a separate problem. On the krater fragment (Agora Inv. P 3445) illustrated in Plate XXXVI, further, the drawing-glaze and the reserving stripes are solidly black, whereas the background color is a firm, brilliant red, in no wise different in texture from the black. Within the surface of this small fragment there can be no question of varying kiln conditions on different parts of the vase, nor can we believe that the unhappy

result was intentionally produced. A practical explanation seems to be that the workman who mixed the glaze for filling in the background in some way altered the usual proportions of the ingredients. That the case is not one depending necessarily on the thickness with which the glaze is applied, and, moreover, that the painter himself could not in these accidental cases tell the difference in the mixture before firing, is demonstrated by such a vase as British Museum E 470 (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1848, pl. 14; Jacobsthal, *Die Melischen Reliefs*, p. 51, fig. 9), where it is the heavily painted reserving bands around the figures which have fired red, while the background surfaces are black.

"Such accidents must have caused an uproar in any workshop, and the error made by the glaze-mixer could hardly go uninvestigated. The knowledge, therefore, of the difference in proportion of ingredients necessary to produce an alteration in color could have been arrived at as the result of such mishaps. When, however, it was desired to make use of this knowledge for the making of surfaces intentionally red, the difference in proportion might well have had to be increased beyond that which had occurred by accident, in order on the one hand to avoid any possibility of black firing, and on the other to provide some difference in color and texture before firing sufficient to enable the painter to see what he was doing. A document in this connection is provided by the stemless cup illustrated on Plate XXXVI (Agora Inv. P 10,359; see below on No. 239), where the figure of the dog has clearly been painted on a surface already covered with the substance which provides the red background.

"It seems possible that the difference in the character of the glaze, caused by this intentional alteration in the proportions of the ingredients used, was enough in many cases, as in all those found at the Agora, to spoil the normally adhesive character of the glaze and to produce a surface which chips and peels readily, at least in time. That the proper equilibrium for the production of the ordinary black surface was in any case a delicate one can be seen from the

many instances in which a background-glaze is dull, or severely mottled, or in which either it, or the drawing-glaze, even though black, has peeled badly.

"Just what was the difference of proportion, presumably of ferric oxide to alkali (Richter and Hall, p. xlv), which could produce a color so like that arrived at by firing under oxidizing conditions, we do not know. Chemical analysis of a large number of specimens might possibly have some result; but the difference must be slight at best, or the observable accidents, of which examples appear throughout the fifth century, would have been less frequent than they are. The matter might perhaps be settled by practical experiment along the lines which the observations noted here may suggest."

53. Fragments of large skyphos: A, satyr playing double flute. Plate XXXVII.

P 2708. From depths 8.45 m. and 8.00 m. Max. dim., *a*, 0.082 m.; *b*, 0.037 m.; *c*, 0.022 m.; *d*, 0.10 m.

Seven fragments are preserved which make up to four. Fragment *a* preserves the torso, arms and hands of a bearded satyr playing the double flute. Fragment *c* gives part of his tail, and fragment *d* the left end of the maeander pattern below the picture.

Fragment *b*, which gives part of a foot and part of a band of maeander pattern rather wider than that on fragment *d*, may come from the opposite side of the vase, or possibly from another vase.

Relief contour throughout. Brown inner markings. The beard is done in slightly thinned glaze.

The authorship of this excellent fragment has not been determined. It has some connections with the Berlin Painter and also with Euthymides, though it cannot be certainly attributed to either.

54. Kylix fragment: I, crouching youth. Plate XXXVI.

P 2736. From depth 7.40 m. D. of medallion est. 0.11 m.

Three joining fragments preserve the stem and part of the medallion. The stem is short and at its lower end are two incised grooves the upper of which does not completely encircle the stem. There are no pictures on the exterior. On the interior, in a medallion bordered by a narrow reserved line, is a crouching youth. A cloak which he holds over both arms passes around his back but leaves his shoulders bare. Relief contour throughout. Traces of preliminary sketch. Beazley has attributed this kylix to the Heraion painter, on whom see *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, p. 2.

55. Fragmentary kylix: I, youth and drinking horn. Plate XXXVI.

P 16,781. From depths 8.00 m. and 6.00 m. D. at lip, est., 0.16 m. D. of medallion, est., 0.11 m.

Five joining fragments preserve one handle and part of the rim and body. The rim is off-set with concave exterior. There are no pictures on the exterior. On the interior, in a medallion bordered by a narrow reserved line, are a crouching youth wearing a tiara, parts of whose head and body are preserved, and the upper part of a large black drinking-horn. This piece belongs to the Pithos group which includes a number of other kylixes with the same scene. See *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, pp. 2 and 3; also No. 60 below.

56. Kylix: I, crouching youth. Plate XXXVI.

P 2765. From depth 7.40 m.; one fragment from depth 6.00 m. H. 0.08 m. D. at lip 0.16 m. D. of medallion 0.093 m.

One handle, much of the rim with the adjacent parts of the body, and some of the medallion and foot are missing. Restored in plaster. The shape is similar to No. 231 below. There are no pictures on the exterior. On the interior, in a medallion bordered by a narrow reserved line, is a nude youth, crouching. In the field at the right is part of a circular object. Relief contour throughout, though it seldom coincides with the reserved outline. Incised through the glaze under the foot is the letter Γ.

There may have been other letters, for part of the foot is missing just to the right of the Γ.

This piece is connected with the Pithos group (cf. *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, pp. 2 and 3) through the kylix in Salonica, *Δελτίον*, 9, supplement, p. 38, fig. 6a.

57. Fragmentary plate: part of draped figure. Plates XXXVI and LXIV.

P 2786. From depth 6.00 m. H. 0.018 m. D. 0.172 m.

Six fragments join to give about half the rim and a little of the floor; a seventh fragment, from the rim, does not join. There is a pair of suspension holes in the rim. On the floor, in a medallion bordered by two concentric grooves, is what appears to be part of the body of a draped figure with right arm bent at elbow. The bottom is flat, and reserved except for a band of black glaze at the outer edge; this band is separated from the glazed under surface of the rim by a narrow reserved band. Relief contour. Traces of red ochre wash on reserved parts.

58. Skyphos fragment: A, trainer with forked stick. Plate XXXIV.

P 2787. From depth 6.00 m. Max. dim. 0.056 m.

Two joining fragments preserve part of one side of a heavy-walled skyphos. The upper part of the body of a trainer is preserved. He has a cloak thrown over his left shoulder, his right arm is extended, and in his left hand he holds a forked stick. Relief contour throughout. Brown lines for muscles. The glaze has flaked away from some of the drapery lines, from the lines of the left hand, and from the background at the left edge of the fragment.

59. Fragments of oinochoe (?): dog and draped figures. Plate XXXIV.

P 2798. From depth 5.00 m. Max. dim., a, 0.046 m.; b, 0.023 m.

Two non-joining fragments preserve part of

the wall of a closed pot, unglazed inside, probably a tall, slender oinochoe like *Shapes and Names*, fig. 129. Fragment *a* preserves part of the drapery of two standing figures, the left-hand one leaning on a staff with a dog beside him. In the field between them is the inscription [KA]ΛΟΞ, written retrograde and vertically. Added red is used for the inscription, for the inner edge of the border of the garment of the right-hand figure, and for the dog's collar. Dilute glaze is used for the outer edge of the border of the garment of the right-hand figure, for a few dots on the garment of the left-hand figure, and for a short stroke on the dog's body. Relief contour throughout. The combination of dilute glaze and added red for the border of a garment is unique as far as I have observed.

Fragment *b* preserves part of a foot, part of an uncertain object under it, and part of the lower border of a garment. Added red on part of the object under the foot. Relief contour throughout. The drawing of the ankle is unusually elaborate. This fragment is not quite correctly placed in the photograph; the sole of the foot should be more nearly horizontal.

60. Kylix: I, crouching figure with tiara and drinking horn. Plate XXXVII.

P 2800. From depth 0.50 m.-1.50 m. D. of medallion 0.085 m.

Three joining fragments preserve most of the figured medallion with some of the adjacent parts of the body and most of the stem. At the base of the stem is a rudimentary raised ring set off by incised grooves. There are no pictures on the exterior. On the interior, in a medallion bordered by a narrow reserved line, is a draped, crouching figure in a tiara with a large black drinking horn. No relief contour or relief line.

This piece belongs to the Pithos group which includes a number of other kylixes with the same scene. See *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, pp. 2 and 3; also No. 55 above.

BLACK-FIGURE: SKYPHOI

Nos. 61-116

Besides the pieces published here there are twelve others listed in the Agora catalogue as well as a great many uncatalogued fragments.

Numbers 61-67 are black-figured skyphoi by the Theseus painter. Fragments of these skyphoi were found at the following depths: a few at 11.45 m.; some at 10.90 m.; most at 10.35 m., 10.10 m., and 9.60 m.; and some at 9.00 m. They have been attributed to the Theseus painter by Miss Haspels (*A.B.L.*, Appendix XIV, pp. 249 ff.), who first saw them soon after their discovery while they were still in a fragmentary state. Number 5 in her list (Agora Inv. P 1543) is not from this well but from another part of the excavation. Two small fragments which are probably from a single vase, published here as No. 62, do not appear in her list. Another vase which does not appear in her list is a recently published skyphos in the Robinson collection which has been rightly attributed by its owner to the Theseus painter (*C.V.A.*, fasc. III, plates 1 and 2; cf. Beazley's review, *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, p. 153). A third, at Mt. Holyoke College, is mentioned below under No. 62. For a fourth, see *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 185, no. 84.

The shape and scheme of decoration of the skyphoi here published are typical of the Theseus painter (cf. *A.B.L.*, pp. 142 and 144). The best preserved example, No. 63, is described in some detail; the others, as far as they are preserved, are similar. For a later product of the Heron workshop, not by the Theseus painter, see No. 68 below.

61. Skyphos by the Theseus painter: A and B, Herakles and someone else feasting. Plate XXXVIII.

P 1545. Depths as above. H. as restored 0.181 m. D. at lip 0.247 m. *A.B.L.*, p. 249, no. 4 (attribution), and p. 142, note 2. The fragment of a replica, Miss Haspels' no. 5 (Agora Inv. P 1543), which comes from an-

other part of the excavation, is on a slightly smaller scale than the present piece.

The entire foot and lower part of the body are missing as well as fragments elsewhere. Restored in plaster. The scene on both sides is the same except for minor variations, and only the better preserved side is illustrated. Herakles and a companion recline on a large, billowy, white cushion. Each has a cloak thrown across his middle and each holds a drinking horn in his right hand. Their beards are red, and each wears a wavy white fillet. Herakles has his club resting on his left arm, and his bow and quiver (red and white details) hang in the field. In the upper left corner of the field hang a sword and a hat, with red and white details, belonging to the companion. Under each handle is a white heron.

62. Fragments of a skyphos by the Theseus painter: (Herakles) regaled by Athena. Plate XXXVII.

P 1550 + P 1551. Depths as above. Max. dim. *a* 0.087 m., *b* 0.05 m.

Two fragments probably from the same vase. Fragment *a* (P 1550) is made up of three joining pieces and preserves some of the rim of the vase and the head and shoulders of Athena facing left. A good deal of the white on her face is preserved and yellowish curls fall onto her shoulder. The pupil of her eye is a red dot. The lower border of her helmet is outlined with red, its crest is outlined with white, and there is a row of white dots along its middle section.

Fragment *b* (P 1551) preserves the feet, once white, and the lower part of the long chiton of a woman facing left, probably those of the Athena on fragment *a*. Just in front of the feet is part of a black object with a short incised stroke like a reversed comma on it. This is probably part of Herakles' club, which is commonly so decorated. The scene will then be a replica of the scene on the London, Dresden, and Basle skyphoi, numbers 9-11 in Miss Haspels' list (*A.B.L.*, pp. 249-250). A fifth vase with this scene, also by the Theseus painter, is a skyphos at Mt. Holyoke College,

South Hadley, Massachusetts, which I know from a photograph in the Agora files kindly sent by Miss Caroline Galt who had noticed its resemblance to the Agora pieces.

63. Skyphos by the Theseus painter: A and B, Komos. Plates XXXVIII-XXXIX.

P 1544. Depths as above. H. 0.188 m. D. at lip 0.244 m. *A.B.L.*, p. 251, no. 47 (attribution).

Small pieces missing throughout. The shape and scheme of decoration are typical of this painter's skyphoi (cf. *A.B.L.*, pp. 142 and 144). Band of ivy at lip. Broad figured zone all around body. Branches in field with occasional pairs of white dots beside them, now all but vanished. Handles set diagonally. Above the foot are tongues alternately red and black without dividing lines between them. Red base-fillet. Disc foot. Outer and inner faces of foot glazed, resting surface reserved. Bottom of vase reserved with two black circles and a dot. Inside, black glaze except for a narrow reserved line at the lip and a small reserved disc at the bottom with a black circle in it.

A procession of revellers runs all the way around the vase. It is led (Plate XXXVIII) by a nude dancing man with a wavy white fillet and a red beard and forelock. Behind him comes a flute girl wearing a long chiton decorated with red dots. The white used for her flesh has disappeared leaving only a trace, but the thick, yellowish-white used for her hair is well preserved (on this color see *A.B.L.*, p. 143). She wears a red fillet, and the pupil of her eye is a red dot. After her comes a nude youth with a red fillet carrying a large amphora on his shoulder. The amphora has a garland of ivy in added white and a large red torus mouth. The last figure on this side of the vase is a nude man with a red beard. He wears an ivy wreath on his head (red stem, white berries; cf. Plate XXXIX, bottom) which probably marks him as Dionysos (but cf. *A.B.L.*, p. 142). The next figure in the procession is a nude youth with a red fillet who crouches under the handle (Plate XXXIX, left center).

The first figure on the other side of the vase (Plate XXXIX, top) is a nude youth with a wavy white fillet and red forelock. He is followed by a girl playing the lyre. Like the girl on the other side she has white flesh and yellowish-white hair, and her fillet and pupil and the dots on her long chiton are red. Her lyre has seven incised strings. Its uprights are done in the yellowish-white paint and its body is red except for the upper part which was in ordinary added white. The plectrum is white. The cover for the strings hangs down from the lyre. Following closely behind her and reaching out with both hands to touch her is a nude man with red beard and forelock and wavy white fillet. Then comes a nude dancing youth with a wavy white fillet and red forelock and finally, under the handle, a goat (Plate XXXIX, right center) with white horns and belly stripe, a white line on the lower edge of the tail and some details in red.

64. Fragment of a skyphos by the Theseus painter: Komos. Plate XL.

P 1548. Depths as above. P. H. 0.09 m. D. at lip, est., 0.25 m. *A.B.L.*, p. 251, no. 48 (attribution).

One handle and most of the upper part of one side are preserved. The subject is closely similar to that on the last item. The composition is more crowded, however, there being five persons to a side instead of four. First in the procession comes a nude youth, then a flute girl who, as far as she is preserved, is a replica of the one on the last vase. Following her comes a nude bearded man wearing a wavy white garland around his neck. After him comes a nude youth carrying a large amphora on his shoulder; the amphora has a garland of ivy in added white. Finally, next to the handle, is a nude youth looking back. The top of the head of a youth crouching under the handle is preserved. Added red is used for the fillet of the flute player, for the beard of the man behind her and in general for hair on forehead and nape of neck.

65. Fragment of a skyphos by the Theseus painter: Komos. Plate XXXVII.

P 1549. Depths as above. P. H. 0.071 m. *A.B.L.*, p. 251, no. 48, bis (attribution).

Five joining fragments preserve part of rim and side. Head and shoulders of a flute girl, as far as preserved a replica of those on the last two items, but apparently lacking the red fillet. Behind her is part of a nude man with a red beard and forelock reaching out to touch her. There is nothing to show definitely whether or not this fragment belongs with any of the other fragmentary vases from this deposit.

66. Fragment of a skyphos by the Theseus painter: Komos. Plate XL.

P 1547. Depths as above. P. H. 0.247 m. D. at lip, est., 0.25 m. *A.B.L.*, p. 251, no. 49 (attribution).

Much of one side of the vase is preserved. Five nude men, the one in the middle playing the double flute. The man in front of the flutist has thrown his left arm across to the right side of his body so that his shoulders are seen from the back. The man at the left of the scene turns back and grasps the goat under the handle by the horns.

Added red for beards and some fillets and forelocks. A wavy white line for two of the fillets. The goat's horns and belly stripe and the lower edge of its tail were white, and there are a few red and white markings on its neck and body.

67. Skyphos by the Theseus painter: A and B, Ephedrismos. Plate XLI.

P 1546. Depths as above. H. as restored, 0.195 m. D. at lip 0.253 m. *A.B.L.*, p. 251, no. 54 (attribution).

The foot and lower part of the body entirely missing; fragments missing elsewhere. Restored in plaster. The scene on both sides is the same except for minor variations. A group of youths playing the game of ephedrismos moves to the right toward a low white mound with a pointed black stone sticking up out of it,

the dioros (Pollux, 9, 119). The first youth carries a white stick in his hand: on one side of the vase he holds it at waist level, on the other he has raised it to the level of his head. After him comes a pair of youths, one carrying the other pickaback, then a single youth with his hands held against his body, and finally another pickaback group. All the youths except one wear a wavy white fillet. Added red is used for the forelocks and for the hair at the nape of the neck. Under each handle are two intertwined stalks.

68. Fragmentary skyphos: A and B, chariot scene. Plate XLII.

P 2768. From depth 6.80 m. P. H. 0.137 m.

Mended from many pieces, not all of which join. Strengthened with plaster at several points. Some of lower part of body and a little of foot preserved. Rim and handles entirely missing. A small, non-joining fragment showing part of Hermes' feet is not illustrated. The scene on both sides is the same. A draped male figure mounts a chariot drawn by four horses. A woman, of whom only the feet and lower part of the dress are preserved, stands beside the horses. Hermes walks in front and looks back. He wears a short chiton, decorated with red and white, and a white fillet. His beard is red. Under the handle, a white heron. Branches in the field. The glaze on the lower part of the exterior and on the whole interior has fired red.

A later product of the "Heron workshop," not by the Theseus painter; see Nos. 61-67.

The skyphoi and skyphos fragments Nos. 69-76 belong to Ure's type C1 (*Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, p. 61), large, deep skyphoi whose chief characteristic is that the figured decoration is confined to the upper half of the body. They have a narrow reserved line at the inner edge of the lip, a small reserved disc decorated with black circles or dot and circles at the center of the interior, and a reserved bottom similarly decorated. The outer and inner faces of the foot are glazed, the resting surface reserved. It will be noted

that most of them come from higher up in the fill than the skyphoi of similar shape by the Theseus painter, which suggests that the popularity of this type of skyphos comes slightly later than that of the Theseus painter's type in which the figures occupy almost the full height of the side. Miss Haspels has already noted this tendency on the part of the companions of the Theseus painter (*A.B.L.*, p. 144). The two types of course overlap chronologically: cf. No. 68 from depth 6.80 m., and No. 69 from depth 10.90 m.

69. Skyphos fragment: maenads and satyrs. Plate XLIII.

P 1339. From depth *ca.* 10.90 m. P. H. 0.069 m. D. est. 0.175 m.

Three joining fragments give part of rim and body. Parts of four dancing figures are preserved: at left, head of a satyr; then head, arm and part of body of a maenad; then a satyr; and at right, a small patch of white, undoubtedly part of another maenad. White for maenads' flesh laid directly on clay ground without black underpainting. Traces of white on satyr's tail. Red for satyrs' hair and beards, for maenad's fillet and a dot on her dress.

70. Skyphos: A and B, between eyes, man leading horse. Plate XLII.

P 2614. From depths 9.60 m. and 9.00 m. H. 0.18 m. D. at lip 0.224 m.

About half rim, one handle and half the other, large pieces of the walls, and fragments of the foot missing. Restored in plaster. The scene is the same on both sides, a man leading a horse to the right. At each handle is a large eye. Added color was sloppily applied and is now difficult to detect. The man had a red fillet and some sort of short cloak which was probably also red. The horse's mane and dots on his snout were white. His tail was red. The eyes are partly outlined in white, and a white circle indicates the iris.

For the horse, cf. *C.V.A.*, Villa Giulia, III, H, e, pl. 48, 6. For "style" compare a similar skyphos in the National Museum at Athens,

no. 12627: Herakles and the lion with a palm tree between them (G. Nicole, *Catalogue, Supplement* no. 921).

71. Fragmentary skyphos: A and B, dogs, facing, between satyrs. Plate XLII.

P 2710. From depth 8.00 m. P. H. 0.15 m. D. at rim, est., 0.23 m.

Mended from many pieces, not all of which join. Base and handles entirely missing. Partly restored in plaster. Only the better preserved side illustrated. At centre of each side two dogs face each other. White for collars, belly stripes, and spots on body. Finely incised lines for details. At each handle a dancing satyr with white tail and white beard.

72. Skyphos fragment: quadriga in three-quarters view. Plate XLIII.

P 2711. From depth 8.00 m. P. H. 0.062 m. D. at rim, est., 0.23 m.

Several joining fragments preserve part of rim and body. A quadriga in three-quarters view, one of the horses white; in front of it an Amazon, then the tip of the wing of a handle sphinx. Skyphoi with this scene are relatively common. Some published examples: three from Rhitsona, Ure, *Sixth*, p. 61, nos. 26.98 ff., and pl. XVIII; *C.V.A.*, Villa Giulia, III, H, e, pl. 47, 7 and pl. 48, 3-4; D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, V, pp. 77-78, no. 40, and pl. 52. There is a fairly complete example at the Agora (Inv. P 1139) from a well the contents of which are to be dated around 500 B.C.

73. Skyphos fragment: maenad and satyr. Plate XLIII.

P 2712. From depth 8.00 m. P. H. 0.051 m. D. at rim, est., 0.21 m.

Two joining fragments preserve part of rim and body. A maenad and a satyr dancing. The white for the maenad's flesh laid for the most part directly on the clay ground. Red for satyr's fillet.

74. Skyphos fragment: dancing man. Plate XLIII.

P 2713. From depth 8.00 m. P. H. 0.043 m.

A single fragment preserves part of rim and body. Upper part of a man dancing right. White for hair and sideburns and for spot on arm. Trace of another figure at right edge of fragment.

75. Skyphos: A and B, combat of warriors and Amazons. Plate XLIII.

P 2730. From depths 8.00 m. and 7.40 m. H. 0.208 m. D. at rim 0.229 m.

Fragments missing throughout. Restored in plaster. A (Plate XLIII). Left to right, Amazon attacking falling warrior; warrior attacking falling Amazon; a horseman and a warrior approaching from the right. B (not illustrated). Amazon and warrior fighting; Amazon attacking falling warrior; warrior, left; Amazon running right, looking back. Added white for the flesh of the Amazons, the crests of the helmets of all figures, the circle or circle and ball devices on all shields, and the cloak of the horseman. The legs of the Amazons have black underpainting only as far down as the knee; below this the white is laid directly on the clay ground. Elsewhere, also, particularly on the faces, the white overruns the black underpainting.

76. Skyphos: A and B, reclining figure, two rams and a satyr. Plate XLIV.

P 2731. From depth 8.00 m. and 7.40 m. H. 0.16 m. to 0.18 m. D. at rim 0.231 m.

Fragments missing throughout. Restored in plaster. Somewhat mis-shapen and discolored in firing. Same scene on both sides. A draped, bearded figure reclining on a mattress and holding a cornucopia; on either side of him, a ram, right; at extreme left, a nude, dancing satyr. Added color, uncertain whether red or white, for fillet, dots on garment, row of dots on mattress, for cushion and for mouth of cornucopia; also for rams' horns, snouts, and belly stripes, and satyrs' tails. Compare *C.V.A.*, Villa Giulia, III, H, e, pl. 48, 1-2.

77. Skyphos: A and B, maenads and satyrs dancing. Plate XLIV.

P 2586 + P 1393. From depths *ca.* 9.60 m. (most fragments) and *ca.* 10.35 m. (the fragment P 1393 which was later found to join). H. 0.108 m. D. at rim 0.155 m.

Both handles, much of rim and body, and some of foot missing. Restored in plaster. The scene on both sides is the same, two maenads dancing between two satyrs. Branches in field. White for maenads' flesh, satyrs' tails, and fruit on branches. Red for fillets, dots on dresses, and satyrs' beards. No incision. Bottom reserved with circle and dot decoration. Resting surface of foot reserved. Narrow reserved line at inner edge of lip.

78. Skyphos: A and B, sphinxes between palmettes. Plate XLV.

P 1338. From depth *ca.* 10.90 m. H. 0.092 m. D. at rim 0.14 m.

One handle, much of rim and body, and fragment of base missing. Restored in plaster. Figured decoration same on both sides. Two sphinxes seated, facing, with heads averted. At handles, palmettes with no indication of petals. Added white for faces, breasts and front line of wings. No incision.

Fragments of several replicas of this vase were found at this and neighboring depths: one is catalogued (Inv. P 1394). They belong to Ure's class E 3 (*Sixth*, p. 64). Compare also *Hesperia*, Supplement, II, p. 119, fig. 86, B 39.

79. Skyphos fragments: birds. Plate XLIII.

P 16766. From depths 11.45 m.-10.10 m. inclusive. D. at rim, est., 0.16 m.

Twenty-five fragments make up to thirteen. They probably come from more than one vase, but, as there is no sure criterion for sorting them, they are grouped together here as one item. A skyphos with black, concave lip. Broad reserved zone at handles decorated with a row of birds, probably three or four on either side. Narrow reserved line on lower part of body. Added red and white for feathers. Cf. *C.V.A.*, Gallatin Collection, pl. 8, 6.

80. Skyphos fragments: Dionysos, satyrs and maenad. Plate XLIII.

P 2678 + P 2738 + P 2680 + P 2791. From depths 8.45 m., 7.40 m., and 6.00 m. D. at rim, est., 0.15 m.

Four fragments, each of which received a separate inventory number, make up to two and preserve some of rim and body of vase and the heads of four figures. The two groups are probably from opposite sides of the vase. From left to right as arranged in the photograph, a satyr, a drinking horn with white garland, Dionysos, a maenad with white flesh, and a satyr. To right of last satyr, trace of handle attachment. Reserved line at inner edge of lip.

The skyphoi and skyphos fragments Nos. 81-95 correspond in general to Ure's type K (*Sixth*, pp. 68-69). No. 81 is close to type K 1. No. 83 is close to type K 2. It and the fragments 84-89 which are from vases of the same shape (except 89 which has a slightly incurving rim) were found together at depths 11.45 m., 10.90 m. (the majority) and 10.35 m. Besides these published pieces there are four other similar fragments from the same depths listed in the Agora catalogue as well as a number of uncatalogued fragments. They are evidently the product of a single workshop and probably the work of one painter with the possible exception of 88. No. 90 probably goes with them. Absence of added color is a noteworthy feature. The other pieces published here, 91-95, are closely related.

81. Skyphos: A and B, Dionysos seated. Plate XLV.

P 1270. From depths 12.00 m. and 11.45 m. H. 0.093 m. D. at rim 0.184 m.

About a quarter of the rim, one handle, and pieces from walls and base missing. Restored in plaster. The same scene on both sides: Dionysos seated in a slouching position, holding a drinking horn in his right hand. Added red for fillet and beard and for stripes and dots on clothing. Narrow reserved line at inner

edge of lip. The foot reserved except its inner face. Bottom also reserved. On the bottom part of a graffito is preserved, probably the letter M.

82. Skyphos fragment: crawling satyr. Plate XLVII.

P 2677. From depth 8.45 m. P. H. 0.048 m.

Two joining fragments preserve part of the wall of a skyphos probably similar to the last. As the satyr is near one of the handle palmettes, however, he will not have been the only figure. Added red for tuft of hair at forehead, for beard, and for tail.

83. Skyphos: A and B, Athena and giant. Plate XLVI.

P 1359. From depths 11.45 m., 10.90 m. (most) and 10.35 m. H. 0.102 m. D. at rim 0.195 m.

Both handles, and much of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. The scene on both sides is the same, though very little of it is preserved on the reverse. Athena attacks a giant who has fallen to his knees and is trying to protect himself with his shield. Nothing remains of the left end of the scene. No added color. Reserved line at inner edge of lip. Resting surface of foot and bottom also reserved.

84. Skyphos fragment: maenad and satyrs. Plate XLVI.

P 1361. Depths as No. 83. P. H. 0.065 m. D. at rim, est., 0.19 m.

A group of joining fragments preserves some of rim and body. At left of fragment, trace of another figure, probably a second satyr. At right of fragment, trace of handle. No added color.

85. Fragmentary skyphos: A and B, maenad between satyrs carrying kraters. Plate XLVI.

P 1363. Depths as No. 83. P. H. 0.083 m. D. at rim, est., 0.20 m.

A number of fragments make up into three groups preserving some of the scene on both sides of the vase, which is the same. Only the largest group is illustrated. At centre of scene,

a maenad, on either side of her a satyr facing her and carrying a large krater; the one on the right holds the krater against his chest; the one on the left (not illustrated) bends forward slightly and holds the krater against his thigh. No added color.

86. Fragmentary skyphos: A and B, bull and seated man. Plate XLVI.

P 1365 + P 1366. Depths as No. 83. D. at rim, est., 0.20 m.

A number of fragments make up into two groups preserving part of the scene on either side of the vase, which is the same. A bearded man wearing a long cloak which leaves his right shoulder and arm bare is seated on a cushion. A bull approaches him. No added color.

87. Skyphos fragment: seated figure. Plate XLVI.

P 1367. Depths as No. 83. P. H. 0.07 m.

Three joining fragments preserve some of rim and body. A nude, seated man holding a large skyphos in his extended right hand. No added color.

88. Skyphos fragment: flute girl at banquet. Plate XLVI.

P 1368. Depth as No. 83. P. H. 0.062 m.

A single fragment preserves part of the body. Only part of the couch with the drawn up knees of the figure reclining on it and part of the table with food are preserved. No added color.

89. Skyphos fragment: quadriga. Plate XLVI.

P 1369. Depths as No. 83. P. H. 0.088 m. D. at rim, est., 0.19 m.

Several joining fragments preserve most of one side. Chariot and charioteer's body missing. No added color.

90. Skyphos fragment: charioteer. Plate XLVI.

P 2565. From depth *ca.* 10.10 m. P. H. 0.041 m.

A single fragment preserves part of rim and

body. A charioteer bending forward. No added color.

91. Fragments of skyphos: A and B, Dionysos mounted. Plate XLVI.

P 1318. From depths 11.45 m. and 10.90 m. P. H. 0.072 m.

Two joining fragments preserve part of rim and body. A third fragment, not illustrated, preserves part of a similar scene from the reverse. The animal is being led. Added red for beard, hair, and mane.

92. Skyphos fragment: youth on horseback, and hoplite. Plate XLVII.

P 1552. From depths *ca.* 10.35 m. and 9.60 m. P. H. 0.088 m. D. at rim, est., 0.18 m.

Two joining fragments preserve most of one side. Added red for upper and lower parts of horseman's cloak, for three dots on hoplite's shield, and for the heart of the handle palmette.

93. Skyphos: A and B, chariot scene. Plate XLVIII.

P 2699. From depths 8.45 m. and 8.00 m. H. 0.126 m. D. at rim, 0.202 m.

Fragments missing throughout. Restored in plaster. Same scene on both sides: a woman mounting a chariot, a man standing beside it. White for woman's flesh, for one of the horses, for parts of the pole behind, for dots on woman's dress, and for hearts of palmettes. Red for manes, collars, and tails of horses, for man's fillet, and for dots on woman's dress. Slightly incurving lip. Spreading foot with reserved resting surface. Bottom reserved and decorated with dot and three circles. Narrow reserved line at inner edge of lip.

94. Skyphos fragment: chariot scene. Plate XLVI.

P 2737. From depth 7.40 m. P. H. 0.078 m.

Part of rim and body preserved. Two women, Dionysos, and a quadriga. Added red for folds of drapery, for fillet, for harness, manes and tails of horses, and for heart of palmette.

95. Fragmentary skyphos: A and B, ithyphallic herms. Plate XLVIII.

P 2790. From depth 6.00 m. D. at rim, est., 0.23 m.

Two non-joining pieces are preserved, each mended from several fragments. The larger, *a*, preserves most of one handle and a bit of the plain rim. It has been strengthened at two points with plaster. Next to the handle is a large palmette, then an ithyphallic herm on a low base. The object in front of the herm is probably part of an altar. The smaller piece, *b*, is from the other side of the vase and preserves part of a similar scene. No added color.

A list of herms on black-figured vases is given by R. Lullies, *Die Typen der griechischen Herme*, p. 26. Cf. also *A.M.*, LX-LXI, 1935-6, p. 305.

The fragments Nos. 96-107 are from shallow skyphoi with concave lips, as for example *C.V.A.*, Bibliothèque Nationale, pl. 70, 17 and 18. The figured decoration is in silhouette without incision or added color and is for the most part hasty and careless. No. 107 stands a little apart, the drawing being more careful and incision and added color being used for details.

96. Skyphos fragment: seated figure. Plate XLVII.

P 1290. From depth 11.45 m. P. H. 0.44 m. D. at rim, est., 0.14 m.

The surface is chipped near the middle of the figure's body.

97. Fragmentary skyphos: A and B, tree and seated figures. Plate XLVII.

P 1319. From depth 11.45 m. or 10.90 m. D. at rim, est., 0.15 m.

Three fragments making up to two preserve some of the scene on both sides, which is the same. At centre a tree with fruit, facing it on either side a draped, seated figure. Palmettes at handle.

98. Skyphos fragment: standing figure. Plate XLVII.

P 1320. From depth 11.45 m. or 10.90 m. P. H. 0.04 m. D. at rim, est., 0.14 m.

99. Skyphos fragment: seated figure. Plate XLVII.

P 1321. From depth 11.45 m. or 10.90 m. P. H. 0.036 m. D. at rim, est., 0.145 m.

100. Fragmentary skyphos: A and B, galloping quadriga. Plate XLVII.

P 1391. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m. D. at rim, est., 0.145 m.

A number of fragments make up into two groups preserving some of the scene on both sides of the vase, which is the same.

101. Skyphos fragment: dancing maenad. Plate XLVII.

P 1560. From depth 10.10 m. P. H. 0.047 m. D. at rim, est., 0.14 m.

102. Skyphos fragment: seated figure. Plate XLVII.

P 1561. From depth 10.10 m. P. H. 0.04 m.

103. Skyphos fragment: galloping horseman. Plate XLVII.

P 2623. From depth 9.00 m. P. H. 0.053 m. D. at rim, est., 0.13 m.

104. Skyphos fragment: winged figure running left, looking back. Plate XLVII.

P 2624. From depth 9.00 m. P. H. 0.054 m. D. at rim, est., 0.16 m.

105. Skyphos fragment: man carrying amphora (?). Plate XLVII.

P 2681. From depth 8.45 m. P. H. 0.04 m.

The blob behind the figure is perhaps an amphora which he is carrying, perhaps fruit hanging from the branch in the field.

106. Skyphos fragment: figure bending over or running right. Plate XLVII.

P 2682. From depth 8.45 m. P. H. 0.024 m.

107. Fragmentary skyphos: lion, boar, and trees. Plate XLVII.

P 2769. From depth 6.80 m. D. at rim, est., 0.17 m.

Nine fragments make up to four and preserve much of the scene on one side of the vase. A lion and a boar face each other; in the field, three trees; at the handles, palmettes. Dots of added red near the head of each animal.

108. Skyphos fragment: animals confronted. Plate XLVII.

P 1562. From depth 10.10 m. P. H. 0.034 m.

Part of rim and body preserved. Rim slightly off-set on exterior, more sharply on interior. A panther and some animal with lowered head confronted. No incision or added color. Cf. next item.

109. Fragments of skyphos: animals confronted. Plate XLVII.

P 16779. From depth *ca.* 8.00 m. D. at lip, est., 0.12 m.

Five non-joining fragments preserve part of rim and body of a steep-sided, open cup. Rim as last item. Between handle palmettes, two animals, a boar and a lion, confronted. No incision or added color. The two fragments at the left in the photograph may come from the other side of the vase.

110. Skyphos fragment: panther. Plate XLVII.

P 1323. From depth 11.45 m. or 10.90 m. P. H. 0.034 m.

Part of plain rim and body preserved. Background white. Ground line in added red. No incision.

111. Miniature skyphos: A and B, dancing figure. Plate XLVII.

P 2743. From depth *ca.* 7.40 m. H. 0.047 m. D. at rim 0.065 m.

One handle and fragments of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Small, off-set rim. In handle zone, between palmettes, a dancing figure. White background. No incision or

added color. Resting surface of foot reserved. Bottom reserved and decorated with dot and circle. Cf. next item. Fragments of other similar vases from depths 10.35 m. and 7.40 m.

112. Skyphos fragment: dancing satyr. Plate XLVII.

P 2744. From depth 7.40 m. P. H. 0.033 m. D. at rim, est., 0.07 m.

Part of off-set rim and body preserved. White background. No incision or added color. Cf. preceding item.

113. Skyphos: dots between palmettes. Plate XLVII.

P 2593. From depth *ca.* 9.60 m. H. 0.068 m. D. 0.113 m.

Fragments missing throughout, including all of one handle. Restored in plaster. Off-set lip with concave exterior. Handle zone decorated with row of dots between handle palmettes. Bottom reserved and decorated with three concentric circles.

114. Skyphos: ivy. Plate XLVII.

P 2773. From depth 6.80 m. H. 0.079 m. D. 0.14 m.

Both handles and much of rim, body, and foot missing. Restored in plaster. Handle zone decorated with ivy and berries. Outer edge and resting surface of foot reserved. Bottom reserved and decorated with dot and two circles.

115. Small palmette skyphos. Plate XLVII.

P 16776. From depth *ca.* 8.45 m. H. 0.063 m. D. 0.076 m.

Fragments missing throughout. Restored in plaster. In handle zone, palmettes decorated with dots of added white. Cf. two from a grave at Marathon: *Πρακτικά*, 1934, p. 34, fig. 7. Fragments of many other similar vases from this and neighboring depths.

116. Fragment of a skyphos (?): running man. Plate XLVII.

P 2587. From depth 9.60 m. Max. dim. 0.049 m.

Two joining fragments preserve some of

wall of a deep, open cup—a skyphos, or the like. Legs of a nude man running. At left, an uncertain object with a line in added red around its middle section.

BLACK-FIGURE: LEKYTHOI

Nos. 117-183

Besides the pieces published here there are 37 others listed in the Agora catalogue as well as a great many uncatalogued fragments.

The lekythoi Nos. 117-121 have been attributed by Miss Haspels to the Gela painter: see *A.B.L.*, pp. 78 ff. and 205 ff.

117. Lekythos by the Gela painter: winged quadriga with winged charioteer (white ground). Plate XLIX.

P 1269. From depths 12.00 m. and 11.45 m. H. 0.15 m. D. 0.095 m. *A.B.L.*, p. 209, no. 97 (attribution).

Fragments missing throughout including almost all of handle. Restored in plaster. The missing parts of the figured scene have been painted in grey on the plaster. They are as follows: the top of the charioteer's head and the pattern above it, the middle of his body, the top of the chariot rail, a bit of the wheel, the ends of the horses' tails (except the tips), and the tip of their off wing. On the shoulder, three palmettes with a bud on each side (*A.B.L.*, p. 209). On the body, a winged, bearded man wearing a tightly fitting chiton drives a chariot drawn by four winged, galloping horses. The scene is unique so far as I have found, and, lacking inscriptions or specific attributes other than the wings, no definite interpretation seems possible. See the discussion of winged figures in *A.B.L.*, p. 60, note 1, and *Jahreshefte*, XXXI, 1939, pp. 81 ff., especially pp. 85-89.

118. Lekythos by the Gela painter: Apollo and Artemis in Delos (white ground). Plates XLIX-L.

P 2569. From depths 10.90 m., 10.35 m.,

10.10 m. (most) and 9.60 m. P. H. 0.218 m. D. 0.093 m. *A.B.L.*, p. 210, no. 101 (attribution).

The mouth entirely missing and the handle save its upper attachment. Fragments of shoulder and body also missing. On the shoulder three palmettes with a bud on each side (*A.B.L.*, p. 209). On the body, at left, Apollo, bearded, wreathed, wearing a long chiton, and carrying his lyre (six incised strings). He reaches out with his right hand to touch the fawn's tail. At centre, fawn in front of the Delian palm tree. At right, Artemis reaching out with her right hand to touch the fawn's head; behind her a Doric column. A line of added red encircles the vase below the picture.

119. Fragmentary lekythos by the Gela painter: Apollo seated, playing the lyre; behind him a woman. Plate L.

P 1331. From depths 11.45 m., 10.90 m., and 10.35 m. P. H. 0.187 m. D. 0.107 m. *A.B.L.*, p. 207, no. 35 (attribution).

Handle, foot, and much of body including entire lower part missing. On shoulder five palmettes and two vestigial buds (*A.B.L.*, p. 207). On body, Apollo seated on a diphros holding a lyre with six incised strings. Behind him stands a woman, her feet turned away from him, her body and head toward him. In front of him part of another figure is preserved. Added red for fillets and small dots on garments. Added white for woman's flesh and small dots on garments. Above the picture, a net pattern with a pair of red lines above and below it; the pattern stops with the picture, the lines continue around the vase. A red line encircles the vase below the picture, and there is also one at the inner and outer edges of the mouth and on the lower part of the neck.

120. Fragmentary lekythos by the Gela painter: Dionysos reclining on a couch between two satyrs and a maenad. Plate L.

P 1343. From depth *ca.* 10.90 m. P. H.

0.185 m. D. 0.089 m. *A.B.L.*, p. 210, no. 118 (attribution).

Mouth, handle, foot and pieces of body missing. Restored in plaster. On shoulder, three palmettes with a bud on each side (*A.B.L.*, p. 209). On body, Dionysos reclining on a couch. A maenad and a satyr approach from the left, a satyr from the right. On a low table in front of the couch is some food done in blobs of added white with a red line around each blob. Added white for maenad's flesh. Other added color, uncertain whether red or white, for decoration on clothes. This is one of the painter's unusually bad lekythoi: cf. *A.B.L.*, p. 85.

121. Lekythos fragment by the Gela painter: Hermes and Herakles reclining. Plate LI.

P 2648. From depth *ca.* 9.00 m. P. H. 0.07 m. D. est., 0.09 m. *A.B.L.*, p. 213, no. 167 (attribution).

Five joining fragments preserve some of the upper part of the body and a bit of the shoulder. On the shoulder part of a palmette is preserved. On the body, Hermes and Herakles, reclining. Hermes wears a petasos with white crown, red brim, and red wing at the back. The end of his beard is also red. A sword with white handle and strap hangs in the field at the left. Of Herakles only the legs and an elbow are preserved. His chiton is decorated with small white dots, larger red dots, and small incised crosses. In the field are his club and quiver, the latter with a red, wing-like cover, a red border, and some decoration in white at its upper end; its strap is also white. A streak of thinned glaze cuts diagonally across the picture. There is a slight dent near Hermes, made before the vase was fired.

The lekythoi Nos. 122-138 here grouped together are of Miss Haspels' "little lion" shape (*A.B.L.*, p. 98). They are mostly from her Sappho-Diosphos workshop (*A.B.L.*, pp. 116-120 and 230-231), but I have not attempted to assign them to the various sub-groups which

she distinguishes. They are probably the "little lion" vases referred to by her in *A.B.L.*, p. 119, and *J.H.S.*, LVIII, 1938, p. 258 as belonging to the group of Athens 496. The majority of them were found at approximately the same depth, centring around 11.45 m. and 10.90 m. Two, however, Nos. 137 and 138, come from higher up and are hence somewhat later; note especially the slender shape of No. 137 which resembles the Haimon painter's little lion lekythoi (*A.B.L.*, p. 134 and p. 244, nos. 71 and 72). Besides the pieces published here there are four other fragments listed in the Agora catalogue as well as some uncatalogued fragments. Note also the black-glazed examples, Nos. 260-263 below, where we observe the same contrast in shapes as in the figured pieces, those deeper down, hence earlier, being plump (e.g., No. 260), one from higher up, hence later, being more slender (No. 263). This development toward slenderness in lekythoi has often been noted before (cf. *A.B.L.*, p. 186); here it is confirmed by stratification.

These lekythoi have the following general characteristics. They are small and their shape is as described by Miss Haspels (*A.B.L.*, p. 98). At the junction of neck and shoulder there is a groove decorated with added red. A pair of red lines encircles the vase below the picture and there is another on the top of the foot adjoining its reserved outer edge. On the figures added red is in general used as follows: for folds and dots on garments, for hair or fillets, for beards, for manes, for the borders of shields, and for the dots that decorate them. Added white is seldom used, and I have noted it on only two pieces, an uncatalogued fragment from depth 11.45 m. where it marks a hanging fold of drapery, and on No. 137 where it is used for the fillet held in the satyr's hand and for a dot in the field. Female flesh appears to have been left black. Branches in the field occur as a rule only where appropriate, for example in Dionysiac scenes. Incised chest markings on nude males are often placed absurdly low. Only one of these vases, No. 129, has a pattern across the top of the picture.

122. Lekythos: Theseus and Minotaur, between spectators. Plates LI-LII.

P 1266. From depth 12.00 m. H. as restored, 0.115 m. D. 0.058 m.

Mouth, upper part of neck, about half foot, and some of lower part of body missing. Restored in plaster. Theseus attacks the Minotaur with a sword. On either side of the central group is a spectator: at the left a nude youth with a cloak over his extended left arm and a staff in his right hand; at the right, Plate LII, a fat, nude youth with a staff in his left hand. The incised markings indicating the chest of the latter have been placed much too low. Traces of added red on Theseus' chiton and the Minotaur's neck. Shoulder, lotus buds skipping two, then small black tongues.

123. Lekythos: Athena and giant, between spectators. Plate LII.

P 1277. From depth 11.45 m. H. as restored, 0.11 m. D. 0.059 m.

Mouth, neck and handle missing. Restored in plaster. Athena attacks a giant. On either side stands a draped man holding a staff, similar to the man on No. 124. Shoulder, lotus buds skipping two, then small black tongues.

124. Lekythos: combat, between spectators. Plate LII.

P 1357. From depths 10.90 m., 10.35 m., and 10.10 m. H. as restored, 0.112 m. D. 0.056 m.

Mouth, neck, handle, and fragments of body and foot missing. Restored in plaster. Two hoplites in combat, the left one attacking, the right one recoiling and down on one knee. On either side a draped, standing figure with a long staff. Shoulder, lotus buds skipping two, then small black tongues.

125. Lekythos: combat, between youths. Plate LII.

P 1354. From depths 10.90 m. and 10.35 m. H. as restored, 0.114 m. D. 0.057 m.

Mouth, neck, handle, and some of body missing. Restored in plaster. Two hoplites advance toward each other. At either side a youth walks

away and looks back; the right-hand one has a cloak over his left arm, the other is nude and carries a long staff. The markings for their chests are placed much too low. Shoulder, lotus buds skipping two, then small black tongues.

126. Lekythos: combat, between spectators; shoulder, youth attacking lion. Plate LI.

P 1355. From depths 10.90 m., and 10.35 m. H. as restored, 0.112 m. D. 0.058 m.

Mouth, handles, and fragments of body missing. Restored in plaster. Body (not illustrated): two warriors in combat, the one at the left attacking, the one at the right recoiling; on either side a youth with cloak and short chiton, carrying a staff, walks away and looks back. For the scene, cf. Nos. 124 and 125. Shoulder: a youth with a cloak over his extended arm, attacks a lion; the youth is almost entirely missing; for his pose cf. the shoulder picture on No. 127, and *C.V.A.*, Robinson Collection, pl. 24, 1, a, b.

127. Lekythos: Dionysos seated between satyrs: shoulder, combat of youths with clubs. Plates LI and LII.

P 1299. From depth *ca.* 11.45 m. H. as restored 0.108 m. D. 0.056 m.

Mouth, handle, and some of body missing. Restored in plaster. Dionysos, bearded, draped, wreathed, and holding a drinking horn, sits on an okladias. On either side a nude, bearded satyr walks away and looks back. Shoulder: two youths wearing short chitons and holding a cloak over one extended arm, make for each other brandishing clubs. Cf. No. 126.

128. Lekythos: maenad dancing, between youths on donkeys. Plate LII.

P 1298. From depth *ca.* 11.45 m. H. as restored, 0.117 m. D. 0.06 m.

Mouth, neck, handle, much of shoulder, and some of body and foot missing. Restored in plaster. A maenad wearing a long chiton advances right and looks back. Facing her on

either side is a nude youth riding an ithyphallic donkey. Shoulder, lotus buds skipping two.

129. Fragmentary lekythos: Dionysos seated between youths on donkeys. Plate LI.

P 1283. From depth 11.45 m. P. H. 0.052 m. D. 0.054 m.

The vase consists of a group of joining fragments (Plate LI) and a single, non-joining fragment (not illustrated). Dionysos sits on an okladias and holds a drinking horn in his left hand. Facing him on either side is a youth wearing a cloak and riding on an ithyphallic donkey. Above the picture, a net pattern: this is the only vase in the group which has a pattern here. The arrangement below the picture is also different from that on the other vases in the group: ground line, reserved band, black band with red line at its upper edge, reserved band, and finally the black of the lower part of the body with the usual pair of red lines on it. Shoulder, lotus buds with carelessly drawn stems, usually skipping four or five, then small black tongues or dots.

130. Lekythos: Dionysos and Ariadne seated between dancing satyrs. Plate LII.

P 1300. From depth *ca.* 11.45 m. H. as restored, 0.108 m. D. 0.051 m.

Mouth, handle, and fragments of body and foot missing. Restored in plaster. Dionysos and Ariadne (or a maenad) seated on okladias facing each other; most of Dionysos' body is missing. He wears a wreath and holds a drinking horn. On either side, a dancing satyr. Shoulder, lotus buds skipping two, then small black tongues.

131. Lekythos: maenad and satyrs dancing; shoulder, hound and hare. Plates LI and LII.

P 1301. From depth *ca.* 11.45 m. H. as restored, 0.115 m. D. 0.054 m.

Mouth, foot, and some of neck, handle and body missing. Restored in plaster. The surface is much damaged. A maenad with krotala dancing to right and looking back. She wears a long chiton and over her shoulders she has a chlamys which hangs down from her arms. On

either side of her a nude, bearded satyr dances away from her and looks back. On shoulder, a hound chasing a hare.

132. Lekythos: rider between two youths and an onlooker; shoulder, hound (and hare). Plates LI and LII.

P 1296. From depth *ca.* 11.45 m. H. as restored, 0.115 m. D. 0.053 m.

Mouth, most of neck, much of shoulder, and some of body and foot missing. Restored in plaster. A rider, preceded and followed by a nude youth carrying a spear, advances toward a draped standing figure. The rider wears a short chiton, a long cloak over his shoulders, and a pointed cap with long lappets, and carries a pelta slung over his shoulder and two spears in his hand. On shoulder a hound chasing a hare of which only the hind feet are preserved.

The next two items, 133 and 134, are rough replicas of the same scene with the draped, standing figure omitted. Agora Inv. No. P 1304 (from depth 11.45 m. or 10.90 m.) and Agora Inv. No. P 1356 (from depth 10.90 m. and 10.35 m.) are fragments of two other replicas (both unpublished), and two uncatalogued fragments from depth 11.45 m. appear also to have had the same scene, making a total of seven from this well. Berlin, Inv. 4982.6 (*A.B.L.*, p. 230, no. 9) and F 1948 also have the same scene.

133. Lekythos: rider between youths. Plate LII.

P 1284 + P 1297. From depth *ca.* 11.45 m. H. as restored, 0.097 m. D. 0.048 m.

Mouth, neck, handle, foot, and much of shoulder and body missing. Restored in plaster. The rider carries a single spear and has a pelta slung over his shoulder. He is preceded and followed by a nude youth carrying a spear and with a cloak over one arm. Shoulder, lotus buds without stalks.

134. Lekythos: rider between youths. Plate LII.

P 1295. From depth *ca.* 11.45 m. H. as restored, 0.114 m. D. 0.055 m.

Mouth, neck, handle and fragments of body and foot missing. Restored in plaster. The rider carries two spears. He is preceded and followed by a nude youth, also with a spear. Shoulder, lotus buds skipping two.

135. Fragment of lekythos: shoulder, lion. Plate LI.

P 16763. From depth 11.45 m. P. H. 0.022 m. P. W. 0.037 m.

A single fragment, broken all around, preserves some of shoulder, neck and handle. On shoulder, a lion, right; the figure on the other half of the shoulder, probably a lion, left, is missing. Red dots on mane.

136. Fragment of lekythos: lion and man. Plate LI.

P 1287. From depth 11.45 m. P. H. 0.032 m.

Three joining fragments preserve part of body. A lion, right, with red dots on his mane. From the right a man approaches, one leg and part of the cloak over his arm preserved.

137. Fragment of lekythos: maenad and satyrs. Plate LI.

P 2663. From depth 8.45 m. P. H. 0.062 m. D. est., 0.04 m.

Four joining fragments preserve much of the lower part of the body. A maenad advances right and looks back. She is preceded and followed by a satyr. The upper parts of both satyrs are missing. Compare the Haimon painter's lekythos, Dugas, *Délos*, X, *Les vases de l'Héraion*, pl. 42, no. 567; see also above.

138. Fragment of lekythos: satyr dancing (between eyes?). Plate LI.

P 2726 + P 2792. From depths 6.00 m. and 8.00 m. P. H. 0.02 m.

Two joining fragments preserve part of body. A satyr dancing right, looking back; at right, part of a large prophylactic eye (?). The satyr holds a white fillet in one hand, and there is a white dot on the brow of the prophylactic eye.

139. Lekythos: Dionysos and satyrs. Plate LIII.

P 1278. From depth 11.45 m. H. as restored, 0.12 m. D. 0.061 m.

Mouth, handle and foot missing. Restored in plaster. Body: Dionysos seated on an okladias; on either side, a dancing satyr; branches in field. Added red for beards, satyrs' tails, and alternate folds of Dionysos' chiton. Shoulder, cock, right, between ivy leaves: cf. *A.B.L.*, pp. 67-68.

140. Lekythos: running figure between eyes. Plate LIII.

P 1279. From depth 11.45 m. H. as restored, 0.104 m. D. 0.05 m.

Mouth missing. Restored in plaster. Body: nude youth running right between large prophylactic eyes which have a hand-drawn circle of added color for the iris. Shoulder, rays and tongues. Compare the lekythos, Athens, National Museum, 16251: lion, right, between eyes; shoulder, rays and tongues.

141. Lekythos: satyr and maenad between mantle figures. Plate LIII.

P 1302. From depth *ca.* 11.45 m. H. as restored, 0.116 m. D. 0.054 m.

Mouth, handle, and fragments of body and foot missing. Restored in plaster. Body: satyr and maenad advancing right, looking back; facing them on either side, a draped, standing figure holding a spear. Shoulder, cock, right, between ivy leaves. A pair of red lines around vase below picture.

142. Lekythos: chariot. Plate LIII.

P 1303. From depth *ca.* 11.45 m. H. as restored, 0.112 m. D. 0.045 m.

Mouth, handle, and foot missing. Restored in plaster. Body: a chariot galloping past a meta. Added white for chiton of charioteer and for four dots near branches in field. Added red for mane and collars of horses, for charioteer's fillet, and for meta. Shoulder, rays and elongated tongues.

143. Lekythos: Dionysos reclining between satyrs. Plate LV.

P 1311. From depths 11.45 m. and 10.90 m. H. as restored, 0.18 m. D. 0.075 m.

Mouth, neck, handle, much of shoulder, and some of body missing. Restored in plaster. Body: Dionysos reclining on a cushion; a satyr approaches from the left, another withdraws to the right. Added red for beards, satyrs' tails, alternate stripes on Dionysos' cloak and for dots on his crown. Added color, uncertain whether red or white, for zigzag line on cushion. Shoulder, single upright palmette, partially preserved, with a tendril running out on either side.

144. Lekythos: running figure between eyes. Plate LIII.

P 1312. From depths 11.45 m. and 10.90 m. H. as restored, 0.15 m. D. 0.064 m.

Mouth, neck, handle, foot, and fragments of shoulder and body missing. Restored in plaster. A warrior with greaves, breastplate, short chiton, spear, and shield (head and shoulders missing) advances to left between large prophylactic eyes the irises of which, outlined by compass-drawn, incised circles, are red. Shoulder, cock, right, between ivy leaves.

145. Lekythos: Dionysiac procession. Plate LV.

P 1353. From depths 10.90 m. and 10.35 m. H. 0.212 m. D. 0.083 m.

Fragments of body and foot missing. Restored in plaster. Body: Dionysiac procession moving right; a satyr, a maenad, Dionysos, and a satyr. The surface is much damaged, only the last satyr (see figure) and parts of the maenad being tolerably well preserved. Added white for maenad's flesh and groups of dots on her chiton. Added red for her fillet, the upper border of her chiton and dots on it, and for the beard of the last satyr. A pair of red lines around the vase below the picture. Shoulder, lotus buds skipping one, then tongues.

146. Lekythos: sphinx between eyes. Plate LIII.

P 2560. From depth *ca.* 10.10 m.; one fragment from depth 11.45 m. P. H. 0.115 m. D. est., 0.075 m.

Mouth, neck, handle, most of shoulder, much of body, and some of foot missing. Body: sphinx seated between large prophylactic eyes of which the iris is red and outlined by compass-drawn, incised circles. Added red also for body of sphinx. Shoulder, cock, right, between ivy leaves. Ure, *Sixth*, p. 53, no. 80.254 appears from the description to be a replica.

Ample remains of red on most of the interior and on the edges of some of the breaks suggest that the vase may have been used as a container for red paint in a potter's shop after its upper part had been broken away: see introduction.

147. Lekythos by the Haimon painter: Herakles and the Lion. Plate LV.

P 2695. From depth *ca.* 8.45 m. H. as restored, 0.16 m. D. 0.056 m.

Mouth, neck, handle, foot, most of shoulder, and some of body missing. Restored (incorrectly) in plaster. Body: Herakles grapples with the lion in a crouching position; in field above, his bow, quiver, and cloak among branches; at left, Iolaos with club in right hand and cloak over left arm; at right, another Iolaos walking away but looking back (cf. *A.B.L.*, p. 139); at extreme right, a mantle figure with staff looking on. Above picture, key pattern, right. Added color, generally uncertain whether red or white, used freely. Shoulder, rays.

By the Haimon painter: see on No. 148. Agora Inv. No. P 2633 + P 2671, from depths 8.45 m. and 9.00 m., is a fragmentary replica (not published).

148. Lekythos by the Haimon painter: Herakles and the Boar. Plate LV.

P 2715 + P 2722. From depth *ca.* 8.00 m. H. as restored, 0.175 m. D. 0.06 m.

Mouth, foot, and fragments of body missing.

Restored (incorrectly) in plaster. Body: Herakles, with club in right hand, siezes boar by shoulders, bringing it to its knees; in field above, among branches, hang his bow and quiver, his cloak, and another club; on either side, a mounted Amazon. Above picture, double row of dots. Added red and white used freely. Pair of red lines around vase below picture. Shoulder, rays and tongues.

By the Haimon painter. A lekythos in the Gallatin Collection (*C.V.A.*, pl. 7, 3; *A.B.L.*, pp. 132-133 and p. 243, no. 44) appears to be a replica. Our vase, and No. 147 with its replica, to judge from the depth at which they were found, are to be dated not later than about 485 B.C.: see the discussion of the date of the Stadium Street grave with the Haimon painter's lekythoi and the Douris aryballos, *A.B.L.*, pp. 132-133.

149. Lekythos fragment: combat. Plate LIV.

P 1276. From depth 11.45 m. P. H. 0.084 m. D. at shoulder, est., 0.135 m.

Three joining fragments preserve about half the upper part of the body and a small bit of the shoulder. At left, a warrior wearing a helmet with two large white feathers strides forward and drives his spear into another warrior, who sinks to the ground, his eye closed in death. From the right a third warrior advances toward the first two, his spear raised for the thrust. The device on his shield is a bent leg. In the field part of an inscription painted in glaze: $\text{HO } \Gamma\text{AI}[\varsigma \text{ K AI} \text{O}\varsigma]$. Added white for the feathers, the arm band of one shield, the device of the other, and for a row of dots along the base of the crest of two of the helmets. What appears to be white under the chin of the left-hand warrior is dirt. Added red for the borders of the shields and for a dot on the short chiton of the left-hand warrior. There is no trace of decoration on the preserved bit of the shoulder.

For feathers in helmets, see *A.M.*, XLI, 1916, pp. 369 ff., and *A.A.*, 1935, p. 434; also *C.V.A.*, Munich, pl. 18, 2.

150. Lekythos fragment: Herakles and the Lion. Plate LV.

P 1280. From depth 11.45 m. P. H. 0.074 m.

Three joining fragments preserve part of wall. Herakles grapples with the lion on the ground. Branches in field, among which hangs Herakles' cloak. A pair of red lines in reserved band below picture.

151. Lekythos fragment: Herakles and the Lion. Plate LV.

P 1281. From depth 11.45 m. P. H. 0.045 m.

Single fragment preserves part of body. Herakles grapples with lion in a crouching position. At left the feet of a spectator are preserved. Red for lion's tongue and white dots for its teeth. A red blob on spectator's cloak.

152. Lekythos fragment: Peleus and Thetis. Plate LV.

P 1282. From depth 11.45 m. P. H. 0.042 m.

Single fragment preserves part of shoulder and upper body. Body: Peleus and Thetis; at right, head and shoulders of another woman. Red for women's fillets. White for their flesh: the white of Thetis' face extends far out to left of edge of black underpainting, and the incision marking her eye is almost entirely on the reserved area. Shoulder, lotus buds.

153. Lekythos fragment: Dionysos on a mule. Plate LV.

P 1288. From depth 11.45 m. P. H. 0.047 m. D. est. 0.08 m.

Some of shoulder and upper part of body preserved. Body: Dionysos riding a mule, preceded and followed by a maenad. White for maenad's flesh, for dots on garments, for the mule's snout, and for a line along its neck and chest. Shoulder, rays.

154. Lekythos fragment: seated figures and a satyr. Plate LV.

P 1314. From depth 11.45 m. and 10.90 m. P. H. 0.069 m.

Part of body preserved. Lower parts of two

figures seated on okladii facing each other, probably Dionysos and Ariadne or a maenad; at right, lower part of a satyr dancing right. Surface discolored. Traces of dots and lines of added color on garments.

155. Lekythos fragment: quadriga. Plate LV.

P 1315. From depth 11.45 m. or 10.90 m. P. W. 0.052 m.

Single fragment preserves part of shoulder and body. Body: quadriga, the heads of the horses only preserved. Head of horse at left was white. Red lines on mane and for collar. Row of white dots below collar. Shoulder, lotus buds.

156. Lekythos fragment: woman. Plate LV.

P 1316. From depth 11.45 m. or 10.90 m. P. H. 0.066 m.

Single fragment preserves part of body. A woman, standing; also part of leg of figure preceding her. White for her flesh.

157. Lekythos fragment: Apollo and Muses. Plate LV.

P 1344. From depth *ca.* 10.90 m. P. H. 0.037 m.

Two joining fragments preserve some of shoulder and upper part of body. Body: Apollo standing playing lyre with four incised strings; facing him on either side, a muse; some of scene missing at right. White for flesh of muses, for lyre, for decoration on Apollo's chiton, and for a dot by the branch behind Apollo's head. The muses' eyes are red dots laid over the white. Shoulder, rays.

158. Lekythos fragment: woman. Plate LV.

P 1400. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m. P. H. 0.032 m.

Single fragment preserves some of body. The woman, who was the last figure on the left, faced the main scene (cf. preceding item). White for her flesh, for fruit on branch in field, and for some of dots above picture. Her eye is a small black dot reserved in the white of her face.

159. Fragmentary lekythos: Amazonomachy. Plate LIII.

P 1553 + P 2588. From depths 10.10 m. and 9.60 m. P. H. of fragment illustrated (P 1553) 0.098 m. D. est. 0.075 m.

Part of shoulder and body preserved; a non-joining fragment (P 2588) not illustrated. Body: two groups of a warrior attacking an Amazon. Added white is lavishly used as may be seen in the illustration. What appears to be white near the back foot of the warrior is actually dirt. The white by his front foot is of course the leg of the Amazon, who has fallen down on one knee. Shoulder, rays and tongues.

160. Lekythos fragment: Dionysos and satyr. Plate LV.

P 1555. From depth 10.10 m. Max. dim. 0.064 m.

Two joining fragments preserve part of shoulder and body. Body: Dionysos seated, left; behind him a dancing satyr. Red for beards and for fold of Dionysos' chiton. White for berries of Dionysos' wreath and for a bunch of grapes behind his head. Shoulder, lotus buds.

161. Lekythos fragment: Dionysos. Plate LV.

P 1556. From depth 10.10 m. Max. dim. 0.035 m.

Single fragment preserves part of body. Dionysos, right. Red for beard, folds of chiton and berries of wreath.

162. Lekythos fragment: two women. Plate LV.

P 2589. From depth 9.60 m. Max. dim. 0.041 m.

Single fragment preserves some of shoulder and body. Body: two women, right. White for their flesh, for three fruits on the branch in the field, and for some of dots in zone above picture. Red for fillets, and, over the white, for the eye of the left-hand figure. Shoulder, rays and tongues.

163. Lekythos fragment: Dionysos and satyr. Plate LV.

P 2626. From depth 9.00 m. P. H. 0.085 m.

Four joining fragments preserve part of shoulder and body. Body: Dionysos seated on an okladias holding large drinking horn; a satyr dances in front of him. Red for dots on Dionysos' garment and for satyr's beard. White for garland around Dionysos' neck, for mouth of drinking horn, for one of folds of his garment, for some of fruit on branches in field, and for fillet carried by satyr. Shoulder, tongues and rays.

164. Lekythos fragment: Dionysos reclining. Plate LV.

P 2628. From depth 9.00 m. P. H. 0.046 m.

Single fragment preserves part of shoulder and body. Body: Dionysos reclining, banquetting. Traces of added color. Shoulder, rays.

165. Lekythos fragment: woman. Plate LV.

P 2629. From depth 9.00 m. P. H. 0.021 m.

Single fragment preserves part of body. A woman, left, reaching upward. White for her flesh and for some of fruit on branch in field. Red for her fillet, and, over the white, for her eye.

166. Lekythos fragment: woman playing flute; satyr. Plate LV.

P 2631. From depth 9.00 m. P. H. 0.025 m.

Single fragment preserves part of body. Head and arms of a woman playing flute; in front of her a satyr (?) turning to look at her. White for flute and for woman's flesh.

167. Fragmentary lekythos: Dionysos and satyrs. White ground. Plate LIII.

P 2659. From depth 8.45 m. P. H. 0.061 m. D. 0.053 m.

Some of shoulder and body preserved. Body: Dionysos seated on an okladias, his head and shoulders missing; behind him a dancing satyr; in front of him another, part of whose head is preserved on a small, non-joining fragment (not illustrated). Red for satyr's tail and stripes on Dionysos' chiton. Shoulder, lotus buds without stalks.

168. Lekythos fragment: Poseidon (?) on a seahorse. Plate LIII.

P 2660. From depth 8.45 m. P. H., with foot as restored, 0.13 m. Max. preserved diameter, 0.10 m.

Lower half only preserved. Foot restored in plaster. Only the lower part of the figured scene remains. At centre a sea monster with forequarters of a horse and long, curling hind-quarters of a fish. It is being ridden by a man, perhaps Poseidon, whose leg and part of whose cloak are preserved. For the subject compare the New York skyphos by the Theseus painter (Tillyard, *Hope Vases*, 75, pl. 7; *Shapes and Names*, fig. 170; *A.B.L.*, p. 250, no. 22) and the lekythos by the Athena painter in Oxford (*A.B.L.*, pl. 44, 4). Our seahorse lacks wings. Under its tail, a dolphin; preceding and following it, a running Nereid.

White for Nereid's legs, for a stripe along the tail of the seahorse, for circles and groups of dots on the garments and on the seahorse's tail, and for the belly stripe of the dolphin. A red line around the vase below the picture and another at the lower edge of the narrow reserved band below the picture.

169. Lekythos fragment: Athena in gigantomachy. Plate LIII.

P 2662. From depth 8.45 m. P. H. 0.079 m. D. 0.053 m.

Only lower half of body preserved; foot missing. The scene consists of four figures. Athena attacks a giant who falls back; behind him another giant approaches. Behind Athena, at left of scene, a giant runs away and looks back, his head partially hidden behind his huge shield. White for Athena's flesh, for shield devices and for decoration on garments. Red for borders of shields, for dots on garments, and for crest of helmet of giant at left. A red line encircles vase on broad black band below picture, and a pair of red lines encircle vase below the narrow reserved band.

170. Lekythos fragment: woman. Plate LV.

P 2665. From depth 8.45 m. P. H. 0.057 m.

Single fragment preserves part of body. A woman dancing left, looking back. White for flesh and for one fruit on branch in field.

171. Lekythos fragment: woman. Plate LV.

P 2667. From depth 8.45 m. P. H. 0.064 m.

Fragment of body preserved. A woman advancing right, looking back. White for flesh.

172. Lekythos fragment: seated woman. Plate LV.

P 2668. From depth 8.45 m. P. H. 0.054 m.

Fragment of body preserved. Woman seated right on an okladias. White for flesh and at joints of okladias.

173. Lekythos fragment: man. Plate LV.

P 2669. From depth 8.45 m. P. H. 0.024 m.

Fragment of shoulder and body preserved. Body: head and shoulders of a man, left; he is probably the mantle figure at the right of the scene. Shoulder, cock and ivy leaf.

174. Lekythos fragment: quadriga and charioteer. Plate LV.

P 2674. From depth 8.45 m. P. H. 0.037 m.

Fragment of body preserved. Head and shoulders of charioteer and hindquarters of quadriga. Above picture a net pattern of dots, alternately black and white.

175. Lekythos fragment: chariot scene. Plate LV.

P 2675 + P 2739. From depths 8.45 m. and 7.40 m. P. H. 0.047 m.

Two joining fragments preserve part of body. A quadriga: at the heads of the horses stands a woman, beside them a man. White for woman's flesh, for one of horses, for man's fillet and his chiton (?), for decoration on harness, and for blobs in field.

176. Lekythos fragment: Ariadne mounting chariot. Plate LIII.

P 2767 + P 2592. From depths 6.80 m. and 9.60 m. P. H. 0.042 m. D. 0.054 m.

Shoulder and upper half of body preserved. Body: Ariadne mounting chariot; beside the

horses, Apollo with lyre (two incised strings) and Dionysos with drinking horn; in front of the horses, a dancing satyr. Red for fillets, stripes on garments, Dionysos' beard, satyr's tail, manes and parts of harness. Compare the Haimon painter's lekythoi with this subject, *A.B.L.*, pp. 132 and 242.

177. Lekythos fragment: Apollo and Muse. Plate LV.

P 2771. From depth 6.80 m. P. H. 0.026 m.

Fragment of body preserved. Apollo's lyre (five incised strings) and the head of one muse preserved. White for Muse's flesh, for lyre, for one fruit on branch in field, and for some dots in pattern above picture.

178. Lekythos fragment: warrior pursuing woman. Plate LV.

P 2793. From depth 6.00 m. Max. dim. 0.055 m.

Fragment of body preserved. A warrior pursuing a woman (Amazonomachy?). White for warrior's corselet, crest of helmet, and shield device (blob), and for woman's flesh and a fold of her chiton.

179. Lekythos fragment: seated man. Plate LV.

P 2794. From depth 6.00 m. P. H. 0.049 m.

Fragment of body preserved. Man seated on an okladias. Large white patch on his shoulder. White dots at joints of okladias.

180. Lekythos fragment: head. Plate LV.

P 2801. From depth 0.50 m. to 1.50 m. P. H. 0.021 m.

Fragment of shoulder and body preserved. Body: head, probably a woman's. Branches in field. Shoulder, lotus buds.

181. Lekythos: palmettes. Plate LIII.

P 16767. From depth *ca.* 10.90 m. H. as restored 0.135 m. D. 0.07 m.

Mouth, neck, handle and some of body missing. Restored in plaster. Body: three circum-

scribed palmettes with separated petals. No incision or added color. Shoulder, cock between ivy leaves. This lekythos is unique as far as I know.

182. Lekythos: palmettes. Plate LIII.

P 1382. From depth 10.35 m. H. as restored 0.13 m. D. 0.05 m.

Mouth, foot, and part of neck and handle missing. Restored in plaster. Body: four upright palmettes with white arcs over them and a row of white dots around hearts. Shoulder, rays and tongues. This is the normal kind of early palmette lekythos described by Miss Haspels, *A.B.L.*, p. 186. Cf. also *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 31-32 and fig. 23.

183. Lekythos: double palmettes. Plate LIII.

P 16770. From depth 9.60 m. H. as restored 0.14 m. D. 0.057 m.

Three joining fragments preserve much of body; the rest restored in plaster. On front of body four upright double palmettes of normal, not "feathery" type. White for arcs over palmettes, for row of dots around hearts, and for dots in circles between palmettes. Cf. *A.B.L.*, pp. 93-94, and 185-186; Ure, *Sixth*, p. 54, class O 1.

BLACK-FIGURE: MISCELLANEOUS

Nos. 184-225

184. Bowl: A and B, komast. Plate LIV.

P 1383. From depth 10.35 m. H. as restored 0.095 m. D. 0.245 m.

Handles, foot, and much of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster, the foot on the basis of another fragmentary bowl of the same shape but slightly smaller (from depth *ca.* 10.35 m.; uncatalogued); the handles on the basis of a third bowl of similar shape but considerably smaller (No. 185). The rim has a slight bulge on the outside, a flat top, and a very slight inward turn on the inside. I know of no exact parallel for the shape.

The exterior is decorated on either side with a single figure, a nude man dancing. On one side (Plate LIV, right top and detail left top) it is fairly well preserved; on the other (Plate LIV, 184, right bottom), however, only the top of the head, parts of the arms, and part of one leg remain. The pose differs somewhat between one side and the other. The drawing, especially of the head, is very precise and careful. The restored portion of the handle ornament (Plate LIV, 184, right center) is taken partly from the other side of the vase, partly from No. 185. Interior, good black glaze. No trace of added color.

It is possible that the vase had merrythought handles, as, for example, the Sotades bowl, Athens, National Museum, 1237 (*A.M.*, LIII, 1928, Beilage VI, 2), and the group of footless cups studied by Paribeni in *Clara Rhodos*, IX, pp. 130 ff. of which the Berlin Ergotimos cup (Inv. 3151) is the best-known example. A bowl at the Agora, illustrated on Plate LVI, may also be mentioned in this connection (Inv. No. P 16753; H. 0.08 m., D. at rim, est., 0.215 m.; about half preserved). Its body was covered inside and out with sealing-wax red glaze (cf. above on No. 52), now mostly peeled off. It was found in fill of the third quarter of the fifth century B.C.

185. Fragmentary bowl: man with staff. Plate LVI.

P 1384. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m. D. at rim, est., 0.135 m.

Four non-joining fragments preserve one handle and some of the rim and body of a bowl similar in shape and scheme of decoration to No. 184, but considerably smaller. Of the figured scene only the legs of a nude standing man, one of his hands holding a heavy gnarled cane, and the projecting tuft of hair over his forehead are preserved. Added red for the main part of the cane and white for its head. There is also red on the tuft of hair. Interior, good black glaze with narrow reserved line at lip.

186. Fragmentary plate: Herakles and Amazons: white ground. Plates LVI and LXIV.

P 2766. From depth 6.80 m. H. 0.03 m. D. 0.255 m.

A number of fragments make up into two groups preserving much of floor and some of rim. Herakles attacks an Amazon; in lower right corner a fallen Amazon. In field behind Herakles two letters are preserved, IO. Coarse incision. No added color. The vertical jog between floor and rim reserved. On the reverse the area outside the foot is reserved, with traces of red ochre wash, except for a black line at junction of rim and body; the foot and the area within it are glazed except for a reserved band on and near the resting surface and another on the vertical jog at inner edge of foot. At centre of under side, a small circle in added red.

No certain restoration of the inscription is possible. The most likely suggestion is perhaps Iolaos, Herakles' companion, who may have appeared in the background between Herakles and the Amazon. But the Amazon names Iodoke and Ioxeia are not to be excluded, nor is the name Iobes, Herakles' son (see Roscher, *Myth. Lex. s. vv.*). It might also be part of an artist's signature or a love-name although no such signature or name beginning with these letters has hitherto been reported.

187. Kylix: I, eagle; A and B, Dionysos, satyrs and maenads. Plate LVI.

P 2570. From depths 10.35 m., 10.10 m. and 9.60 m. H. 0.081 m. D. 0.188 m.

Small pieces missing throughout. Restored in plaster. Interior: in a small reserved medallion bordered by three lines of dilute glaze, an eagle in flight. Added red, carelessly applied, on wings and tail. A and B: the scene on both sides is essentially the same except that on A there are five figures, on B only four. Dionysos reclines on a low couch. In front of him is a woman seated on a stool (Ariadne or a maenad); she holds out a wreath towards him. Behind her are a satyr and a maenad facing each other; on B the maenad is omitted. Be-

hind Dionysos is another satyr. Under each handle a small dolphin. Added red and white carelessly applied; no underpainting for white of women's faces. Narrow reserved line at inner edge of lip. Outer edge and flat bottom of foot reserved, with traces of red ochre wash. Conical interior of stem reserved except black band at bottom.

This kylix and No. 188 belong to Ure's type E 1 (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1915, pp. 124-126). Cf. also No. 189.

188. Kylix: I, komast. A and B, combat of warrior and Amazon between winged horses. Plate LVIII.

P 2613. Fragments from the following depths: most at 9.00 m.; some at 9.60 m., a few at 8.45 m., one at 10.10 m. H. 0.08 m. D. 0.187 m.

Handles and much of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Interior: in a small reserved medallion bordered by five lines of dilute glaze, a bearded man with a cloak over his shoulders moving left and looking back. A and B: the scene on both sides is the same. At the centre a warrior attacking an Amazon (shield devices, white dots); at the handles a winged horse, right. Under each handle a small dolphin (?; part of one tail only preserved). Added red and white carelessly applied. No underpainting for white of Amazon's legs. Shape and scheme of decoration as No. 187.

189. Kylix fragment: seated woman and satyr. Plate LVIII.

P 2770. From depth 6.80 m. P. H. 0.052 m. D. est. 0.185 m.

Four joining fragments preserve part of rim and body and stubs of one handle. Exterior: a draped woman seated, left, her flesh and a few dots on her garment white. In front of her an uncertain object, behind her a satyr facing the handle. Under handle an ivy leaf. Interior: narrow reserved band at inner edge of lip; a small bit of central medallion preserved. Shape and scheme of decoration as far as preserved similar to Nos. 187 and 188.

190. Fragmentary column krater: A, wedded pair in chariot; B, procession of deities. Plate LVII.

P 2612. Fragments from the following depths: most from 9.00 m., some from 9.60 m., a few from 8.45 m., one from 10.10 m. P. H. of largest fragment, 0.30 m. D. est. 0.33 m.

The vase is very fragmentary. Numerous fragments and groups of fragments are preserved (not all illustrated) which give considerable portions of the scene on both sides of the vase, as well as part of one handle. Some gaps in groups of fragments have been filled out with plaster, but the vase has not been restored.

A. The youth at the heads of the horses is taller than he appears to be in the photograph; both he and the legs of the horses are considerably foreshortened. Behind the horses are, first a lebes which is apparently being carried on a woman's head, then Hermes (part of petasos only preserved), then a bit of the head of a woman who is probably standing in the chariot. On a separate fragment are part of the chariot wheel and the foot of a man mounting it. Red for horses' manes and collar. White for one of horses, for pendants from collar, and for women's flesh. Red line around vase below picture. For the scene cf. *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, pp. 430-436; *A.B.L.*, p. 43, note 1.

B. Parts of three deities are preserved. At left, head of Dionysos. This fragment actually joins the largest fragment (the one with the horses) at a point close to the handle; it was detached for convenience in photographing. On another fragment are a goddess and a god, probably Hermes, for he seems to be wearing a petasos. White for flesh of goddess and for Hermes' chiton. Red for beards and short strokes in folds of drapery.

On top of handle, a palmette.

191. Krater fragments: A and B, chariot scene. Plate LVIII.

P 2641. From depth ca. 9.00 m. P. H. of largest fragment 0.088 m.

Five fragments or groups of fragments preserve some of scene on both sides, the two pieces with hind legs of horses coming from opposite sides of vase. Also preserved: part of chariot wheel; fragment from near upper left corner of panel with part of head and helmet crest (?); and fragment from lower right corner of panel with part of a foot, no doubt belonging to youth at heads of horses (cf. No. 190). Red for strokes in folds at edge of drapery, for hub of chariot wheel, for two lines on car, for helmet crest, and for a pair of lines around vase below picture.

192. Column krater fragment. Plate LVIII.

P 2571. From depths 10.10 m. and 9.60 m. D. est. 0.25 m.

Three joining fragments preserve some of rim and neck and start of handle. On top of rim, lotus buds skipping one; also part of handle decoration. On outer edge of rim, silhouette animals: groups of a lion and a goat facing. A red line at top of neck inside.

193. Neck amphora: A, procession of warriors. B, Dionysos and satyrs. Plates LVIII-LIX.

P 2568. Fragments from the following depths: a few from 10.90 m., most from 10.35 m. and 10.10 m., some from 9.60 m. H. as restored, 0.263 m. D. 0.17 m.

Foot, most of one handle, and fragments of body missing. Restored in plaster. A. Procession of three warriors. Shield devices, a serpent, a bent leg, and uncertain. White for shield devices and dots on helmet crests. Red for dots on rims of shields. B. Dionysos between dancing satyrs. Red line on beards, red dots on Dionysos' chiton. Raised ring at junction of neck and shoulder red.

On late black-figured neck-amphorae see H. R. W. Smith's remarks in *C.V.A.*, California, pl. XX, nos. 1-4. Palmettes on the neck instead of the usual double lotus and palmette chain are not common: see, however, some examples in *C.V.A.*, British Museum, plates 69 and 70.

194. Pelike fragment: A, Herakles and Amazon. B, Dionysos and satyr. Plate LX.

P 2643. From depth *ca.* 9.00 m. P. H. as restored 0.11 m. D. at lip 0.132 m.

Most of mouth, neck, and upper body preserved. Partially restored in plaster. A. Herakles attacks an Amazon who recoils. Red for Herakles' belt and for border of shield. White for strap over Herakles' shoulder and for three fruits by branch in field. B. Dionysos and satyr facing each other. Red for beards, for dots on Dionysos' wreath and for some dots on his garment. White for other dots on his garment and for three fruits by branch in field. Red line around neck between top of pictures and mouth. Reserved line inside mouth, just below lip.

195. Pelike fragment: A and B, dancing youths. Plate LX.

P 2644 + P 2645. From depth *ca.* 9.00 m. P. H. as restored 0.095 m. D. at lip 0.128 m.

Mouth, much of neck, and some of upper body preserved. Partially restored in plaster. On either side two dancing youths with white fillets. White for fruit by branches in field. Red line around neck between top of pictures and mouth. Reserved line inside mouth just below lip.

196. Pelike fragment: Dionysos. Plate LVIII.

P 2755. From depths 7.40 m. and 6.80 m. P. H. 0.076 m.

Several joining fragments preserve some of neck and upper part of body, including upper left corner of panel. Head of Dionysos. Red for beard and fillet. White for two fruits by branch in field. Red line on neck above picture.

197. Miniature hydria: fountain house scene. Plate LXI.

P 2642. From depths 9.00 m. and 8.45 m. P. H. 0.06 m. D. 0.075 m. Mentioned in *B.S.A.*, XXXVI, 1935-36, pp. 158, 165, 168, 169, 198.

Eight joining fragments preserve some of

the neck, much of the upper part of the body, the stubs of the two side handles, and the lower stub of the back handle. Two other fragments, which join each other but not the main group, preserve some of the mouth and neck (not illustrated). The figured scene occupied the front of the vase, the pediment of the fountain house being on the neck. The sides and back of the vase are decorated with enclosed palmettes which have a white circle at their heart. Part of a similar palmette from the side of the neck is preserved on the non-joining piece. The subject and details are clear from the photograph and drawing. It is perhaps worth noting that for the side columns the white was laid directly on the clay ground, for the central one it was put on over black.

On Greek fountain houses see Miss Dunkley's article in *B.S.A.*, cited above. The present vase is mentioned several times and some of its features are discussed.

198. Hydria fragment: satyr pursuing maenad. Plate LXII.

P 2625 + P 2658. From depths 9.00 m. and 8.45 m. Max. dim. 0.108 m.

Four joining fragments preserve some of neck and shoulder of a hydria-kalpis, including upper part of figured panel. Red for fillets and satyr's beard. White for maenad's flesh.

199. Oinochoe: boxers. Plate LX.

P 2700. From depths 8.45 m. and 8.00 m. H. as restored, 0.27 m. D. as restored, 0.13 m.

Handle, foot, and much of body missing. Many non-joining fragments. No direct connection between upper and lower parts. Restored in plaster; height as restored probably too great. Two boxers; the one at the right strides forward and strikes out with his right hand; the one at the left recoils and defends himself. Incised strokes on fists indicate gloves. Shouldering on lip beside handle. No added color. The glaze has fired a variety of shades. The style suggests a date around the middle of the sixth century B.C. (see introduction).

200. Oinochoe: Herakles and Amazons. Plate LXI.

P 2647. From depth *ca.* 9.00 m. H. as restored, 0.26 m. D. 0.135 m.

Foot, most of handle, and much of body, especially at back, missing. Restored in plaster. In panel on front of vase, Herakles in combat with an Amazon; another Amazon looks on. Herakles' right foot extends out beyond edge of panel. White for Amazons' flesh (partly on glaze, partly on reserved background), for middle line of helmet crest, for shield device (uncertain subject), for details on Herakles' lion skin (mouth, teeth, claws, part of outline), for dots on his chiton, and for several fruits by branches in field. Red for Herakles' belt and dots on his chiton, for border of shield, and for lines on lappets of hat of Amazon at right. Red line on lip as far as shouldering by handle. Red line around body below picture.

201. Oinochoe fragment: quadriga. Plate LX.

P 1557. From depth 10.10 m. P. H. 0.068 m.

Fragment of body with upper right part of panel of an oinochoe shaped like No. 200. Heads of four horses of a quadriga. Red for manes.

202. Oinochoe fragment: satyr and maenad dancing. Plate LX.

P 2646. From depth *ca.* 9.00 m. P. H. 0.076 m. D. at neck 0.072 m.

Two joining fragments preserve some of neck and body of an oinochoe shaped like No. 200. Full width of figured panel preserved. White for maenad's flesh and for some of fruit beside branches in field. Red for satyr's beard, moustache, and hair at back of head; also for fillet hanging over maenad's shoulder.

203. Oinochoe fragments: youth pursuing woman. Plate LX.

P 1397 + P 1558. From depths *ca.* 10.35 m. and 10.10 m. P. H., P 1397, 0.048 m.; P 1558, 0.045 m.

Three fragments make up to two. Some of mouth and figured panel of an oinochoe, *Shapes*

and *Names*, Type III. Nude youth with cloak over arm pursues woman. White for woman's flesh and dots on her dress. Red for her fillet, for dots on her dress, for dot on youth's cloak, and for his forehead hair.

204. Oinochoe: warrior between women. Plate LXII.

P 1337. From depth *ca.* 10.90 m. P. H. 0.115 m. D. 0.125 m.

Mouth, neck, handle, and fragments of body and base missing. The two last restored in plaster. Probably *Shapes and Names*, Type V. In a panel bordered above by black tongues and at sides by a net pattern is a warrior standing between two women. White for women's flesh, for dots on garments and for shield device (an octopus). Red for a line on the helmet and for dots on garments.

205. Oinochoe fragment: procession of youths. Plate LX.

P 1395. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m. P. H. 0.085 m.

Some of trefoil mouth, neck, and body preserved. *Shapes and Names*, Type V. Upper part of figured panel preserved to full width. Heads of three youths; in front of the middle one an uncertain object whose upper half is white. White also for some of fruit by branches in field. Red for youth's fillets.

206. Oinochoe fragment: Dionysos and quadriga. Plate LXII.

P 2741. From depth *ca.* 7.40 m. P. H. 0.15 m.

Some of neck and body preserved. Partially filled out in plaster. *Shapes and Names*, Type V. At right of panel Dionysos seated on a chair with swan's head back looks around at a quadriga approaching from the left. Only the fore parts of the quadriga are represented, there not being room for more in the panel. White for rim of Dionysos' drinking horn, for dots on his wreath, for dots on bridles and for some of fruit on branches in field. Red for Dionysos' beard, for dots on garment, for manes and collars of horses and for a line that encircles the vase below the picture.

207. Pot fragment: Dionysiac scene. Plate LXII.

P 1313. From depths 11.45 m. and 10.90 m. P. H. 0.06 m. D. est. 0.085 m.

Four joining fragments preserve some of body of a closed pot. Dionysos, preceded and followed by a woman; at extreme right, part of another figure. White for women's flesh. Blobs of color on garments.

208. Pot fragment: Dionysos and maenad. Plate LXII.

P 1396. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m. P. H. 0.075 m.

Six joining fragments preserve some of body of a closed pot, perhaps an oinochoe. Partially filled out in plaster. Dionysos seated right, looking back at a dancing maenad. White for maenad's flesh, for groups of three dots on her dress, for a stripe on Dionysos' garment and for fruit on branches in field. Red for Dionysos' beard and wreath, for dots on maenad's dress, and for pair of lines around pot below picture.

209. Pot fragment: satyr's head. Plate LXII.

P 1398. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m. Max. dim. 0.033 m.

Probably from an oinochoe, *Shapes and Names*, Type V. Fragment from upper right corner of panel. Start of neck preserved above tongues; set off by red line. White for fruit on branch in field.

210. Pot fragment: bull. Plate LXII.

P 1559. From depth 10.10 m. Max. dim. 0.042 m.

From a thin walled closed pot, perhaps an oinochoe, *Shapes and Names*, Type III. Some of fore parts of a bull, right. Added red on neck.

211. Pot fragment: bitch between satyr and maenad. Plate LXII.

P 2563. From depth *ca.* 10.10 m. Max. dim. 0.064 m.

Fragment from body of small, round-bodied,

closed pot. A bitch; in front of her a satyr, behind her a maenad. White for bitch's teats, maenad's foot, and a dot on her dress. Red for satyr's tail.

212. Pot fragment: Peleus and Thetis (?). Plate LXII.

P 2621. From depth 9.00 m. Max. dim. 0.032 m.

Fragment from body of large closed pot, perhaps an amphora. Head of a man wearing a red fillet. His beard and forehead hair are rendered by short incised strokes. In front of his nose, trace of added white. Wheel marks on inside of fragment indicate that head was tilted forward so that line of forehead hair was horizontal (wrongly placed in photograph). Probably head of Peleus: for subject cf. No. 152.

213. Pot fragment: woman and seated man. Plate LXII.

P 2627. From depth 9.00 m. Max. dim. 0.101 m.

Two joining fragments preserve some of lower part of body of a closed pot, probably an oinochoe. At left, legs of man seated on a stool, perhaps Dionysos; at right, one leg and part of dress of a woman moving away from him, perhaps a maenad. White for man's chiton and for dots on his himation, for woman's foot and for dots on her dress. Red for dots on woman's dress and for line near its lower border; also for line around vase below picture.

214. Pot fragment: youth. Plate LXII.

P 2684. From depth 8.45 m. Max. dim. 0.031 m.

Fragment from body of a closed pot. Hand and thighs of a youth. Careful incision, including the contours.

215. Lebes fragment: satyr. Plate LXII.

P 2709. From depth 8.00 m. Max. dim. 0.115 m. D. at inner edge of lip, est., 0.20 m.

Single fragment preserves some of rim and body. Head and shoulders of a satyr, and

parts of two other figures. Red for satyr's beard and for blob in field in front of him. Rosettes on top of rim and red line on its outer edge.

216. Neck-amphora fragment: head of man. Plate LXII.

P 2788. From depth 6.00 m. Max. dim. 0.054 m.

Fragment from shoulder of a neck amphora. Part of a man's head preserved; he wears a white fillet. White for fruit by branches in field.

217. Pot fragment: woman. Plate LXII.

P 2789. From depth 6.00 m. Max. dim. 0.038 m.

Fragment of a very large open vase. Body of a woman seated, left. White for flesh. Red dot on dress.

Nos. 218-225 are kylixes with palmettes in handle zone. One of these kylixes, No. 223 (also two others unpublished, Inv. Nos. P 1377 and P 1378; and some uncatalogued fragments) belongs to Beazley's "floral band-cup" class (*J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, p. 189); the others are examples of the same decorative idea applied to kylixes of other shapes (also three others unpublished, Inv. Nos. P 1374, P 1375, P 1376; and some uncatalogued fragments). All are from roughly the same depth, 11.45 m.-10.10 m., and hence are contemporary except No. 225 which comes from higher up and therefore is slightly later. The floral band-cups, which are of "little-master" shape, are not earlier than the rest. Note that some of these kylixes have been warped in firing; see introduction (Nos. 219 and 220; also an unpublished example, Inv. No. P 1376).

Many kylixes of various shapes with this type of decoration were found in grave 31 at Rhitsona (*B.S.A.*, XIV, pp. 277-278; 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1915, p. 120, figs. 10 and 11). They must be roughly contemporary with ours. There are other examples from contemporary fills at the

Agora. Mingazzini's date for kylixes with this kind of decoration is rather too early (*Vasi della Collezione Castellani*, pp. 331-332, nos. 611-612). They continued to be made, though on a somewhat lesser scale, right through the fifth century as is indicated by the examples from a late fifth-century well at Corinth (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 260, fig. 1) and the still later grave mentioned there, and also by the example from a well of about 400 B.C. at the Agora (Inv. No. P 9449).

218. Kylix with palmettes in handle zone. Plate LXII.

P 1308. From depths 11.45 m. and 10.90 m. H. 0.068 m. D. 0.162 m.

Half of one handle and fragments of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Plain rim. Short thick stem with raised ring at bottom. Outer edge of foot convex. Outer edge and resting surface of foot and top of stem inside reserved. White dot at centre of each link of chain on which palmettes rest. Interior: reserved disc at centre decorated with black dot and circle; reserved line at inner edge of lip.

219. *Id.* Plate LXII.

P 1372. Fragments from the following depths: most from 10.90 m. and 10.35 m.; some from 11.45 m. and 10.10 m.; a few from 9.60 m. H. 0.069 m. D. 0.17 m.

Handles and fragments of rim, body, and foot missing. Restored in plaster. Shape and decoration as last, but stem shorter and thicker and lacking raised ring; reserved disc on interior larger and having two circles and no dot. Slightly warped.

220. *Id.* Plate LXII.

P 1371. Depths as last. H. 0.071 m. D. 0.161 m.

Handles and fragments of rim, body and foot missing. Restored in plaster. Shape and decoration as last, but single circle on reserved disc on interior. Badly warped in firing

221. *Id.* Plate LXII.

P 1373. Depths as No. 219. H. 0.065 m. D. 0.17 m.

One handle and fragments of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Raised ring at bottom of stem. Outer edge of foot straight, slanting slightly inward toward top. Arcs over palmettes. White laid on clay ground for upright stalks between palmettes. White dot at centre of each link of chain on which palmettes rest. Two circles and dot on reserved disc on interior.

222. *Id.* Plate LXII.

P 1309. From depths 11.45 m. and 10.90 m. H. 0.052 m. D. 0.13 m.

Both handles and fragments of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Plain rim. Broad reserved handle zone decorated with six large palmettes on either side. Arcs over palmettes. Incision for petals. Arc of white dots around hearts. White laid on clay ground for upright stalks between palmettes. Narrow reserved line below handle zone. Short thick stem. Outer edge and resting surface of foot and top of stem inside reserved. Interior: reserved disc at centre decorated with black circle; reserved line at inner edge of lip. For shape cf. the three small red-figured kylixes, Nos. 33-35 and the black-glazed one, No. 226.

223. *Id.* Plate LXII.

P 1379. Depths as No. 219. H. 0.075 m. D. 0.153 m.

Both handles and much of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Rim slightly out-turned. No added color or incision on palmettes of this kylix, but two other kylixes of the same shape (Inv. Nos. P 1377 and P 1378, unpublished) have red hearts and red central petals for palmettes; P 1377 has arc of white dots over hearts; P 1378 has incision for details. Rather tall slender stem. Outer edge of foot straight, slanting slightly inward toward top, reserved. Under side of foot flat with central cone, reserved. Interior: reserved disc

at centre decorated with dot and two circles; reserved line at inner edge of lip.

224. *Id.* Plate LXII.

P 1380. Depths as No. 219. H. 0.082 m. D. 0.145 m.

Both handles and much of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Rim slightly out-turned. Bowl deep. Stem short with band of added red at bottom. Outer edge of foot straight, reserved. Resting surface of foot and top of stem inside reserved. Double palmettes separated by chain in handle zone. Red for hearts and central petals. White for arc of dots around heart. Interior: reserved disc at centre decorated with dot and circle; reserved line at inner edge of lip.

225. *Id.* Plate LXII.

P 2746. From depth *ca.* 7.40 m. H. 0.098 m. D. 0.17 m.

Both handles, most of rim, much of body, and some of foot missing. Restored in plaster. Rim slightly concave. Bowl deep. Stem short with raised ring at bottom set off by incised lines. Outer edge of foot straight with sharp slope inward toward top. Large palmettes with incision for petals and arc of white dots around heart. White laid on clay ground for upright stalks between palmettes. White dot at centre of each link of chain on which palmettes rest. Interior: reserved disc at centre decorated with circle; reserved line at inner edge of lip.

BLACK-GLAZED AND MISCELLANEOUS POTTERY

Nos. 226-309

Included under this heading is all the unfigured Attic pottery, both glazed and unglazed. A few of the pieces have subsidiary floral or linear designs. Three phialai in Six's technique are also included here. On the large amount of uncatalogued pottery of this kind and its importance, see introduction.

226. Small kylix with plain lip. Plate LXIII.

P 1267. From depth 12.00 m. H. 0.054 m. D. 0.126 m.

Some of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. A small kylix with plain rim, short stem with raised ring at its lower end set off above and below by an incised line, and a disc-like foot. Reserved: inside the handles, outer edge and resting surface of foot, and top of stem inside.

This kylix is of the same size, shape, and fabric as the three small red-figured kylixes, Nos. 33-35. One small variation may be noted: on No. 33 and No. 35 the incised lines on the stem are lacking. Compare also the small palmette kylix, No. 222.

227. Kylix with plain lip. Plate LXIII.

P 1306. From depths 12.00 m. (a few), 11.45 m. and 10.90 m. H. 0.07 m. D. 0.185 m.

One handle and fragments of lip and body missing. Restored in plaster. Stem fairly short and thick; makes rather sharper angle with body than in No. 228. At lower end of stem a raised ring set off above and below by an incised line. Foot flat on top; outer edge convex. Reserved: inside the handles, outer edge and resting surface of foot, and top of stem inside, the last decorated with black dot and circle.

228. Kylix with plain lip. Plate LXIII.

P 1307. From depths 11.45 m. and 10.90 m. H. 0.07 m. D. 0.172 m.

One handle and fragments of lip and body missing. Restored in plaster. Similar to No. 227 except that stem and body merge in a broad open curve. Compare Caskey and Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 9, fig. 7, = Caskey, *Geometry of Greek Vases*, p. 194, no. 148.

229. Kylix with reserved handle zone. Plate LXIII.

P 2649. From depth *ca.* 9.00 m. H. 0.065 m. D. 0.175 m.

Both handles and much of lip and body

missing. Restored in plaster. Plain lip. Short, thick, ring-like stem. Reserved: on interior, a narrow band at edge of lip and a medallion in centre decorated with a small black circle; on exterior, the handle zone and a narrow band below it, the outer edge and resting surface of the foot, and the top of the stem inside.

Kylixes 230-235 are of Beazley's type C (*Att. V.*, p. 4). The first four (Plate LXIII) illustrate different stages in the development of the shape of this type of vase during the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. The other two are merely additional examples.

The first, No. 230, is from depth 11.45 m. and hence should date from the early years of the fifth century. Its lip is relatively high and has a gently concave outer face. Its stem is thick and has a well-defined raised ring at its lower end set off above and below by an incised line. Its foot has a flat upper surface and a rounded, reserved outer edge. Compare *C.V.A.*, Oxford, III, I, pl. 1, 9, and pl. 47, 6; and, for a somewhat earlier example of the same shape and almost exactly the same dimensions, Caskey-Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 7, fig. 5 (= Caskey, *op. cit.*, p. 181, no. 135).

The second, No. 231, which is from the fill with the ostraka and so should date from the eighties of the fifth century, has a lower, more sharply concave lip. Its stem is thinner and slightly taller. The raised ring at the bottom of the stem has been omitted, but its position is marked by two incised lines. The upper surface of the foot begins to show a slope. Compare Caskey-Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 7, fig. 6 (= Caskey, *op. cit.*, p. 183, no. 138), which, however, is slightly earlier than our piece.

The third, No. 232, which is also from the ostrakon fill and probably contemporary with the second, has a low lip with a sharply concave outer face. Its stem is thin, but not as tall as that of the second. The upper surface of the foot has a marked slope.

The fourth, No. 233, is from near the top of the shaft and probably dates within a year or so of 480 B.C. Its rim is similar to the second

but more sharply concave. Its stem is thin and fairly tall and has a pair of roughly incised lines at its lower end. The foot has a sloping upper surface and its outer edge, which is spreading above, rounds in toward the bottom; the spreading part is reserved, the rounded lower part glazed. Compare the slightly later kylix, Yale 165: J. Hambidge, *Dynamic Symmetry, the Greek Vase*, p. 117, fig. 3; P. V. C. Baur, *Catalogue of the Rebecca Darlington Stoddard Collection of Greek and Italian Vases in Yale University*, p. 109, no. 165. For the foot, compare the contemporary white ground kylix, Agora Inv. No. P 43, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 229, fig. 6, and *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 337, fig. 5.

From the above we see clearly the general trend of development of this type of kylix. The rim tends to become lower and more sharply concave. The stem tends to become thinner and taller. The raised ring at the bottom of the stem becomes less prominent and even disappears altogether, leaving only one or two incised lines to mark its position. The upper surface of the foot acquires a marked slope, and its outer edge in the latest examples differs.

230. Kylix with concave lip. Plate LXIII.

P 1305. From depth 11.45 m. H. 0.08 m. D. 0.175 m.

One handle and fragments of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Reserved: inside handles, outer edge and resting surface of foot, and top of stem inside, the last decorated with dot and circle. For description see above.

231. Id. Plate LXIII.

P 2748. From depth *ca.* 7.40 m. H. 0.085 m. D. 0.165 m.

One handle and half the other, much of rim and body, and about half foot missing. Restored in plaster. Reserved spaces as last. For description see above.

232. Id. Plate LXIII.

P 2774. From depths 6.80 m. and 6.00 m. H. 0.077 m. D. 0.15 m.

One handle and some of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Reserved spaces as last, but without dot and circle. For description see above.

233. Id. Plate LXIII.

P 2802. From depth 0.50 m. to 1.50 m. H. 0.075 m. D. 0.15 m.

One handle and much of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Reserved spaces as last. For description see above.

234. Id. Plate LXIII.

P 2696. From depth *ca.* 8.45 m. H. 0.085 m. D. 0.164 m.

Both handles, about half lip, and some of body missing. Restored in plaster. Pair of incised lines at base of stem, but no raised ring. Slight slope on top of foot. Outer edge and resting surface of foot and top of stem inside reserved.

235. Id. Plate LXIII.

P 2733. From depths 8.00 m. and 7.40 m. H. 0.083 m. D. 0.164 m.

Both handles and fragments of lip, body, and foot missing. Restored in plaster. Marked slope on top of foot. Reserved spaces as last.

236. Kylix with off-set lip. Plate LXIII.

P 2747. From depth *ca.* 7.40 m. H. 0.078 m. D. 0.162 m.

Fragments missing throughout. Restored in plaster. The piece preserving foot and stem does not join directly, but almost certainly belongs. Rim off-set, sharply on interior, scarcely at all on exterior. For this type of rim see *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 336-339, where this kylix is mentioned in note 6. Outer edge of foot convex, glazed. Under surface slightly concave and reserved except for small glazed cone running up into stem. Finest black glaze, somewhat peeled in places.

237. Handleless kylix. Plate LXIII.

P 2749. From depth *ca.* 7.40 m. H. 0.074 m. D. 0.185 m.

Most of lip, much of body, and fragments

of foot missing. Restored in plaster. Plain rim with slight bulge on exterior and an incised groove below it. No handles. Short, thick stem with two incised grooves. Top of foot sloping with slight rise toward outer edge. The slightly concave outer face and the resting surface of the foot are reserved; also the top of the stem inside, the last decorated with black dot and circle.

Fragments of handleless bowls of this type were found at various depths in the upper fill of the Shaft and were particularly abundant at about this depth. This is the only example that it has been possible to make up, however. To fill out the series, I have selected two bowls from other deposits at the Agora, one earlier, the other later than the Shaft piece. The one is from a well of about 500 B.C. or slightly earlier (Plate LXIII, Agora Inv. No. P 7895; H. 0.067 m., D. 0.19 m.). It is a handsome piece of pottery with fine, lustrous black glaze. The rather small lip has a pronounced bulge on the exterior and is sharply undercut. There is a raised ring at the lower end of the stem, set off above and below by an incised line. The foot is a disc, flat on top. Its very slightly concave outer face and its resting surface are reserved, as is the top of the stem inside, the last decorated with a black dot and circle. The other is from a well of the second quarter of the fifth century (Plate LXIII, Agora Inv. No. P 5134; published, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 341, fig. 9). The bulge of the lip has disappeared and only its position is marked by a groove. The stem is plain. The rise toward the outer edge of the top of the foot is more marked than on the Shaft piece, and the reserved outer face of the foot is more concave. On handleless kylixes cf. *C.V.A.*, Oxford III, I, pl. 3, 8; for drawing of shape cf. Lau, *Griechische Vasen*, pl. 31, 7.

238. One-handed, stemless kylix. Plate LXIII.

P 2594. From depth *ca.* 9.60 m. H. 0.055 m. D. 0.16 m.

Almost all the handle, and fragments of lip and body missing. Restored in plaster. Con-

cave lip. Small, slightly raised base, its outer edge and flat bottom reserved. The vase is decorated with lines of added red, located as follows: interior, one at junction of lip and body, two about middle of body, one around centre; exterior, one at junction of lip and body, two about middle of body, two just above base, and one at junction of body and base.

239. Stemless kylix: red and black glaze. Plate LXIII.

P 2772. From depth 6.80 m. H. as restored, 0.06 m. D. 0.13 m.

Base, one handle, and much of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Off-set lip, slightly concave on exterior. Base restored as flat disc on evidence of other similar vases at the Agora (on these, outer edge black glaze, bottom reserved and very slightly concave with small depression at centre which is decorated with black dot and two concentric black circles). The glaze on lip and handle is black, that on the body red. The red, which is obviously intentional, is rather flaky. On this kind of red glaze see above on No. 52.

Red-and-black stemless kylixes like the present are not very common. Their rarity, however, may be due in large measure to the fact that they had a relatively short period of popularity. Agora examples from dateable deposits all belong to the years just before 480 B.C. They are all remarkably uniform and are doubtless the product of one workshop. The Agora catalogue lists eight examples including the present one. I know of only one published example of a vase of this kind: L. P. di Cesnola, *Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities*, II, plate CXLVII, no. 1088. There is a second example, unpublished, in the same collection, and a third, also unpublished, in the Naples Museum (no. 847, inv. 81036).

Besides these there is the more elaborate piece with black-figured decoration already mentioned above (on No. 52) and illustrated on Plate XXXVI (Agora Inv. No. P 10359). It is made up of eight pieces, of which the

handle fragment does not join. Much of the floor is preserved, but only the start of the off-set lip. As far as preserved its shape is the same as that of the unfigured examples except that the handle is slightly shorter and thicker. Lip, black glaze; body, sealing-wax red glaze. Inside, painted in black over the red, a dog with high curling tail standing on a black ground line. The details of its shaggy coat are rendered in part with relief lines, in part with light incisions. The eye is deeply incised. This vase is unique as far as I know, though the technique of the black-figured parts of Skythes' kylixes in the Louvre and Palermo appears from the descriptions to be similar (Louvre, F 129, Beazley, *Att. V.*, pp. 40-41, no. 10; Palermo, *ibid.*, no. 11, *C.V.A.*, Palermo, III, I, c, plate 3, and text under plate 4).

240. Stemless kylix. Plate LXIII.

P 2750. From depth 7.40 m. H. 0.052 m. D. 0.135 m.

One handle and much of lip, body, and base missing. Restored in plaster. Off-set lip, slightly concave on exterior. Low, flat foot, slightly concave on under side. Reserved: inside handles and under side of foot.

241. Stemless kylix. Plate LXIII.

P 16765. From depths 11.45 m. and 10.90 m. H. 0.057 m. D. 0.14 m.

One handle, half the other, and fragments of rim, body, and foot missing. Restored in plaster. Off-set lip, slightly concave on exterior. Low, discoid foot with slightly concave under side. Reserved: inside handles; narrow bands at inner edge of lip, at junction of body and foot, and on resting surface of foot; and a small circle at centre of under surface of foot, the last decorated with a black circle. An added red line at lower part of lip inside and a pair at the same point outside.

242. Stemless kylix. Plate LXIII.

P 16784. From top of Shaft. H. 0.06 m. D. 0.135 m.

Fragments missing throughout. Restored in plaster. Shape and scheme of decoration similar to No. 241 with the following exceptions: proportions more compact (i. e., body narrower and deeper, handles shorter); under side of foot reserved with small incised circle at centre; red line on exterior single instead of double. As this vase and the last come from widely differing depths, the difference in proportions between them may be due to difference in date.

The skyphoi of "Corinthian" type, Nos. 243-245, are of thin fabric. The lips turn very slightly inward at the top. A pair of red lines encircles the vase just below the handles. There is a reserved band above the foot decorated with vertical lines like relief lines. The bottoms are reserved and decorated with a central dot, a small circle, and a larger circle (not completely preserved in every case). There are two other catalogued skyphoi of this kind from the Shaft, and uncatalogued fragments of a number of others. Nos. 243 and 244, to judge from the depth at which they were found, should date from the early years of the fifth century B.C.; No. 245 is from the ostrakon fill and hence should date from the eighties. I see no significant difference in shape between them. For the development of the shape see *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 340-341, and fig. 8, top. For a fragment of a red-figured skyphos of this type see No. 48 above.

243. Skyphos of "Corinthian" type. Plate LXIII.

P 1325. From depths 11.45 m. and 10.90 m. H. 0.11 m. D. 0.15 m. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 340, fig. 8, top, left.

Some of lip and body missing. Restored in plaster. See above.

244. *Id.* Plate LXIII.

P 1340. From depth *ca.* 10.90 m. H. 0.135 m. D. 0.18 m.

One handle and some of lip and body missing. Restored in plaster. See above.

245. *Id.* Plate LXIII.

P 2753. From depth *ca.* 7.40 m. H. 0.115 m. D. 0.15 m.

Some of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. See above.

246. Skyphos. Plate LXIV.

P 1326. From depths 11.45 m. and 10.90 m. H. 0.11 m. D. 0.15 m.

One handle and most of rim and upper part of body missing. Restored in plaster. This vase has some features in common with the "Corinthian" type skyphoi, namely, its general shape and the presence of a pair of red lines below the handles. Its fabric, however, is heavier, its lip and body profile straighter, and it lacks the reserved band with rays above the foot: in these features it resembles more the skyphoi of "Attic" type. The bottom is entirely glazed.

247. Skyphos of "Attic" type. Plate LXIV.

P 2732. From depths 8.00 m. and 7.40 m. H. 0.093 m. D. 0.116 m. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 340, fig. 8, bottom, left.

Small fragments of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Heavy fabric. Torus foot with reserved outer edge and resting surface. Bottom reserved and decorated with dot and two circles.

248. Skyphos. Plate LXIV.

P 2752. From depth *ca.* 7.40 m. H. 0.09 m. D. 0.14 m.

One handle and much of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. The foot is a false torus, that is, its profile on the exterior is a normal torus, but underneath, the slightly concave bottom of the vase is flush with the bottom of the foot and there is no independent foot ring. There is a black line at the bottom of the outer edge of the foot and two black circles on the bottom of the vase.

249. Skyphos. Plate LXIV.

P 2751. From depth *ca.* 7.40 m. H. 0.075 m. D. 0.145 m.

One handle, more than half the rim, and fragments of body missing. Restored in plaster. Slightly concave lip. Ring foot with reserved outer face and resting surface. Bottom reserved and decorated with black dot and circle.

250. Skyphos. Plate LXIV.

P 2615. From depths 9.60 m. and 9.00 m. H. 0.083 m. D. 0.148 m.

Fragments of rim, body, and foot missing. Restored in plaster. Small, sharply concave lip. Base fillet set off above and below by an incised line. Heavy ring foot. Reserved: outer edge and resting surface of foot, and bottom of vase; the bottom is decorated with a dot and four circles, the second circle from the centre a thick line, the others thin lines. Fragments of several other identical skyphoi from depth 8.45 m.; uncatalogued.

251. Small skyphos. Plate XLVII.

P 16768. From depth *ca.* 10.90 m. H. 0.06 m. D. 0.107 m.

One handle and much of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Plain, slightly projecting rim. Body tapers to small, flat bottom. Narrow reserved band at handles and another at bottom of body. Bottom also reserved. Fragments of others from various depths, uncatalogued. Several similar vases have been found in the excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis; cf. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 251, no. 314, fig. 55.

252. One-handler. Plate LXIV.

P 1385. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m. H. 0.056 m. D. 0.15 m.

Handle (except trace), and much of rim, body, and foot missing. Restored in plaster. Plain rim. Low ring foot. Exterior reserved except top of rim, line around middle of body, and outer edge of foot. Resting surface of foot, and bottom within foot reserved. Interior glazed save central medallion which is reserved and decorated with black circle. Cf. *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 37-38 and fig. 30, a.

253. Mug. Plate LXIV.

P 2795. From depth 6.00 m. H. 0.115 m. D. 0.11 m.

Fragments missing throughout. Restored in plaster. Vertical band handle. Reserved: outer edge and resting surface of foot and bottom of vase within foot.

For comparison I figure on Plate LXIV another mug from a roughly contemporary fill at the Agora (Inv. No. P 14972: *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 274, fig. 9: H. 0.116 m. D. 0.125 m.). These vases are variants of what Beazley calls oinochoe, shape 8 (*Greek Vases in Poland*, pp. 59-60; Caskey-Beazley; *op. cit.*, p. 21), but I know of no exact parallels for the shape of either.

254. Plate. Plates LXIV-LXV.

P 1349. From depth *ca.* 10.90 m. H. 0.028 m. D. 0.182 m.

Fragments missing throughout. Restored in plaster. Dull black glaze on top, flaked away over large areas. Reserved decoration as in photograph. Single suspension hole preserved in rim. Under side reserved.

255. Plate. Plates LXIV-LXV.

P 1387. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m. H. 0.028 m. D. 0.19 m.

Much of rim and floor missing. Restored in plaster. Entirely reserved and covered with transparent glaze wash. Cf. Dugas, *Délos*, X, *Les vases de l'Héraion*, no. 639, pl. XLIII.

256. Plate. Plates LXIV-LXV.

P 1388. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m. H. 0.017 m. D. 0.20 m.

Much of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Top, alternate glazed and reserved zones as in photograph. Under side reserved.

257. Plate fragment. Plates LXIV-LXV.

P 1389. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m. H. 0.03 m. D. est. 0.25 m.

Some of rim, foot, and floor preserved. Top glazed with narrow reserved lines as in photo-

graph. Under side reserved. Two suspension holes in rim.

258. Plate. Plates LXIV-LXV.

P 2573. From depths 10.35 m., 10.10 m., and 9.60 m. H. 0.03 m. D. 0.20 m.

Much of rim and floor missing. Restored in plaster. Top, dull black glaze with single reserved band at junction of rim and floor. Under side reserved.

259. Plate fragment. Plates LXIV-LXV.

P 2606. From depth *ca.* 9.60 m. H. 0.022 m. D. 0.13 m.

About half preserved. For decoration of top, see photograph. Under side glazed except resting surface of foot and area within foot, the latter decorated with concentric circles.

Nos. 260-263 are black-glazed lekythoi of "little lion" shape. See above on Nos. 122-138. One of these vases, most likely No. 260, is probably the Agora vase referred to in *J.H.S.*, LVIII, 1938, p. 258. See the discussion of these vases, *ibid.*, pp. 257-259, and *J.H.S.*, LVII, 1937, p. 265. Nos. 260-262, to judge by the depth at which they were found, should date from the early years of the fifth century. No. 263, which comes from the fill with the ostraka, should date from the eighties of the fifth century. Note contrast of body shape between 260 and 263.

260. Lekythos of "little lion" shape. Plate LXV.

P 1291. From depth 11.45 m. H., as restored, 0.09 m. D. 0.043 m.

Mouth, handle, and some of neck and foot missing. Restored in plaster. Shoulder: lotus buds with white petals, above which tongues. Pair of red lines at top of body, one lower down, and one at junction of body and foot.

261. *Id.* Plate LXV.

P 1292. From depth 11.45 m. H., as restored, 0.061 m. D. 0.03 m.

Mouth and handle missing. Restored in plaster. Foot chipped. Shoulder: lotus buds with

white petals. Pair of red lines at top of body and one lower down.

262. *Id.* Plate LXV.

P 1402. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m. H. as restored, 0.06 m. D. 0.031 m.

Foot and fragments of body missing. Restored in plaster. Shoulder: lotus buds with white petals, above which dots. Pair of red lines at top of body and one lower down.

263. *Id.* Plate LXV.

P 16782. From depth 7.40 m. H. as restored, 0.105 m. D. 0.042 m.

Mouth, foot, and most of handle missing. Restored in plaster. Shoulder: lotus buds with white petals, above which tongues. Pair of red lines at top of body and one lower down.

Fragments of perhaps half a dozen psykters were found in the Shaft, chiefly at depths 9.60 m. and 9.00 m. Besides those published here as Nos. 264-266 there are several other uncatalogued fragments. Although figured examples of psykters are relatively rare and not many black-glazed examples have hitherto been reported, it would seem that the shape was by no means uncommon during the brief period of its vogue, the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. Agora deposits of this period quite often produce fragments of psykters, and several more or less whole examples have come from wells. Since none of the Shaft pieces is complete, I illustrate here on Plate LXV, bottom, four examples from early fifth-century wells in other parts of the Agora (left to right: Inv. No. P 11048, H. 0.197 m., D. 0.185 m.; Inv. No. P 11047, H. 0.201 m., D. 0.175 m.; Inv. No. P 12544, H. 0.17 m., D. 0.14 m., published *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 231, fig. 27, top left; Inv. No. P 6639, H. 0.212 m., D. 0.17 m.).

The normal type of handle on black-glazed psykters is the double tubular variety, illustrated by Nos. 264 and 265; cf. also the three vases at the right on Plate LXV, bottom. These are usually reserved and show traces of red ochre wash. On No. 264 they are, by

exception, glazed. A variant of this type is the rectangular example, No. 266. Pollux (*Onomastikon*, VI, 99) says that the psykter has ἀστραγάλισκοι. This term, as Miss Hill has seen (*Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, II, 1939, pp. 112-113), clearly refers to handles such as these, which look not unlike knucklebones. The vertical band-handles attached at rim and shoulder which appear on Agora Inv. No. P 11048 are unique as far as I know. There is a small reserved triangle on the top of each. Another type of handle is the vertical loop which appears on a red-figured example in the British Museum (E 767: *C.V.A.*, III, I, c, plate 104; *Shapes and Names*, fig. 88) and a black-figured example in Brussels (inv. A 1652; *Bulletin des Musées Royaux*, 1909, pp. 51-52, fig. 2). A black-figured psykter in Rhodes has handles like an amphora (*Clara Rhodos*, IV, p. 75, fig. 51, 2; *C.V.A.*, Rodi, III, H, e, pl. 19, 1-2; cf. *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, p. 88, and *J.H.S.*, LV, 1935, p. 91). On most figured psykters the handles are omitted.

To the bibliography on psykters given in *Shapes and Names*, pp. xxiii and 12-13, we may add, besides the references given above, Mingazzini's list of black-figured examples in *Vasi della Collezione Castellani*, pp. 210-211. Two of the Louvre vases which he mentions and one which he does not mention are now published in *C.V.A.*, III, H, e, plates 73-74. No. 10 in his list is now published by J. Sieveking, *Bronzen, Terrakotten, Vasen der Sammlung Loeb*, pl. 42. There is an unpublished black-figured psykter in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (01.1021.80); two black-glazed psykters have recently been found in a well in Corinth (*A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 596-597, fig. 8); and there is another in the Kerameikos Museum in Athens (unpublished).

264. Fragmentary psykter. Plate LXV.

P 1324. From depths 11.45 m. and 10.90 m. P. H. 0.12 m. D. at lip, 0.074 m. Max. D. of body, est., 0.17 m.

Mended from many pieces, some of which do not make direct joins. Strengthened and

partially restored in plaster. Preserved are most of the mouth and neck, much of the shoulder, and some of the body down to a little below the point of greatest diameter where it begins to turn inward. The mouth is fitted for a lid. On the shoulder a reserved zone decorated with a tongue pattern. The zone is bordered above and below by a pair of red lines, one of which in each case is on the reserved area, the other on the glaze. The handle, which is glazed, consists of a pair of tubes pierced vertically (see above).

265. Handles of a psykter. Plate LXIV.

P 1324 *bis*. From depths 11.45 m. and 10.90 m. L. of handle, 0.025 m. W. of handle, 0.022 m.

Two handles from a psykter, each consisting of a pair of tubes pierced vertically. Unglazed except for smears along edges from glazing of pot. Traces of red ochre wash.

266. Handles of psykter. Plate LXV.

P 16771. From depth 9.60 m. L. of handle, 0.03 m. W. of handle, 0.02 m.

Two rectangular handles whose long sides are slightly concave. Pierced vertically by a single hole. Unglazed except for lower part of sides next to wall of pot.

267. Pelike. Plate LXVI.

P 1271. From depths 12.00 m. and 11.45 m. H. 0.18 m. D. 0.145 m.

Fragments of body and foot missing. Restored in plaster. Torus mouth. Flat handles. Bulbous body. Spreading foot. Glaze fired mostly red. Under side of foot reserved.

268. Neck amphora. Plate LXVI.

P 1358. From depths 10.90 m. and 10.35 m. H. as restored, 0.192 m. D. 0.148 m.

Foot and lower part of body missing; fragments elsewhere. Restored in plaster. Echinus mouth. Cylindrical handles. Plump body. Neck reserved and decorated with ivy. Red fillet at junction of neck and body. Pair of red lines around vase below handles and one at inner edge of mouth. Top of mouth reserved.

269. Amphora lid. Plate LXVI.

P 1293. From depth 11.45 m. D. 0.187 m. D. of flange 0.137 m. P. H. 0.068 m.

A few small fragments missing. Restored in plaster. The knob chipped and a smaller knob from its top missing; not restored. Red line around base of knob, around tips of rays, between rows of ivy leaves, and on outer edge. Compare Lau, *Griechische Vasen*, pl. XI, 1; C.V.A., Louvre, III, H, e, pl. 58, 12; and Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, pl. 85, no. 271.

270. Lekanis lid. Plate LXVI.

P 2754. From depth *ca.* 7.40 m. H. 0.072 m. D. 0.24 m.

Fragments missing throughout. Restored in plaster. Narrow reserved band just above middle of body decorated with rays. A red line at either side of reserved band, and a pair lower down. Outer edge of knob and resting surface reserved. Red line on top of knob. Mended in antiquity.

271. Lekanis. Plate LXVI.

P 2756. From depths 8.00 m. and 6.00 m. H. 0.078 m. D. 0.182 m.

One handle and fragments of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Rim fitted for top. Below rim, reserved zone decorated with diagonal wavy lines. Another reserved zone above foot decorated with rays. Resting surface of foot and top of lip reserved. Pair of red lines around vase at bottom of handles and another above rays.

272. Small olpe. Plate LXVI.

P 1564. From depth 10.10 m. H. 0.125 m. D. 0.07 m.

About half mouth missing, otherwise intact. Restored in plaster. Added red on edge of lip and top of handle next to lip. A red line around the body at the level of the bottom of the handle. Bottom of vase flat and covered with dilute glaze wash.

These little olpai are very common and have a long history. For a contemporary example

from the North Slope of the Acropolis see *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 251, no. 312. Compare also the inscribed examples above under No. 16.

273. Small oinochoe. Plate LXVI.

P 1347. From depth 10.10 m. P. H. 0.10 m. D. 0.072 m.

Mouth, handle and fragments of body and bottom missing. Body and neck filled out with plaster, but mouth and handle not restored. Tall neck. Single vertical handle of which only part of lower stub remains. Flat bottom covered with dilute glaze wash. Red line around body at point of lower handle attachment.

274. Small handleless kylix. Plate LXVI.

P 2595. From depth 9.60 m. H. 0.048 m. D. 0.083 m.

Fragments missing throughout. Restored in plaster. An incised groove on exterior below lip, two lower down on body and two at bottom of stem. Outer edge of foot and top of stem inside reserved. Cf. No. 237 above.

275. Small handleless kylix. Plate LXVI.

P 2596. From depth 9.60 m. H. as restored, 0.06 m. D. 0.103 m.

Stem and foot missing. Restored in plaster. Torus lip, marked off from body on exterior by deep reserved groove. At centre of interior, small reserved disc decorated with two concentric circles.

276. Small stemmed bowl (chalice). Plate LXVI.

P 1405. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m. H. as restored, 0.055 m. D. 0.07 m.

Foot and fragments of lip missing. Restored in plaster. Flaring lip. Concave sides. Compare Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery*, p. 10, and pl. VI, no. 18.138; and Lau, *Griechische Vasen*, pl. XXXI, 5.

277. Small stand. Plate LXVI.

P 16764. From depth 11.45 m. H. as restored, 0.045 m. D. 0.063 m.

Foot and most of stem missing. Restored in

plaster. Top slightly sunk; reserved and decorated with a dot and two circles. Reserved groove around outer edge. Raised ring at top of stem. Cf. *Shapes and Names*, p. 31 and fig. 190.

278. Small stemless kylix. Plate LXVI.

P 2603. From depth *ca.* 9.60 m. H. 0.025 m. D. 0.092 m.

One handle and much of body missing. Restored in plaster. Plain rim. Flat discoid foot, reserved underneath. Reserved groove separates body and foot. Outer edge of foot glazed.

279. Small one-handler. Plate LXVI.

P 2686. From depths 9.00 m. and 8.45 m. H. 0.022 m. D. 0.062 m.

Some of rim, body, and bottom missing. Restored in plaster. Plain rim, slightly incurved. Small flat bottom, reserved. Glaze much flaked.

280. Small lid. Plate LXVI.

P 1348. From depth *ca.* 10.90 m. H. as restored, 0.05 m. D. 0.104 m.

Knob and nearly half rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Resting surface and under side reserved.

281. Small lid. Plate LXVI.

P 16775. From depth 8.45 m. P. H. 0.04 m. D. 0.072 m.

Knob missing, only a small inner one which was not intended to be seen preserved; fragments missing elsewhere. A small domed lid with flange for fitting on pot. White line at lower edge of lid. Under side reserved.

282. Fragment of strainer. Plate LXVI.

P 2566. From depth *ca.* 10.10 m. Max. dim. 0.10 m. D. of strainer proper, 0.062 m.

Mended from several fragments and partially filled out with plaster. A small deep bowl pierced with many small holes, irregularly spaced; around it a broad rim sloping gently upward. No edge preserved for rim. The bowl reserved, the rim glazed.

On strainers see Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, s.v. colum. They were usually of metal, but one terracotta example is cited in note 14. I know of two other examples in terracotta, Agora Inv. No. P 6640 and Athens National Museum Inv. 12615.

Nos. 283-292 are small bowls with convex or concave sides. Besides the pieces published here there are 12 others from the Shaft catalogued as well as many uncatalogued fragments from various depths. The published pieces include examples of all the principal types and variants.

At Rhitsona one of these bowls was found in each grave of the fifth or fourth century B.C. and Ure concludes that they served some ritual purpose: see *Sixth*, p. 38. They were no doubt also put to secular use, for example as salt cellars.

283. Small bowl. Plate LXVI.

P 2601. From depth *ca.* 9.60 m. H. 0.036 m. D. 0.068 m.

A few small fragments missing. Restored in plaster. Convex sides. Bottom in-set, reserved and decorated with dot and two circles.

284. *Id.* Plate LXVI.

P 2597. From depth *ca.* 9.60 m. H. 0.035 m. D. 0.069 m.

A few small fragments missing. Restored in plaster. Convex sides. Bottom in-set. Black glaze all over.

285. *Id.* Plate LXVI.

P 2602 + P 2690. From depths 9.60 m. and 8.45 m. H. 0.034 m. D. 0.07 m.

A few small fragments missing. Restored in plaster. Convex sides. Flat bottom, reserved.

286. *Id.* Plate LXVI.

P 2558 + P 2599. From depths 10.10 m. and 9.60 m. H. 0.035 m. D. 0.065 m.

A few small fragments missing. Restored in plaster. Convex sides narrowing toward top. Bottom in-set. Resting surface reserved.

287. *Id.* Plate LXVI.

P 2775. From depths 6.80 m. and 6.00 m. H. 0.044 m. D. 0.071 m.

Fragments missing throughout. Restored in plaster. Nearly straight sides sloping gently inward toward top. Bottom deeply in-set, reserved.

288. *Id.* Plate LXVI.

P 2691. From depth 8.45 m. H. 0.028 m. D. 0.067 m.

A considerable portion missing. Restored in plaster. Foot set off from body. Bottom flat, reserved. Reserved line just below lip and in groove setting off body from foot.

289. *Id.* Plate LXVI.

P 1403. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m. H. 0.045 m. D. 0.062 m.

About half rim missing. Restored in plaster. Concave sides. Flat bottom, reserved. Reserved line at top and inner edge of rim.

290. *Id.* Plate LXVI.

P 1332. From depth 10.90 m. H. 0.046 m. D. 0.07 m.

About half rim and some of body and bottom missing. Restored in plaster. Concave sides. Bottom flat except toward edge where it rises slightly. Bottom reserved.

291. *Id.* Plate LXVI.

P 2557. From depth 10.10 m. H. 0.043 m. D. 0.06 m.

Fragments missing throughout. Restored in plaster. Concave sides. Bottom in-set, reserved, and decorated with dot and two circles.

292. *Id.* Plate LXVI.

P 2694. From depth 8.45 m. H. 0.027 m. D. 0.048 m.

Fragments missing throughout. Restored in plaster. Slightly concave sides. Flat bottom, reserved.

293. Small bowl or one-handler. Plate LXVI.

P 1294. From depth 11.45 m. H. 0.027 m. D. 0.067 m.

Fragments of rim and body missing. Not

restored. Bottom and two broad bands on body reserved. Bottom flat. This vase may possibly have been a one-handler: cf. No. 252.

294. Small bowl. Plate LXVI.

P 2729. From depth 8.00 m. H. 0.042 m. D. 0.085 m.

Some of rim and body missing. Not restored. Torus rim. Ring foot. Outside of body, resting surface of foot, and bottom within foot reserved; the last decorated with dot and circle. Elsewhere good black glaze. Clear traces of red ochre wash on reserved parts.

295. Small bowl. Plate LXVI.

P 2728. From depth 8.00 m. H. 0.012 m. D. 0.055 m.

Horizontal handle missing, otherwise intact save minor chips. Flat bottom. Convex sides which turn in sharply to form broad, flat-topped rim rather like a lamp. On top of rim a sort of chain done in black glaze with a white dot at the centre of each link. Black glaze on lower part of sides and on interior. Bottom reserved.

296. Fragment of bowl. Plate LXVI.

P 2745. From depth *ca.* 7.40 m. P. H. 0.051 m. D. est. 0.11 m.

Mended from three pieces and strengthened with plaster. Flat projecting rim. Sides slightly concave. The start of a sloping bottom surface preserved. On the rim, dot rosettes and circles. On sides a reserved band decorated with ivy; above and below, a wavy white line painted over black glaze. Interior, black glaze.

The shape is not a familiar one. Cf. *C.V.A.*, Bologna, III, H, e, pl. 44, 2; and Graef-Langlotz, I, nos. 2362 ff.

297. Phiale in Six's technique: hounds and hares. Plate LXVII.

P 1563. From depth 10.10 m. H. 0.028 m. D. est. 0.10 m.

Much of rim and some of body missing. In

main zone around edge of interior, a hound pursuing a hare (twice), the hares white, the hounds dull reddish brown. Around omphalos, white tongues surrounded by three white lines. On omphalos, a central dot in white, a black band, and a dull, reddish brown band. White line at rim inside and out. Exterior reserved except narrow black band at rim.

298. Fragments of phiale in Six's technique. Plate LXVII.

P 2685. From depth 8.45 m.; one fragment at 9.00 m. D. est. 0.20 m.

Scattered fragments preserve some of rim and body; omphalos missing. Around omphalos, a white line, then reddish brown tongues; then numerous closely spaced white lines. Main decoration consists of a branch with leaves in thick white, berries in red, main stem in white, some subsidiary stems in red. White line at outer edge of leaves and another at outer edge of rim. Exterior reserved except narrow black band at rim.

299. Fragments of phiale in Six's technique. Plate LXVII.

P 2727. From depth 8.00 m. Max. dim. of largest fragment, 0.095 m.

Fragments of rim, body, and omphalos preserved. On omphalos, a central dot in white, then two black and two reddish brown bands alternating. Around omphalos, a yellow line, then yellow tongues, then closely spaced yellow lines. Main decoration similar to last, but berries perhaps yellow. Exterior reserved except for band of glaze and white line at rim.

Nos. 300-302 are Thymiaterion covers. Small lids with cut-out openings in the sides have long been recognized as thymiaterion covers: see most recently Kourouniotes' article in *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, pp. 214 ff. An example from the Shaft is No. 300, and a more elaborate example from another part of the excavations is illustrated with it on Plate

LXVI, P 484.²⁰ To make these cut-out openings must have been rather difficult and troublesome, however, and the resulting object rather fragile, so we should expect to find a simpler form. I believe that this simpler form is to be recognized in a class of objects which are usually described as clay bells (cf. Graef-Langlotz, I, no. 2652) and of which Nos. 301 and 302 are examples. They have a single small opening in the top, could be quickly and easily made on the wheel, and would be much more durable than the kind with cut-out openings in the sides. It may be objected that the single hole in the top would not allow sufficient air to keep the coals burning or sufficient space for the incense to escape, but the cheapness of the object probably had an appeal that outweighed the practical disadvantages, especially if the object were intended for only occasional use or for dedication. A further indication that these "bells" are actually thymiaterion covers is given by an example from another part of the Agora illustrated on Plate LXVI, MC 6.²¹ It has a zone of ivy leaves *painted* in black glaze around it and may be compared with the Eleusis example published by Kourouniotes, *loc. cit.*, fig. 23, right, which has *cut-out* ivy leaves.²²

300. Thymiaterion cover. Plate LXVI.

P 16777. From depth *ca.* 8.45 m. H. 0.055 m. D. 0.069 m.

Much of rim and body missing. Restored in

plaster. Seven triangular openings in body. Interior unglazed. The Agora catalogue lists two other examples of this type of thymiaterion cover, both from fill of the early fifth century B.C., besides the more elaborate example illustrated on Plate LXVI, P 484. See also above.

301. Thymiaterion cover. Plate LXVI.

P 2608. From depth *ca.* 9.60 m. H. as restored, with handle, 0.078 m. D. 0.066 m.

Handle and much of body missing. Restored in plaster. This piece and the next are complementary and together supply all the essential parts of a complete object: bell shaped with hole in top over which is a basket handle; around body three bands of black glaze, each bordered above and below by a narrow red line; on top, around hole, blobby black dots; similar dots on handle; interior unglazed. There are fragments of several other identical covers from depths 10.90 m. through 9.00 m., uncatalogued. See also above.

302. Thymiaterion cover, fragment. Plate LXVI.

P 2609. From depth *ca.* 9.00 m. P. H. 0.04 m.

Only the handle and a little of the upper part of the body are preserved. See last item, and also above.

303. Clay ring. Plate LXVI.

P 16778. From depth *ca.* 8.45 m. D. 0.20 m. H. 0.012 m.

²⁰ Inv. No. P 484. Found in fill of the early fifth century B.C. H. 0.095 m. D. 0.107 m. Numerous fragments missing but profile complete. Restored in plaster. A second knob is probably missing from the top of the existing one. Around body two rows of cut-out triangles which vary considerably in size, twelve in lower row, ten in upper; above, seven round holes. Sharp outward flare toward bottom, decorated with two reserved lines. Compare the thymiaterion cover which appears on a red-figured kylix in the British Museum (E 88, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 250, fig. 1).

²¹ Inv. No. MC 6. Found in a well the contents of which date about 500 B.C. H. 0.076 m. D. 0.079 m. Some of lower part missing. Restored in plaster. Bell-shaped with hole in top, over which is a basket handle. Exterior: horizontal bands of varying width alternately glazed and reserved; in one of the reserved bands, ten ivy leaves painted in black glaze. Handle reserved and decorated with cross strokes in black glaze. Interior unglazed.

²² Also published *A.M.*, XIII, 1898, p. 303. This and the other piece illustrated with it in the Capps volume are probably to be dated in the early fifth century, not the late fifth as Kourouniotes suggests.

About half preserved. Restored in plaster. A broad, flat ring slightly turned up toward inner edge. Pinkish buff clay. Light buff slip.

Many examples of similar rings have been found at the Agora. All date from the late fifth century B.C. or later except the present piece and one other contemporary fragment which has a profile more sharply turned up than ours. What these rings were used for is uncertain.

Nos. 304-308 are semi-glazed kraters. On this excessively common type of pot see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 493, 511-512, and 517. Cf. also *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 254, nos. 325 and 326. Our No. 304 is an unusual type, the others are common. There are a great many uncatalogued fragments of these kraters from various depths in the Shaft.

304. Semi-glazed krater. Plate LXVI.

P 16772. From depth *ca.* 9.00 m. H. as restored, 0.28 m. D. 0.36 m.

Only about half the upper part preserved. The rest restored in plaster. Glazed torus lip, below which a raised band, also glazed, then a flat band of glaze. An ear-like projection at either side of handles. Glaze on interior fired red.

305. Semi-glazed krater. Plate LXVI.

P 16773. From depth *ca.* 9.00 m. H. 0.22 m. D. 0.33 m.

Both handles and fragments of rim, body, and foot missing. Restored in plaster. Glazed torus lip, below which two bands of glaze. Outer face of spreading foot also glazed. Good black glaze on interior.

306. Semi-glazed krater. Plate LXVI.

P 16774. From depth *ca.* 9.00 m. H. 0.22 m. D. 0.39 m.

Fragments missing throughout. Restored in plaster. Flaring flat-topped rim with two lines of dilute glaze on it. Single band of glaze around body. Outer face of foot glazed. Han-

dles rise and are attached to rim. Interior, dull black to reddish glaze.

307. Semi-glazed krater. Plate LXVI.

P 16783. From depths 7.40 m. and 6.80 m. H. 0.195 m. D. 0.35 m.

Fragments missing throughout. Restored in plaster. Flat-topped, flaring rim to which handles rise and are attached. Top of rim glazed. Single glaze line around body. Outer face of flaring foot glazed. Glaze on interior much worn and pitted.

308. Semi-glazed krater. Plate LXVI.

P 16785. From top of shaft. H. 0.132 m. D. 0.245 m.

One handle and various other fragments missing. Restored in plaster. Small lip, rounded on top. Single band of glaze around body. Outer edge of spreading foot glazed. Dark red glaze, much worn, on interior.

309. Small unglazed amphora. Plate LXVI.

P 16786. Exact depth uncertain, but between 6 m. and 12 m. H. 0.24 m. D. 0.195 m.

Fragments missing throughout. Restored in plaster. Flaring lip. Wide mouth and neck. Squat, egg-shaped body. Spreading foot with torus edge. Under side of foot slightly concave. Pinkish buff clay. Light buff slip, much worn.

NON-ATTIC POTTERY

Nos. 310-318

Besides the pieces published here there are two others catalogued, one a fragmentary Corinthian skyphos like No. 312, the other a fragmentary pot similar to No. 318. Among the uncatalogued pottery may be noted fragments of a large Corinthian lekane on a stand like that published in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 296-297, nos. 174-175. There is a scattering of fragments of small Corinthian vases throughout the fill. Much of the fragmentary unglazed pottery must also be non-Attic: see introduction. Among the lamps Nos. 328, 339, and perhaps 331 are imported.

310. Corinthian oinochoe. Plate LXVII.

P 2697. From depth *ca.* 8.45 m. H. without handle, 0.205 m. D. 0.20 m.

Fragments missing throughout. Restored in plaster. Trefoil mouth. Narrow neck. High ribbon handle. Bulbous body. Ring foot. Incised tongues on shoulder, in some of which traces of a white line. Below tongues five white lines. Pair of red lines around middle of body and another pair lower down. Bottom reserved. Light buff clay. Glaze various shades of red. Cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 337, no. 1552 A; and *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 584-585, nos. 72-73. The circumstances of finding of the present piece give further confirmation of the late date of this type of vase.

311. Corinthian oinochoe. Plate LXVII.

P 2616. From depths 9.60 m. and 9.00 m. P. H. 0.21 m. D. est. 0.19 m.

Foot and much of body missing; fragments missing elsewhere. Partially filled out in plaster. Flaring mouth. Narrow neck. Low ribbon handle. Bulbous body. Pair of red lines around body below handle, another pair about middle of body. Light buff clay. Dull black glaze, much flaked.

312. Corinthian skyphos. Plate LXVI.

P 1341. From depth *ca.* 10.90 m. H. as restored, 0.067 m. D. 0.088 m.

Foot, lower part of body, and most of one handle missing. Restored in plaster. At lip blobs, alternately black and red. Around body are bands alternately black and red separated by narrow reserved lines. Interior glazed except broad reserved band at lip. Pale buff clay. On late Corinthian linear skyphoi see Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 334.

313. Corinthian skyphos. Plate LXVI.

P 2687. From depth 8.45 m. H. as restored, 0.035 m. D. 0.051 m.

Foot, lower part of body, and most of one handle missing. Restored in plaster. Criss-cross pattern at lip, then broad red band. Greenish buff clay.

314. Corinthian skyphos. Plate LXVI.

P 2701. From depths 8.45 m. and 8.00 m. H. 0.054 m. D. 0.105 m.

One handle and much of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Dull black glaze, much flaked, on interior and upper part of exterior; its lower border irregular. Ring foot, above which impressed strokes like rays.

315. Bucchero oinochoe. Plate LXVII.

P 1333. From depth 10.90 m. H. to lip, 0.19 m. D. 0.153 m.

Most of handle, much of mouth, and some of body missing. Restored in plaster. Double handle of which only stub of lower part is preserved. Broad trefoil mouth with pair of grooves along outer edge. Ring foot. Rather soft, grey clay; at breaks it shows a dark grey core with lighter grey at edges inside and out. On exterior traces of thin, dull, dark grey glaze or wash, much flaked.

Seven other bucchero pots from contexts of the late sixth and early fifth century B.C. are listed in the Agora catalogue. Four of them are oinochoai of various shapes, one is a bowl, one a squat neck-amphora, and one a large wine amphora. For recent publications of Greek bucchero see *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, pp. 1 ff. and Dugas, *Délos*, XVII, *Vases orientalisants de style non Mélien*, pp. 75-76, where earlier references will be found.

316. Small, unglazed hydria. Plate LXVII.

P 16780. From depth 8.00 m. P. H. 0.145 m. D. 0.112 m.

Mouth, most of neck, handles except stubs, and fragments of body missing. False ring foot. Buff clay. Very heavy fabric; walls over 0.01 m. thick in places.

317. Unglazed oinochoe. Plate LXVII.

P 16787. From depth 6 to 12 m.; exact depth uncertain. H. 0.15 m. D. 0.16 m.

Much of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Round mouth. Flaring lip. Round, squat body. Ring foot. Clay grey at core, buff at surface. Traces of rust-colored slip.

318. Wide-mouthed pot. Plate LXVII.

P 2757. From depths 7.40 m. and 6.80 m.
H. 0.305 m. D. 0.285 m.

One handle and some of rim, body, and base missing. Restored in plaster. Wide mouth with out-turned lip which is flat on top. Egg-shaped body. Heavy ring foot. Two handles, round in section, on shoulder. Handle zone reserved and decorated with groups of slightly curving vertical lines in black glaze. Lower part of body also reserved. Outer edge of foot glazed. Bottom reserved. Clay brownish. Glaze rather thin and dull. Transparent wash over reserved parts.

Another fragmentary pot of the same shape and fabric was found in the Shaft (Inv. No. P 16769; from depth *ca.* 10.10 m.). It has a wavy horizontal line in the handle zone.

There is a vase similar to these in shape and general scheme of decoration from the Marathon tumulus (Athens, National Museum, 1038; *C.V.A.*, III, H, e, pl. 11, 7), the chief difference being that it has hook spirals in the handle zone and lacks a neck. This vase has usually been considered early, i. e., seventh or early sixth century B.C., because of the hook-spiral ornament, and so it probably is (see the discussion of the Marathon find in *A.B.L.*, p. 92; cf. also Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, pp. xi, 28, and 30). For dating the Agora pieces we should have been at an almost complete loss if they had not been found in a closed deposit of the early fifth century B.C. in which there was practically no earlier material. The fact that they are in all probability to be dated in the early fifth century suggests that the question should at least be raised as to whether the Marathon pot is not after all more nearly contemporary with the battle. On the whole, however, I think it is better to consider it early and the Agora pieces later versions of the same type of pot.

Clay and glaze indicate that the Agora pieces are not Attic. The Marathon pot is probably provincial, perhaps local north Attic, or, as Pfuhl suggests, Eretrian.

TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

Nos. 319-327

Besides the pieces published here there are two other catalogued fragments, one preserving the feet and part of the base of a figurine, probably of a seated female figure, the other the torso of a horse: see No. 325. There are also a few uncatalogued scraps from various depths.

319. Seated woman. Plate LXVII.

T 346. From depth 10.35 m. P. H. 0.118 m.

Mended from two fragments. Head and upper part of body preserved. Projecting upper part of seat chipped at figure's right, broken away at left. Other minor chips. Ample traces of white paint on front and back. A broad stripe of dark red passes diagonally across figure's left breast. Slight traces of red elsewhere. Large hollow space inside body. Smaller hole runs up through neck into head.

This is the ordinary type of archaic seated female figurine: see P. Σωτηριάδη-Sedgwick, *Ἀττικὰ Πήλινα Εἰδώλια Ἀρχαῖχης Ἐποχῆς* (University of Salonica Dissertation [Athens: Hestia Press, 1939]) where this piece is mentioned on pp. 62 and 64. To judge from the depth at which it was found it is to be dated in the first decade of the fifth century B.C.

320. Head of woman. Plate LXVIII.

T 347. From depth 10.35 m. P. H. 0.048 m.

A single fragment preserves the head of a figurine of the same type as the last. Ample traces of white all over. Small hole runs up into head.

321. Seated woman. Plate LXVIII.

T 348. From depth 10.35 m. P. H. 0.062 m.

Broken at waist, lower part only preserved; feet chipped. Faint traces of white. Small hole runs up through body.

322. Seated woman. Plate LXVIII.

T 493. From depth 6.80 m. P. H. 0.094 m.

Head and much of lower part missing. Considerable traces of white and some red pre-

served. Large hollow space inside body, narrowing as it goes up; small hole through upper part of body.

323. Seated woman. Plate LXVIII.

T 494. From depth 6.80 m. P. H. 0.08 m.

Head missing; minor chips elsewhere. Much added white preserved; also other colors as follows: yellow on seat, red for stripes on dress (three horizontal stripes and some vertical ones on upper part of body; two horizontal stripes just above feet, i. e., lower border of dress; and a red line along edge of dress next to seat), faint remains of black or blue at various points. Hollow space inside body, large at bottom, narrowing as it goes up, very small at neck.

324. "Primitive." Plate LXVIII.

T 491. From depth 8.00 m. P. H. 0.049 m.

Torso and stubs of arms preserved. Traces of white and red paint. The paint is identical with that on the other figurines from this well, and there seems to be no reason to doubt that this piece is contemporary with the fill in which it was found, i. e., early fifth century B.C. See *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 193-195.

325. Horse. Plate LXVIII.

T 489. From depth 9.00 m. P. L. 0.05 m.

Torso and stubs of legs, neck, and tail preserved. Traces of white paint. Solid. Another similar torso (T 490, from depth 8.45 m., unpublished) has a small vent hole under the tail; it had a rider of whom only a trace now remains.

326. Horse. Plate LXVIII.

T 495. Depth uncertain; found in dump. P. H. 0.044 m.

Head and neck only preserved. Rather flat in section. Traces of white paint, and a little red.

327. Animal. Plate LXVIII.

T 492. From depth 8.00 m. P. L. 0.047 m.

Legs and tail missing except for stubs. Traces of white paint.

TERRACOTTA LAMPS

Nos. 328-350

In writing up the lamps I have had the advantage of consulting Richard H. Howland's unpublished dissertation and catalogue "The Greek Lamps from the Agora at Athens" (Baltimore, Maryland, 1939). The types are those established by O. Broneer, *Corinth*, Vol. IV, Part II, Terracotta Lamps. Howland has retained Broneer's types in general with only slight modifications.

Besides the pieces published or mentioned here there are 21 others listed in the Agora catalogue as well as a great many uncatalogued fragments from all depths. Type II, second variety, is by far the most common, making up, I would guess, well over half the total number of fragments. Type V is also common, and there are quite a few fragments of Type III. Other types, and lamps which do not fit into Broneer's classification, occur sporadically.

At the time the photographs and profiles were being made for this article several lamps from the Shaft were not accessible. I illustrate them from old photographs made for the catalogue cards but have unfortunately been forced to omit the profiles.

328. Lamp, Type I. Plate LXVIII.

L 1188. From depths 9.60 m. and 9.00 m. H. 0.021 m. L. 0.081 m. W. 0.056 m.

Most of one side, part of bottom, tip of nozzle, and the vertical band handle except its stubs, missing. Flat bottom. Sides curve slightly inward to plain rim. Long nozzle. Bright pink clay with yellowish buff surface. The outer surface pared with a knife while clay was leather hard.

This lamp is not Attic. There is a fragment of a similar lamp from contemporary fill in another part of the Agora (Inv. No. L 3253).

329. Lamp, Type I. Plate LXVIII.

L 1196. From depths 8.45 m. and 8.00 m. H. 0.021 m. D. 0.079 m.

Handle, part of one side, and chips of rim

missing. Flat bottom. Nearly vertical sides. Properly speaking there is no rim but only the flat top of the very heavy body walls which thicken as they rise. Profile approximates that of Broneer, *op. cit.*, p. 32, fig. 14, 1. Nozzle flat on top, well set off from rim. One attachment of horizontal handle preserved. Good black glaze all over save centre of bottom and space between handle attachments, which are reserved.

330. Lamp, Type II. Plate LXVIII.

L 675. From depths 11.45 m. and 10.90 m. D. 0.085 m. H. 0.025 m.

Some of rim, body, and bottom missing. Restored in plaster. Note that rim projects hardly at all on exterior.

331. Lamp, Type II. Plate LXVIII.

L 1185. From depths 10.90 m. and 10.10 m. D. 0.09 m. H. 0.025 m.

Much of rim and body missing. None of inner edge of rim preserved. Clay pale yellowish buff, resembling Corinthian but perhaps badly fired Attic. Dull black glaze, largely flaked away. On exterior, remains of thin glaze wash, orange in color. Fragments of at least two other lamps of this fabric were found at the same depth (uncatalogued).

332. Lamp, Type II. Plate LXVIII.

L 1191. From depth 8.45 m. D. 0.084 m. H. 0.022 m.

Fragments of rim, body, and bottom missing. Restored in plaster.

333. Lamp, Type II. Plate LXVIII.

L 1201. From depth 7.40 m. D. 0.08 m. H. 0.024 m.

A few small fragments and chips missing. On rim an irregular band where glaze has fired orange, probably as a result of stacking.

334. Lamp, Type II. Plate LXVIII.

L 1176. From depth 10.10 m. D. 0.062 m. H. 0.018 m.

Only the back half preserved. Smaller than

the usual lamp of Type II. Stubs of a horizontal band handle preserved at back; an unusual feature in lamps of this type. Handle, and space within it glazed. Reserved band on rim.

335. Lamp, Type II, double nozzle. Plate LXVIII.

L 1192. From depth 8.45 m. D. 0.107 m. H. 0.028 m.

The central tube, most of one nozzle, and fragments of rim, body, and bottom missing. Restored in plaster. Two other similar lamps have been found in contemporary deposits at the Agora: one of them is illustrated in *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, p. 127, fig. 94, g.

336. Lamp, close to Type II, first variety, ridged rim. Plate LXVIII.

L 677. From depth 10.90 m. P. H. 0.023 m. D. est. 0.095 m.

A single fragment preserves some of rim, body, and nozzle. Rim flat with raised ridge at inner and outer edge. The rim is reserved, except for a splotch of glaze, the ridges glazed. Upper part of body concave, then cuts in sharply toward bottom; reserved except band of glaze near bottom. Nozzle does not encroach on rim.

There are several other lamps of this type at the Agora, but all except one are fragments. This one (Inv. No. L 3326, from a layer of the late sixth century B.C. near the Tholos) has two nozzles and a central tube. In the profile, Plate LXVIII, our fragment has been restored with a central tube.

337. Lamp, close to Type II, first variety, ridged rim, double body. Plate LXVIII.

L 1204. From depth 6.80 m. P. H. 0.025 m. D. est. 0.09 m.

A single fragment preserves nozzle of upper body, some of side and floor of upper body, and start of side of lower body. Rim slightly convex with raised ridge at inner and outer edge; the rim reserved, the ridges glazed.

Seven fragments of double-bodied lamps of

Type II have been found at the Agora. Five, including the above, are from the Shaft, and two are from roughly contemporary fills elsewhere. Of the fragments with preserved rims, three, including the above, have ridged rims, three have rims like normal lamps of Type II.

Although no example is anywhere nearly completely preserved, a general idea of what these lamps were like can be gathered from the fragments. On Plate LXVIII is a restored profile based on the Shaft fragments, Inv. Nos. L 1193 a, L 1193 b, L 1208 and L 4062. The two nozzles are placed opposite each other and one serves the upper body, the other the lower. How the lower body was filled with oil is not clear. No trace of a separate filling hole is preserved on any of the fragments. The floor of the upper body, in the only case in which it is preserved as far as the centre (Inv. No. L 484), is solid, thus precluding a raised central tube through which oil might have been poured. If there was no separate filling hole, we must suppose that the lower body was filled through the nozzle after the wick had been removed, an inconvenient and messy method.

The only other double-bodied lamp that has come to my attention is one from Selinus (*Mon. Ant.*, LVI, 1928, pp. 370-373, fig. 165) and even this is in no sense a close parallel to ours.

338. Lamp, Type III.

L 1190. From depth 8.45 m. H. 0.018 m. D. est. 0.10 m.

Two non-joining fragments, the larger preserving the central tube, much of the floor, and some of the rim, the smaller some of the rim and nozzle.

As the Shaft example is not very complete, I illustrate in photograph and profile (Plate LXVIII) another similar lamp from a contemporary well (Inv. No. L 3373; D. 0.092 m. H. 0.022 m.). It has black glaze on rim and nozzle and on the interior except under the rim. The exterior is reserved, except around the nozzle, and covered with transparent glaze

wash. The rim of the Shaft example has a more pronounced downward slope, rather like the rim of the next item, and its central tube is more spreading than in the piece illustrated.

339. Lamp fragments, Type III.

L 688, L 689, L 690. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m. L 1178. From depth *ca.* 10.10 m. L 1199. From depth 8.00 m.

As these items are all fragmentary, I illustrate in photograph and profile (Plate LXVIII) a nearly complete example from a contemporary well (Inv. No. L 3374; D. 0.098 m. H. 0.022 m.). It has two nozzles placed opposite each other, one of which is broken, and a central tube. There is black glaze, dull, thin, and streaky, on the rim and on the interior, except under the rim. The exterior is reserved, even around the nozzles.

The clay is clean and brownish buff in color. The Shaft examples are of similar fabric except for L 688 where the clay is somewhat coarser and contains a noticeable amount of mica, and the glaze has fired red.

These lamps are probably not Attic, though fragments of them are by no means uncommon at the Agora. For another published Agora example see *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, p. 38, fig. 30. Similar lamps have been reported from other sites. Blinkenberg (*Lindos*, I, pl. 122, no. 2557) publishes two nearly complete examples and five fragments which are described as of "local make" and are apparently close parallels for ours. Cf. also H. Thiersch in A. Furtwängler, *Aegina*, p. 469, no. 10 and pl. 130, 9.

340. Lamp, Type IV. Plate LXVIII.

L 1183. From depth *ca.* 10.10 m. D. 0.081 m. H. 0.017 m.

Nozzle and immediately adjacent parts of rim and body missing. Glaze on rim has fired red toward inner edge and black toward outer as a result of stacking. Red glaze on interior except under rim. Exterior, transparent glaze wash. Cf. No. 342.

341. Lamp, Type IV. Plate LXVIII.

L 1194. From depths 8.45 m., 8.00 m., and 7.40 m. P. H. 0.022 m.

Three fragments make up to two. One preserves part of handle and some of rim and body, the other the start of the nozzle and some of rim and body. Fine black glaze on rim, on outside of handle, and all interior. Transparent glaze wash on body.

342. Lamp, Type V. Plate LXVIII.

L 1186. From depths 10.35 m., 9.60 m., and 9.00 m. H. 0.019 m. W. 0.085 m.

Fragments of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. The rim is glazed except for a narrow band at the jog on top. Glaze on interior except under rim. Exterior, transparent glaze wash. Except for the jog on the top of the rim the shape is the same as that of No. 340.

343. Lamp, Type V. Plate LXVIII.

L 678. From depth 10.90 m. D. 0.075 m. H. 0.018 m.

Most of handle and bottom and about half rim missing. Restored in plaster. Raised band at inner edge of rim glazed; narrow reserved band at jog, then narrow glazed band. Nozzle and handle also glazed. Glaze badly flaked.

344. Lamp, Type V. Plate LXVIII.

L 1187. From depths 9.60 m. and 9.00 m. P. H. 0.021 m. D. 0.076 m.

Two joining fragments preserve most of rim and upper part of body; also stubs of handle. Raised ridge at inner edge of rim glazed. Outside this a reserved band, then a band of glaze. Stubs of horizontal band handle with glaze between them. Glaze on interior under rim and on bottom.

345. Lamp, Type V. Plate LXVIII.

L 1203. From depth 7.40 m. D. 0.085 m. H. 0.022 m.

Most of handle and fragments of rim and body missing. Restored in plaster. Body open. Rim flat on top with two grooves. Low raised

base. Interior, nozzle, and handle glazed; elsewhere reserved.

346. Lamp, Type IV. Plates LXVIII and LXIX.

L 1205. From depths 7.40 m. and 6.80 m. D. est. 0.085 m. H. 0.027 m.

Bottom, some of sides, and most of nozzle preserved. Rather long, narrow nozzle. Sides merge into rim in unbroken curve. Edge of rim nowhere preserved. Low ring foot. Small patch of reserved space preserved at back indicating that there was a handle. Lustrous black glaze. Resting surface of foot and narrow band setting it off from body inside and out reserved. Small reserved circle at centre of reverse decorated with black dot and circle. Cf. No. 347.

347. Lamp, Type IV. Plate LXIX.

L 1202. From depth 7.40 m. D. est. 0.104 m. H. 0.031 m.

Much of nozzle, rim, and body missing. None of inner edge of rim preserved. Horizontal band handle, its inner face and space between its points of attachment reserved. Low ring foot with reserved resting surface. Space within foot reserved and decorated with three concentric circles. Cf. No. 346.

348. Lamp, Type III. Plates LXVIII and LXIX.

L 1206. From depth 6.80 m. D. est. 0.104 m. H. 0.029 m.

Three fragments, two joining, one not, preserve central tube, much of bottom and sides, and start of rim, handle, and nozzle. Rim forms angle with body as in lamps of Type III. Inner edge of rim not preserved. One stub of horizontal band handle and part of reserved space next to it preserved. False ring foot with slightly concave, reserved, under side.

349. Lamp fragment. Plates LXVIII and LXIX.

L 1200. From depth 8.00 m. D. est. 0.075 m. H. 0.019 m.

A single fragment preserves part of rim,

side, and bottom, and one handle stub. Narrow rim curves sharply downward rather as in lamps of Type IV, but its outer edge projects slightly beyond body as in Type II. The bottom is concave and reserved toward centre. The handle was horizontal and the space between its points of attachment was reserved. A unique shape.

350. Lamp fragment. Plates LXVIII and LXIX.

L 1189. From depth 9.00 m. D. est. 0.07 m. P. H. 0.022 m.

A single fragment preserves nozzle and immediately adjacent parts of body and bottom. Rather long, projecting nozzle. Rim nowhere preserved. Slightly raised base. Red glaze, much chipped, except on bottom which is reserved. A unique piece.

BONE STYLI

Nos. 351-356

The Agora collection contains 23 bone styli including those published here. Three are published in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 13, fig. 6, and p. 14, and there are fourteen unpublished examples listed in the catalogue. Most of the Agora styli come from contexts of the early fifth century B.C., but there are a few from contexts of the later fifth century and some from contexts of various dates as late as the Hellenistic period. See also *British Museum Guide to Greek and Roman Life*, third edition, 1929, pp. 206-207, figs. 227-228. Bronze examples of various periods are also known: cf. G. M. A. Richter, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes*, pp. 446-447 and references *ad loc.* For the stylus in use, see the terracotta figurine in the Louvre (J. Charbonneaux, *Les Terres cuites grecques*, fig. 16; I. Schneider-Lengyel, *Griechische Terrakotten*, fig. 18 b), the kylix with

school scenes by Douris (Berlin, F 2285; cf. J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases*, I, pp. 214-215), and the kylix medallion by the Panaitios painter, also in Berlin (Inv. 3139, Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 408; Langlotz, *Griechische Vasenbilder*, pl. 12).

351. Bone stylus. Plate LXIX.

BI 67. From depth 9.00 m. L. 0.108 m. Max. W. 0.015 m.

Intact. Slightly curved. Lower part of shaft round in section, upper part rectangular.

352. *Id.* Plate LXIX.

BI 68. From depth 8.45 m. P. L. 0.051 m. Max. W. 0.008 m.

Writing end missing. Erasing end long and narrow. Upper part of shaft rectangular in section; broken at point where it becomes round.

353. *Id.* Plate LXIX.

BI 69. From depth 8.00 m. L. 0.079 m. Max. W. 0.01 m.

Intact. A notch on either side at lower part of erasing end. Shaft round in section.

354. *Id.* Plate LXIX.

BI 70. From depth 8.00 m. L. 0.087 m. Max. W. 0.008 m.

Intact. Shaft round in section except close to erasing end where it is rectangular.

355. *Id.* Plate LXIX.

BI 71. From depth 7.40 m. P. L. 0.066 m. Max. W. 0.012 m.

Writing end missing. Shaft round in section. Erasing end slightly curved, its edge slightly oblique.

356. *Id.* Plate LXIX.

BI 72. From dump; depth uncertain. L. 0.109 m. Max. W. 0.014 m.

Intact. Shaft round in section.

LOOMWEIGHTS AND SPINDLE
WHORLS

Nos. 357-370

Besides the loomweights published here there are a number of other uncatalogued pieces from various depths.

357. Pyramidal loomweight. Plate LXIX.

MC 651. From depth 12.00 m. H. 0.053 m. W. 0.043 m.

Intact save minor chips. Pinkish buff clay. Remains of black glaze.

358. *Id.* Plate LXIX.

MC 652. From depth *ca.* 10.90 m. H. 0.049 m. W. 0.032 m.

Intact save minor chips. Pale buff clay.

359. *Id.* Plate LXIX.

MC 653. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m. H. 0.08 m. W. 0.043 m.

Intact save minor chips. Impressed circle on top. Dark buff clay with particles.

360. *Id.* Plate LXIX.

MC 654. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m. H. 0.057 m. W. 0.044 m.

Intact save minor chips. Impressed circle on top. Pinkish buff clay. Transparent glaze wash.

361. *Id.* Plate LXIX.

MC 655. From depth *ca.* 10.35 m. P. H. 0.048 m. W. 0.041 m.

Top missing. Minor chips. An unusually angular piece which probably ended in a point above. Reddish to brownish clay. Buff slip.

362. *Id.* Plate LXIX.

MC 656. From depth 10.10 m. H. 0.057 m. W. 0.04 m.

Intact save minor chips. Buff clay and slip.

363. *Id.* Plate LXIX.

MC 657. From depth *ca.* 9.60 m. H. 0.05 m. W. 0.042 m.

Intact save minor chips. Remains of black glaze on all except lowest 0.01 m. and bottom. Brownish buff clay.

364. *Id.* Plate LXIX.

MC 658. From depth 6.80 m. H. 0.044 m. W. 0.037 m.

Intact save minor chips. Brownish clay. Remains of dull black glaze.

365. *Id.* Plate LXIX.

MC 659. From depth 6.80 m. H. 0.05 m. W. 0.042 m.

Intact save minor chips. Buff clay. Besides the usual horizontal hole near top there is a vertical hole in top which does not quite connect with the horizontal hole.

366. *Id.* Plate LXIX.

MC 660. From depth 6.80 m. H. 0.058 m. W. 0.04 m.

Intact. Buff clay.

367. *Id.* Plate LXIX.

MC 58. From depth 8.00 m. H. 0.057 m. W. 0.04 m.

Intact save chip from one corner. On the top and on two opposite sides a circle of nine impressions. Pinkish buff clay. Unglazed. Decoration and proportions suggest date in seventh century B.C.: cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 602, fig. 70, nos. 246 ff.

368. Discoid spindle whorl. Plate LXIX.

MC 59. From depth 7.40 m. D. 0.056 m. Th. 0.023 m.

Chip missing. Pierced through centre. One side flatter than the other. On flatter side two wavy incised lines. Brownish clay with particles; grey at core.

369. Conical spindle whorl. Plate LXIX.

MC 60. From depth 6.00 m. H. 0.028 m. D. 0.039 m.

Intact save minor chips. On bottom two rows of dots and two bands of glaze. On sides two rows of dots, the upper row elongated, and two bands of glaze. Buff clay.

370. Conical stone spindle whorl. Plate LXIX.

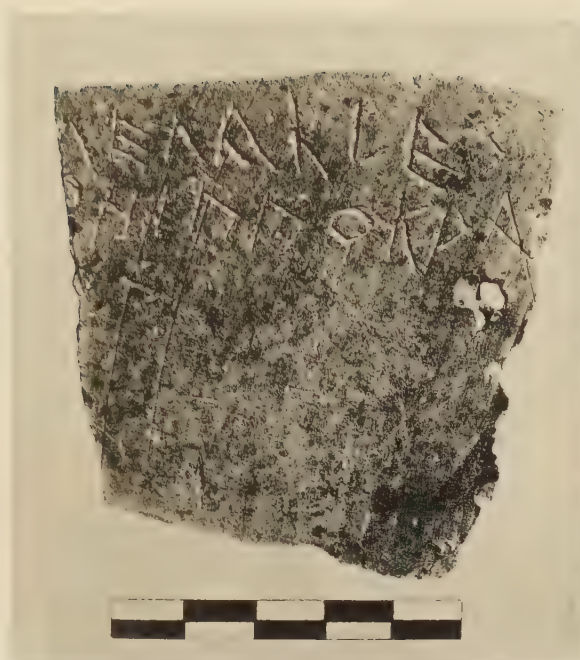
ST 48. From depth 10.90 m. H. 0.017 m. D. 0.027 m.

Intact save minor chips. The hole considerably worn by use. Purplish stone.

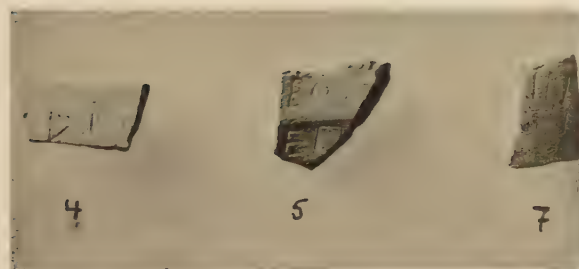
EUGENE VANDERPOOL



1



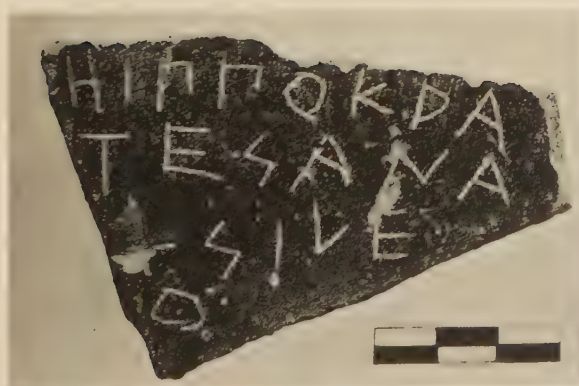
2



4

5

7



6



3

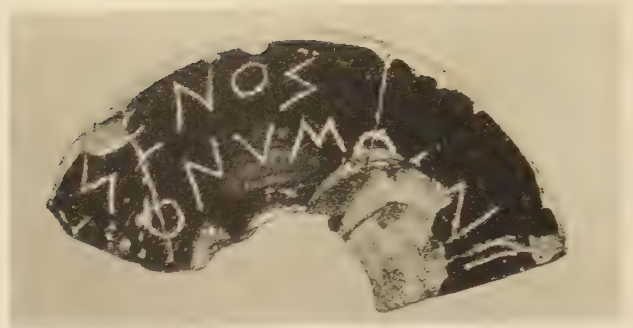
Catalogue Numbers 1-7

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT

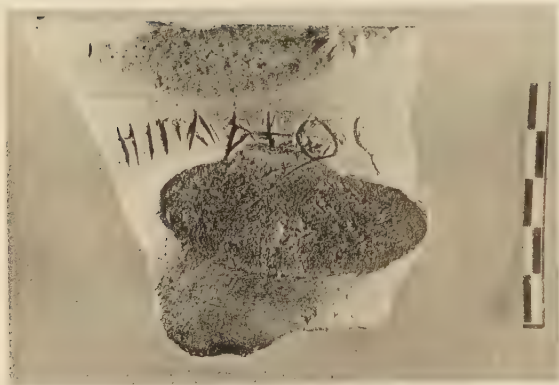
PLATE XXVI



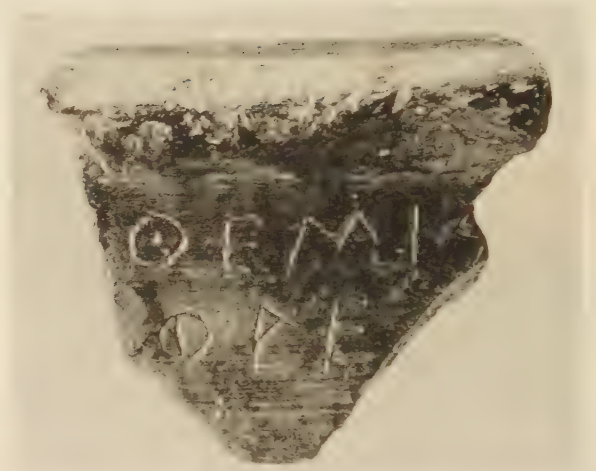
8



9



10



11



12



13

Catalogue Numbers 8-13

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



14



15



16



P13429 (see Cat. No. 16)



17 Top



17 Bottom

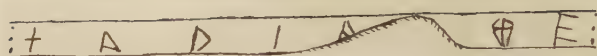
Catalogue Numbers 14-17

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT

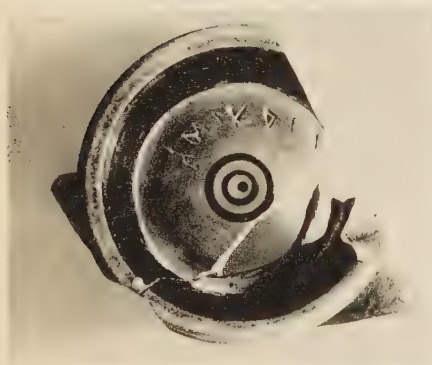
PLATE XXVIII



17



18



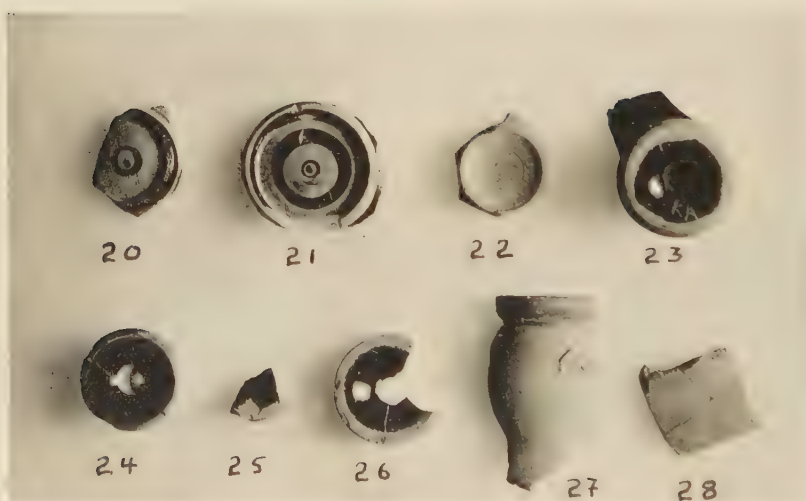
19



20



21



22

23

24

25

26

27

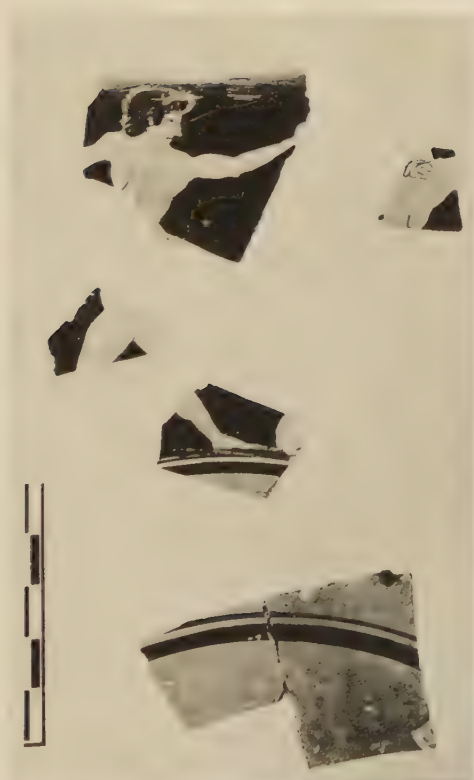
28

29

30

Catalogue Numbers 17-30

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT

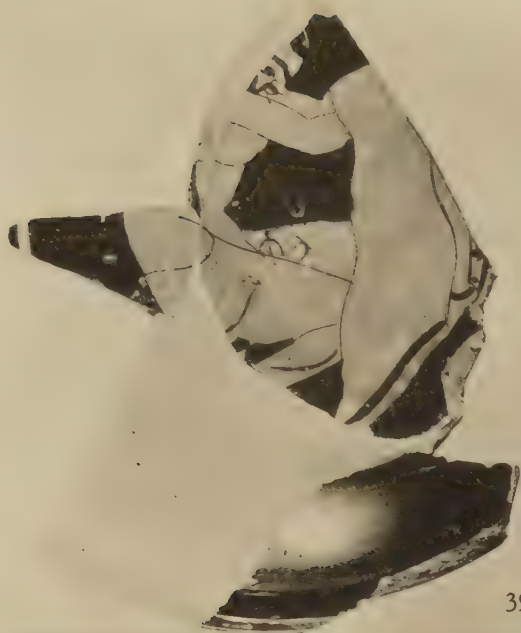


Catalogue Numbers 31-32, 37-38
VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



Catalogue Numbers 33-36

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



39



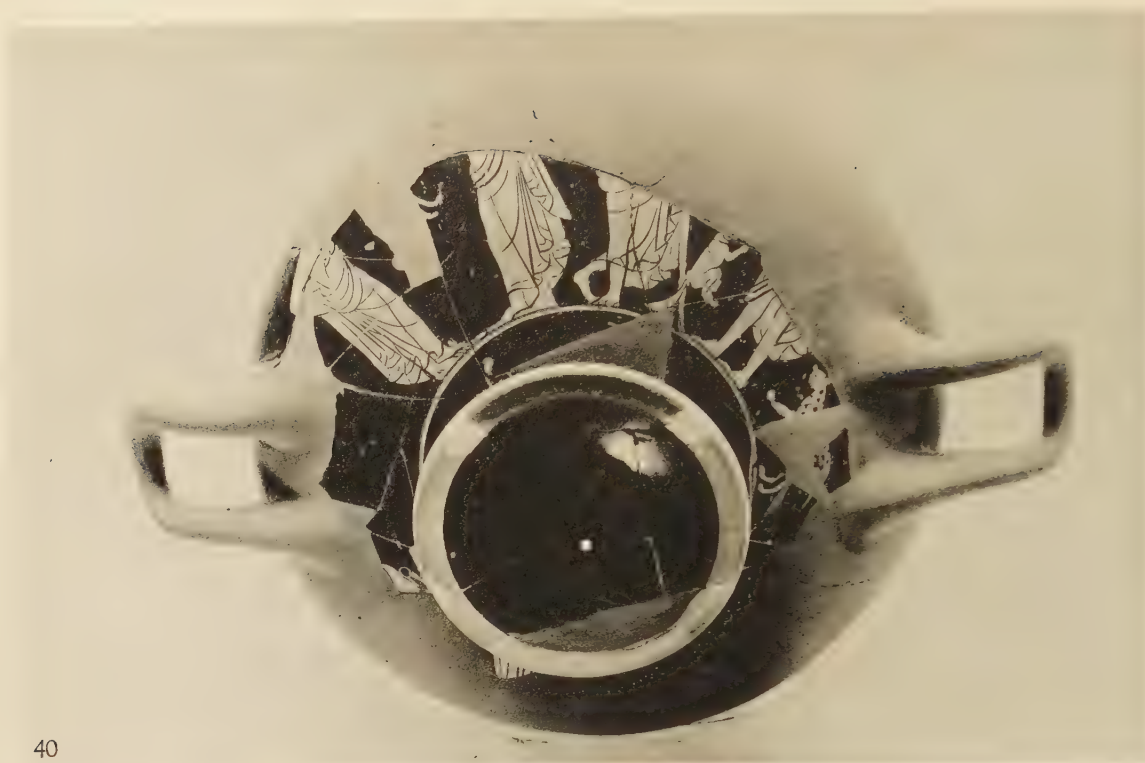
49



40

Catalogue Numbers 39-40, 49

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



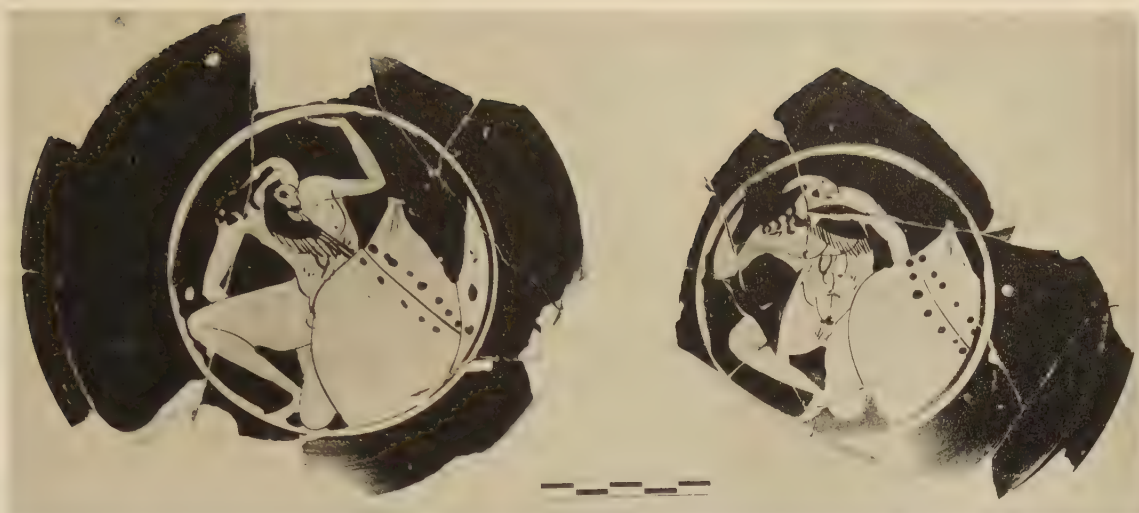
40



41

Catalogue Numbers 40-41

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



42 and 43

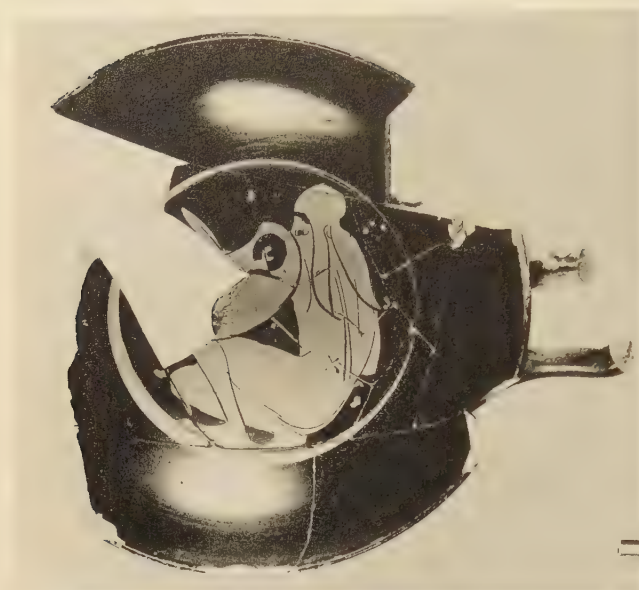


44

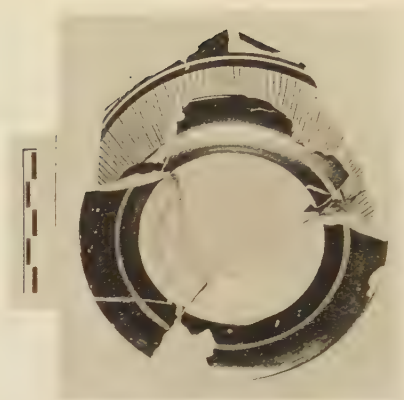
Catalogue Numbers 42-44

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT

PLATE XXXIV



45



48



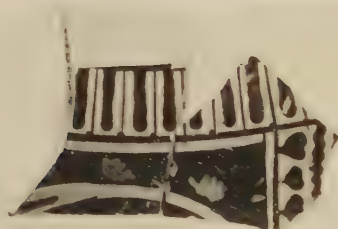
46



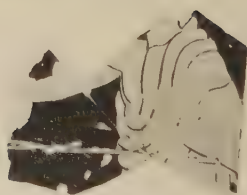
47



50



51



58



59



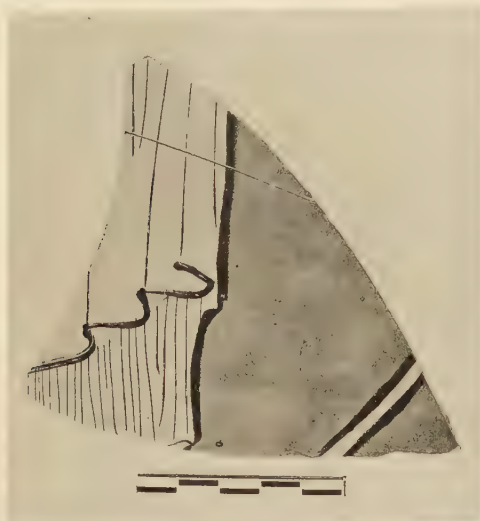
Catalogue Numbers 45-48, 50-51, 58-59
VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



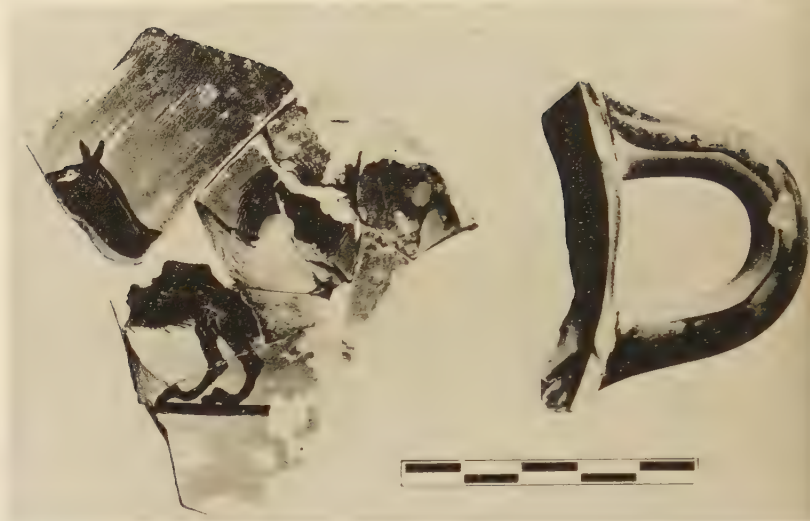
Catalogue Number 52

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT

PLATE XXXVI



P3445 (cf. No. 52)



P10359 (cf. No. 52)



56

57

55

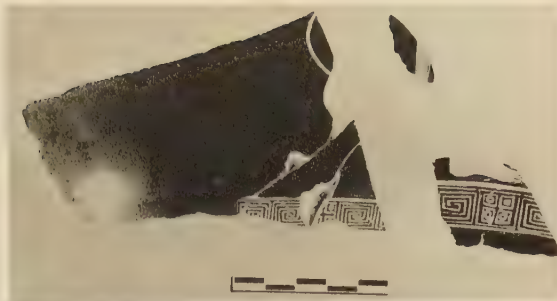
54

Catalogue Numbers 54-57

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



53



53



60



62



65

Catalogue Numbers 53, 60, 62, 65

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



Catalogue Numbers 61 and 63
VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



Catalogue Number 63

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



Catalogue Numbers 64, 66

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



Catalogue Number 67

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



68



70



71

Catalogue Numbers 68, 70-71

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



69



73



74



72



80



79



75

Catalogue Numbers 69, 72-75, 79-80

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT

PLATE XLIV



Catalogue Numbers 76-77
VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



Catalogue Numbers 78, 81

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



83

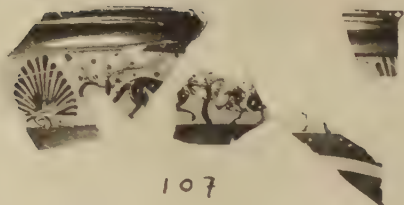


Catalogue Numbers 83-91, 94

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



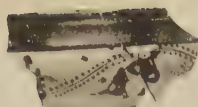
92



107



82



96



98



99



101



102



103



104



105



106



100



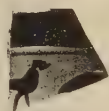
97



112



110



108



109



116



113



251



111



115



114

Catalogue Numbers 82, 92, 96-116, 251

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



Catalogue Numbers 93-95

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



118

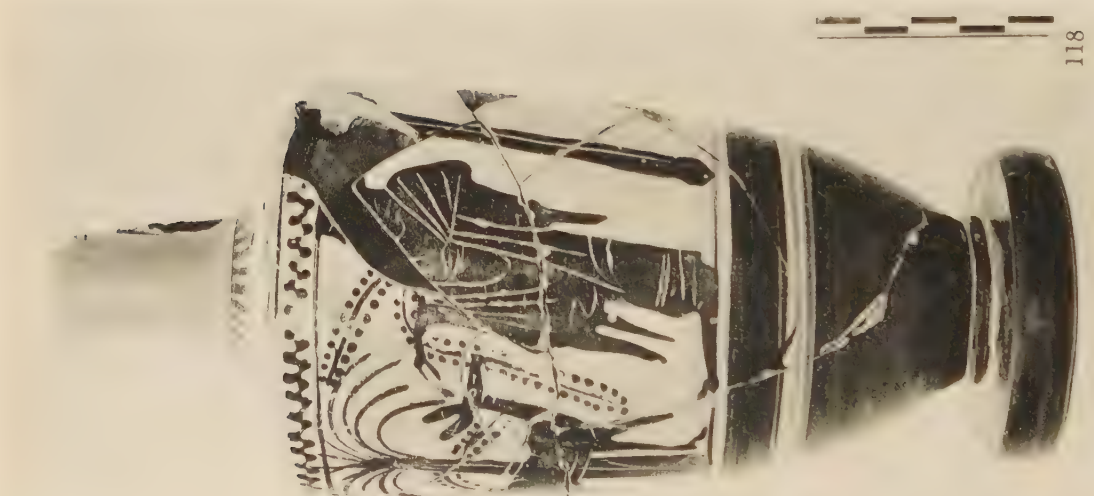


117

Catalogue Numbers 117-118
VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



119



118



120

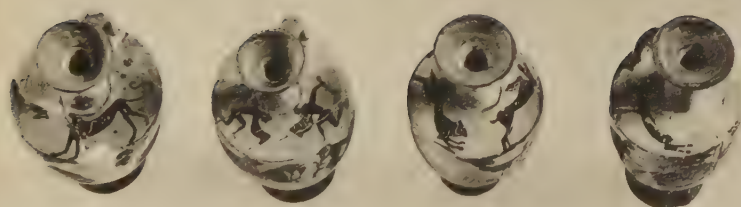
Catalogue Numbers 118-120
VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



122



121



126

127

131

132



135



136



138



129



137



Catalogue Numbers 121-122, 126-127, 129, 131-132, 135-138

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT

PLATE LII



122-125



127-128, 130-131



132-134, 260

Catalogue Numbers 122-125, 127-128, 130-134, 260
VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



139, 141, 142



159



169



176



167



144



140



146



168



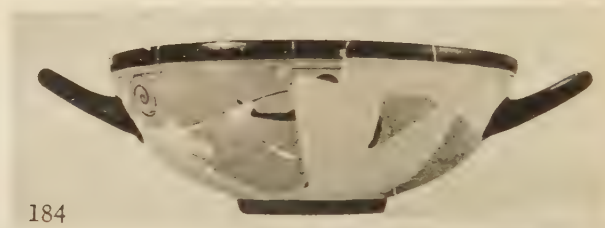
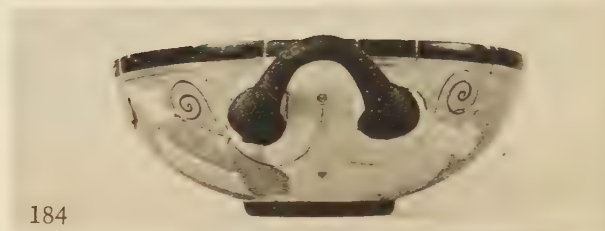
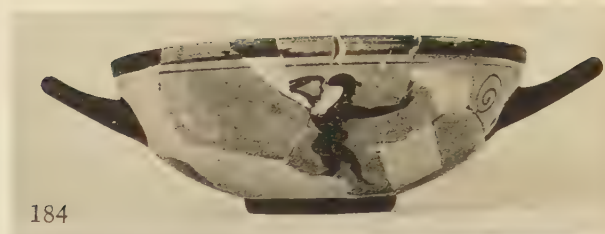
181, 182, 183



168

Catalogue Numbers 139-142, 144, 146, 159, 167-169, 176, 181-183

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



149

Catalogue Numbers 149, 184

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



Catalogue Numbers 143, 145, 147-148, 150-158, 160-166, 170-175, 177-180

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT

PLATE LVI



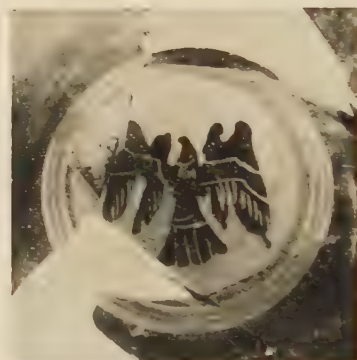
P16753
(Cf. No. 184)



186



185



187 Detail



187

Catalogue Numbers 185-187

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



Side B

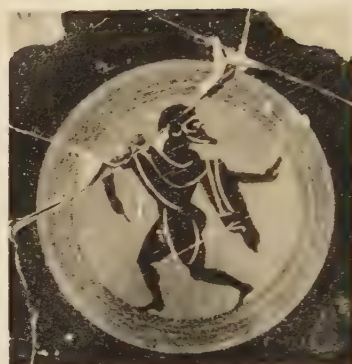


Side A

Catalogue Number 190

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT

PLATE LVIII.



193

188 Detail



188

Catalogue Numbers 188-189, 191-193, 196

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



Side A

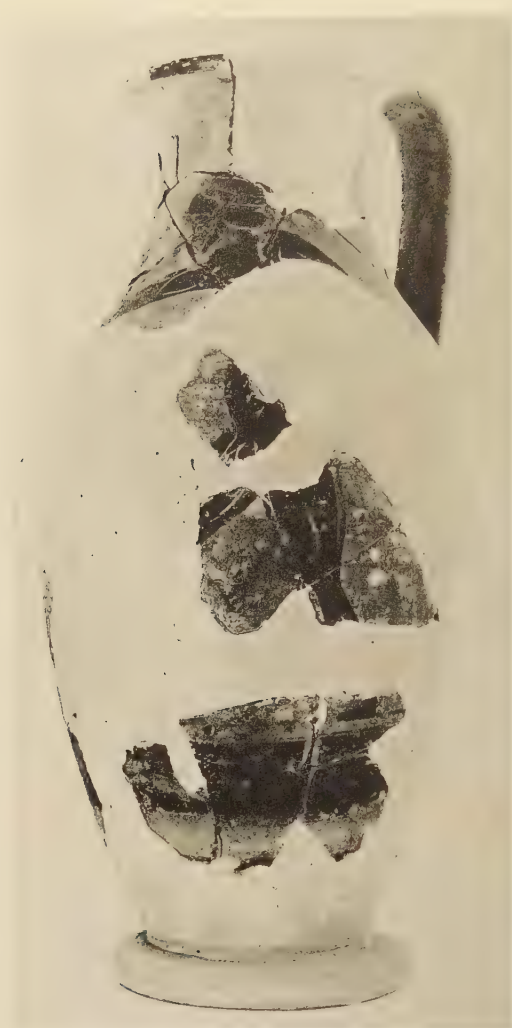


Side B

Catalogue Number 193

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT

PLATE LX



199



201

202

203

205



195



194

Catalogue Numbers 194-195, 199, 201-203, 205
VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



197 (above) with Drawing (below)

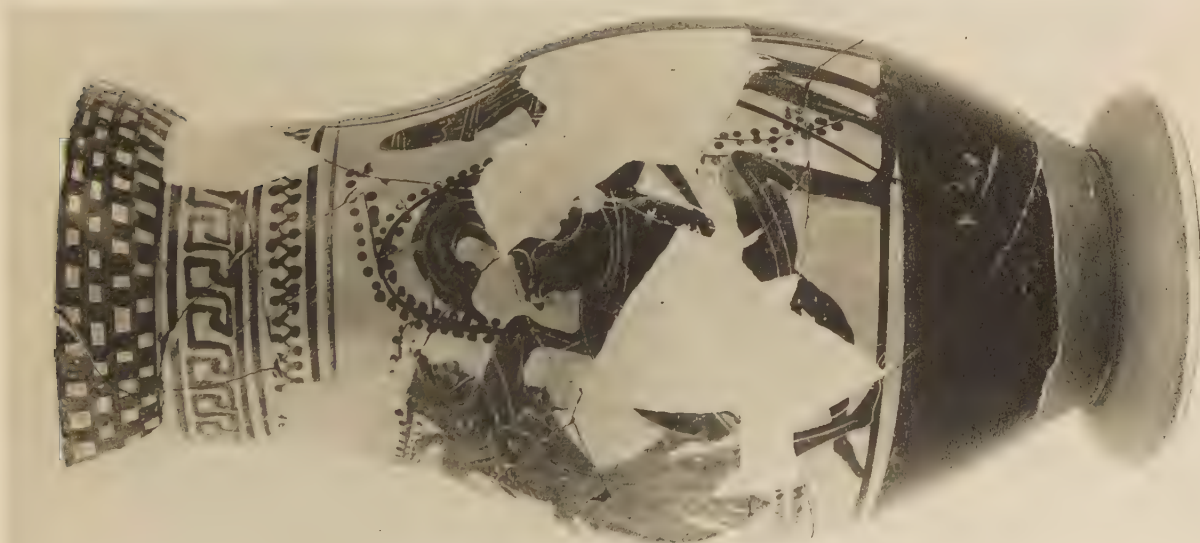


PLATE LXII



204



206



208



207



209



210



211



212



198



213



214



215



217



216



218



219



220



221



222



223



224



225

Catalogue Numbers 198, 204, 206-225

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



226



227



228



229



230



231



232



233



234



235



236



238



P7895



237



P5134



239



240



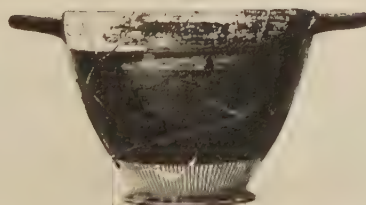
241



242



243



244

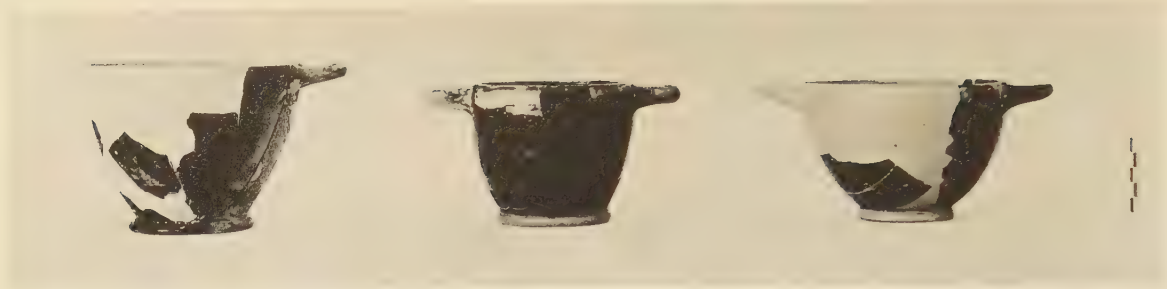


245

Catalogue Numbers 226-245

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT

PLATE LXIV



246-248



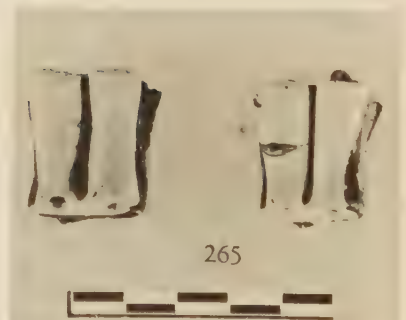
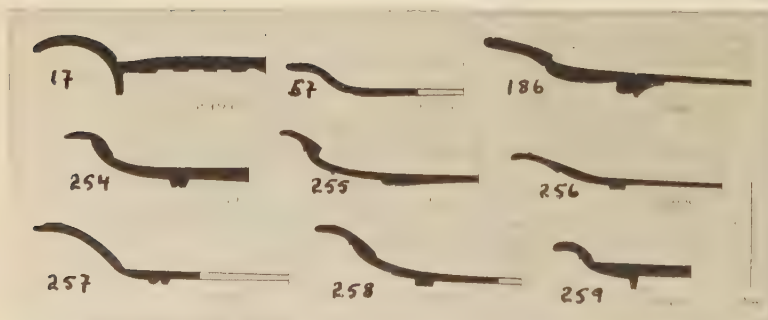
249-250, 252



253

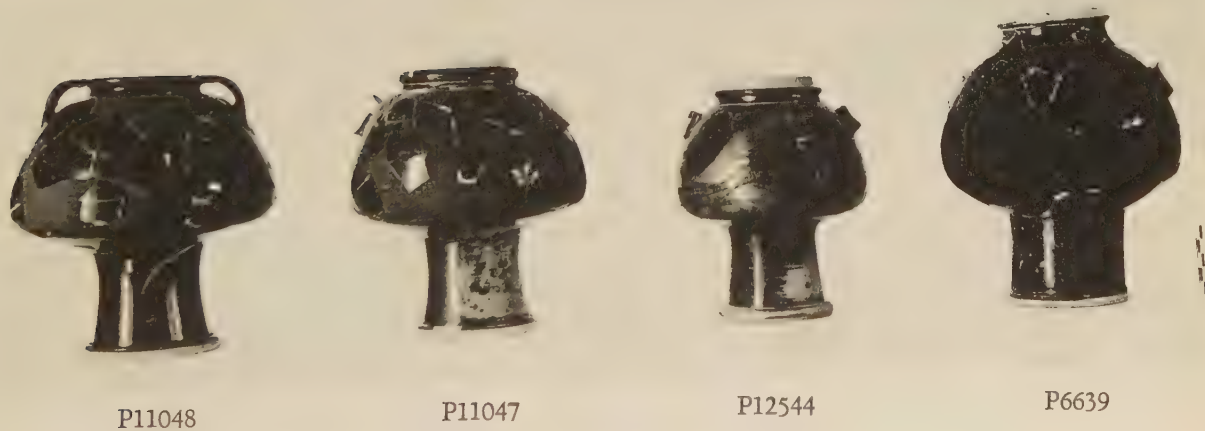
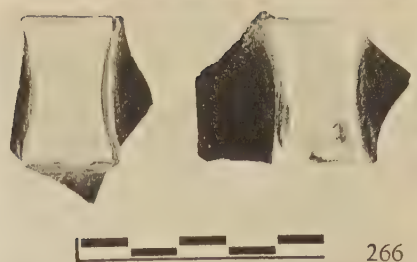


P14972



Catalogue Numbers 17, 57, 186, 246-250, 252-259, 265

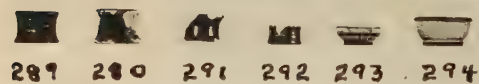
VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



Catalogue Numbers 254-264, 266

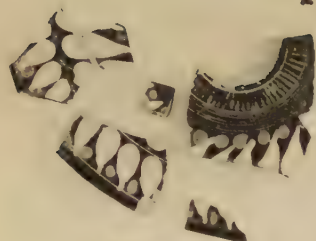
VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT

PLATE LXVI

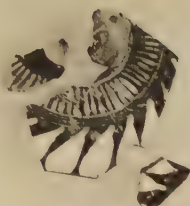




297



298



299



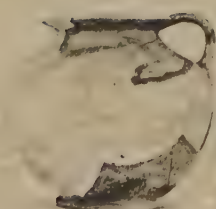
319



310-311



318

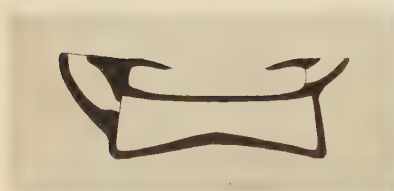
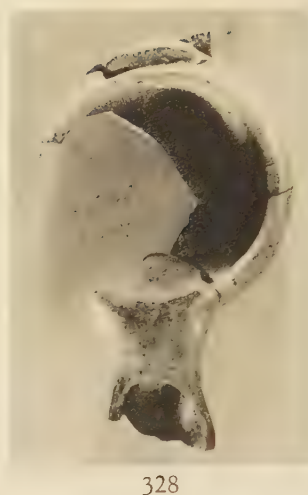


315-317

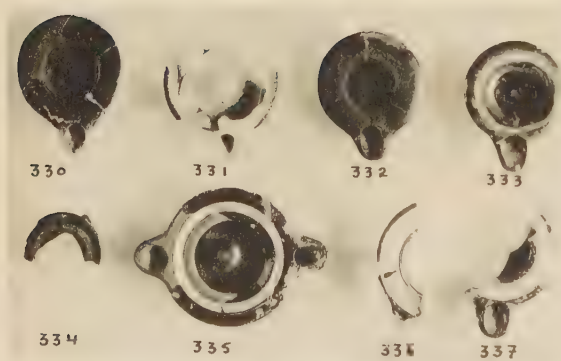
Catalogue Numbers 297-299, 310-311, 315-317, 318-319

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT

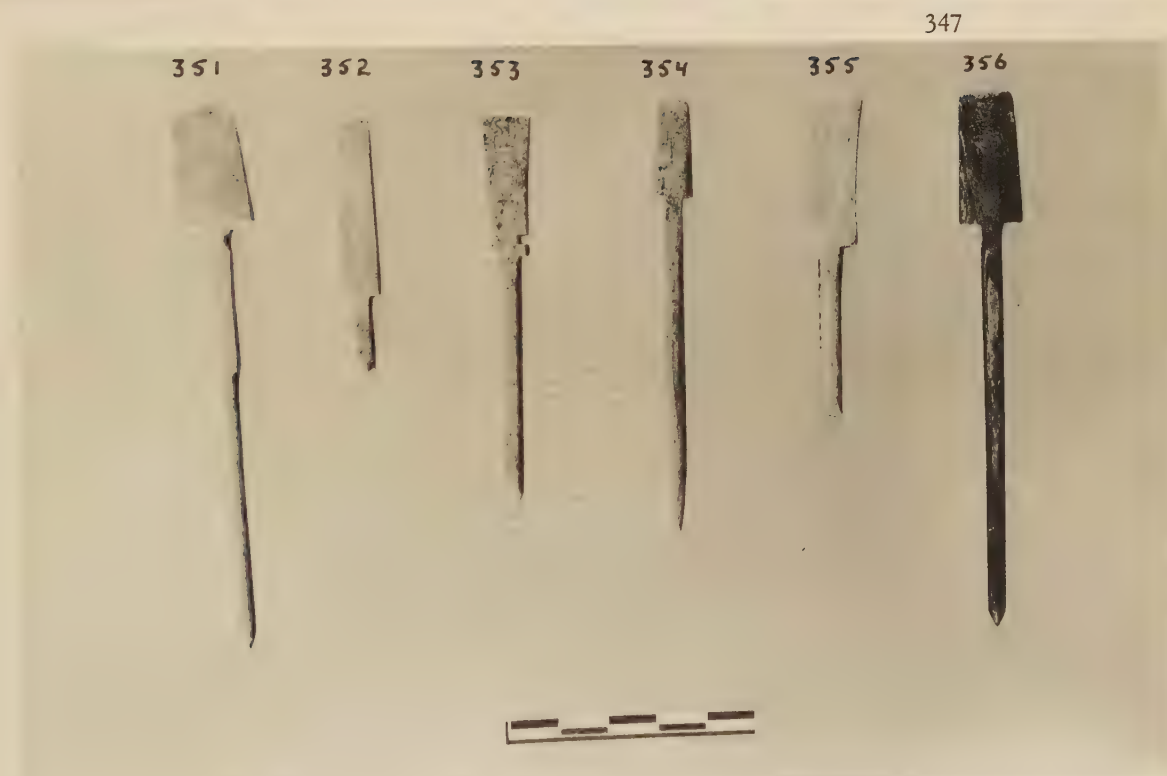
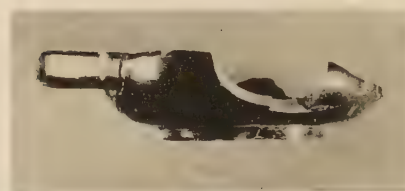
PLATE LXVIII



cf. 337, text



Catalogue Numbers 320-337, 340-346, 348-350
VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



Catalogue Numbers 346-370

VANDERPOOL: RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT



HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME XV: NUMBER 1

JANUARY—MARCH

1946



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

1946

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
GORHAM P. STEVENS: The Northeast Corner of the Parthenon.....	1
A. D. URE: Some Boeotian Palmette Cups.....	27
P. N. URE: Ring Aryballoi.....	38
CAMPBELL BONNER: Harpokrates (Zeus Kasios) of Pelusium.....	51
DOROTHY KENT HILL: Material on the Cult of Sarapis.....	60
P. MAAS: Στεφανώ, Title of a Priestess.....	72

American School of Classical Studies at Athens

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE: Edward Capps, George H. Chase, Harold Cherniss, Roy J. Deferrari, Benjamin D. Meritt (Chairman), Paul A. Clement (acting Chairman), Louis E. Lord (ex officio).

MANAGING EDITOR OF PUBLICATIONS: Paul A. Clement.

HESPERIA. Beginning with Volume IX the annual subscription price is \$5.00 net in the United States and Canada, \$6.00 net in other countries, payable in advance in dollars. Published quarterly. Current single numbers \$1.50 in the United States and Canada, \$1.75 in other countries; prices for back numbers will be quoted on request. Supplements are issued at irregular intervals, in the same format as *Hesperia*. Available now are:

Supplement I: *Prytaneis: A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors*. By STERLING DOW. 259 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$3.00 net.

Supplement II: *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora*. By RODNEY S. YOUNG, with an Appendix on the Skeletal Remains: Geometric Athenians, by J. LAWRENCE ANGEL. ix + 250 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Supplement III: *The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon*. By GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS. 91 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$2.50 net.

Supplement IV: *The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors*. By HOMER A. THOMPSON. 160 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Supplement V: *Observations on the Hephaisteion*. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. 171 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Supplement VI: *The Sacred Gerusia*. By JAMES H. OLIVER. xii + 204 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Supplement VII: *Small Objects from the Pnyx: I*. By GLADYS R. DAVIDSON and DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON. vi + 172 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Publication office: 20 Hopkins Place, Baltimore 1, Md. Executive and editorial offices: The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. All communications for the Editor should be sent to THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS, THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, Princeton, New Jersey, U. S. A.

Entered as second-class matter March 22, 1939, at the post office at
Baltimore, Maryland, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME XV: NUMBER 2

APRIL—JUNE

1946



WITH THE TWENTY-EIGHTH REPORT OF
THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS
IN THE
ATHENIAN AGORA

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

1946

WITH THE TWENTY-EIGHTH REPORT OF THE
AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
GORHAM P. STEVENS: Architectural Studies Concerning the Acropolis of Athens.....	73
A. E. RAUBITSCHKE and GORHAM P. STEVENS: The Pedestal of the Athena Promachos.....	107
MARCELLUS T. MITSOS: An Inscription from Mycenae.....	115
EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA	
EUGENE VANDERPOOL: Some Black-figured Pottery from the Athenian Agora.....	120
KENDRICK PRITCHETT: Greek Inscriptions.....	138

American School of Classical Studies at Athens

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE: Edward Capps, George H. Chase, Harold Cherniss, Roy J. Deferrari, Benjamin D. Meritt (Chairman), Paul A. Clement (acting Chairman), Louis E. Lord (ex officio).

MANAGING EDITOR OF PUBLICATIONS: Paul A. Clement.

HESPERIA. Beginning with Volume IX the annual subscription price is \$5.00 net in the United States and Canada, \$6.00 net in other countries, payable in advance in dollars. Published quarterly. Current single numbers \$1.50 in the United States and Canada, \$1.75 in other countries; prices for back numbers will be quoted on request. Supplements are issued at irregular intervals, in the same format as *Hesperia*. Available now are:

Supplement I: *Prytaneis: A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors*. By STERLING DOW. 259 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1937. \$3.00 net.

Supplement II: *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora*. By RODNEY S. YOUNG, with an Appendix on the Skeletal Remains: Geometric Athenians, by J. LAWRENCE ANGEL. ix + 250 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1939. \$5.00 net.

Supplement III: *The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon*. By GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS. 91 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1940. \$2.50 net.

Supplement IV: *The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors*. By HOMER A. THOMPSON. 160 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1940. \$5.00 net.

Supplement V: *Observations on the Hephaisteion*. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. 171 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1941. \$5.00 net.

Supplement VI: *The Sacred Gerasia*. By JAMES H. OLIVER. xii + 204 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1941. \$5.00 net.

Supplement VII: *Small Objects from the Pnyx: I*. By GLADYS R. DAVIDSON and DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON. vi + 172 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1943. \$5.00 net.

Publication office: 20 Hopkins Place, Baltimore 1, Md. Executive and editorial offices: The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. All communications for the Editor should be sent to THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS, THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, Princeton, New Jersey, U. S. A.

Entered as second-class matter March 22, 1939, at the post office at
Baltimore, Maryland, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME XV: NUMBER 3

JULY—SEPTEMBER

1946



THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA TWENTY-NINTH REPORT

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

1946

THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA
TWENTY-NINTH REPORT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
BENJAMIN D. MERITT: Greek Inscriptions.....	169

American School of Classical Studies at Athens

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE: Edward Capps, George H. Chase, Harold Cherniss, Roy J. Deferrari, Benjamin D. Meritt (Chairman), Paul A. Clement (acting Chairman), Louis E. Lord (ex officio).

MANAGING EDITOR OF PUBLICATIONS: Paul A. Clement.

HESPERIA. Beginning with Volume IX the annual subscription price is \$5.00 net in the United States and Canada, \$6.00 net in other countries, payable in advance in dollars. Published quarterly. Current single numbers \$1.50 in the United States and Canada, \$1.75 in other countries; prices for back numbers will be quoted on request. Supplements are issued at irregular intervals, in the same format as *Hesperia*. Available now are:

Supplement I: *Prytaneis: A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors*. By STERLING DOW. 259 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1937. \$3.00 net.

Supplement II: *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora*. By RODNEY S. YOUNG, with an Appendix on the Skeletal Remains: Geometric Athenians, by J. LAWRENCE ANGEL. ix + 250 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1939. \$5.00 net.

Supplement III: *The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon*. By GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS. 91 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1940. \$2.50 net.

Supplement IV: *The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors*. By HOMER A. THOMPSON. 160 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1940. \$5.00 net.

Supplement V: *Observations on the Hephaisteion*. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. 171 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1941. \$5.00 net.

Supplement VI: *The Sacred Gerusia*. By JAMES H. OLIVER. xii + 204 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1941. \$5.00 net.

Supplement VII: *Small Objects from the Pnyx: I*. By GLADYS R. DAVIDSON and DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON. vi + 172 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1943. \$5.00 net.

Publication office: 20 Hopkins Place, Baltimore 1, Md. Executive and editorial offices: The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. All communications for the Editor should be sent to THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS, THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, Princeton, New Jersey, U. S. A.

Entered as second-class matter March 22, 1939, at the post office at
Baltimore, Maryland, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

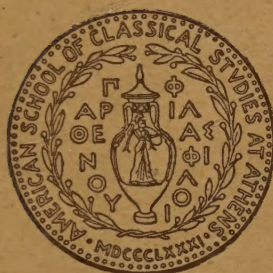
HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME XV: NUMBER 4

OCTOBER—DECEMBER

1946



THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS
IN THE
ATHENIAN AGORA
THIRTIETH REPORT

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

1946

THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA
THIRTIETH REPORT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
EUGENE VANDERPOOL: The Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft.....	265

American School of Classical Studies at Athens

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE: Edward Capps, George H. Chase, Harold Cherniss, Paul A. Clement, Roy J. Deferrari, Benjamin D. Meritt (Chairman), Louis E. Lord (ex officio).

MANAGING EDITOR OF PUBLICATIONS: Paul A. Clement.

HESPERIA. Beginning with Volume IX the annual subscription price is \$5.00 net in the United States and Canada, \$6.00 net in other countries, payable in advance in dollars. Published quarterly. Current single numbers \$1.50 in the United States and Canada, \$1.75 in other countries; prices for back numbers will be quoted on request. Supplements are issued at irregular intervals, in the same format as *Hesperia*. Available now are:

Supplement I: *Prytaneis: A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors*. By STERLING DOW. 259 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1937. \$3.00 net.

Supplement II: *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora*. By RODNEY S. YOUNG, with an Appendix on the Skeletal Remains: Geometric Athenians, by J. LAWRENCE ANGEL. ix + 250 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1939. \$5.00 net.

Supplement III: *The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon*. By GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS. 91 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1940. \$2.50 net.

Supplement IV: *The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors*. By HOMER A. THOMPSON. 160 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1940. \$5.00 net.

Supplement V: *Observations on the Hephaisteion*. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. 171 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1941. \$5.00 net.

Supplement VI: *The Sacred Gerusia*. By JAMES H. OLIVER. xii + 204 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1941. \$5.00 net.

Supplement VII: *Small Objects from the Pnyx: I*. By GLADYS R. DAVIDSON and DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON. vi + 172 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. 1943. \$5.00 net.

Publication office: 20 Hopkins Place, Baltimore 1, Md. Executive and editorial offices: The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. All communications for the Editor should be sent to THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS, THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, Princeton, New Jersey, U. S. A.

Entered as second-class matter March 22, 1939, at the post office at
Baltimore, Maryland, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

American School of Classical Studies at Athens

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Publisher: The Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.

European Agent: Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, Germany

CORINTH: RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS CONDUCTED BY THE SCHOOL

- Volume I, Part I: INTRODUCTION, TOPOGRAPHY, ARCHITECTURE. By HAROLD NORTH FOWLER and RICHARD STILLWELL, with contributions by CARL WILLIAM BLEGEN, BENJAMIN POWELL, and CHARLES ALEXANDER ROBINSON, Jr. xviii + 240 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Frontispiece; 154 figures in the text, 21 folio plates in a portfolio. 1932. \$7.50.
- Volume I, Part II: ARCHITECTURE. By RICHARD STILLWELL, ROBERT L. SCRANTON, and SARAH ELIZABETH FREEMAN, with contributions by H. ESS ASKEW. xvi + 243 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Frontispiece in color; 189 figures in the text, 20 folio plates in a portfolio. 1941. \$10.00.
- Volume III, Part I: ACROCORINTH: EXCAVATIONS IN 1926. By CARL WILLIAM BLEGEN, RICHARD STILLWELL, OSCAR BRONEER, and ALFRED RAYMOND BELLINGER. vi + 68 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 60 illustrations, 8 plans. 1930. \$3.00.
- Volume III, Part II: THE DEFENSES OF ACROCORINTH AND THE LOWER TOWN. By RHYS CARPENTER and ANTOINE BON, with contributions by A. W. PARSONS. xvi + 315 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 242 illustrations, 10 plates, 1 map. 1936. \$5.00.
- Volume IV, Part I: DECORATED ARCHITECTURAL TERRACOTTAS. By IDA THALLON-HILL and LIDA SHAW KING. xii + 120 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 48 illustrations, 5 colored plates. 1929. \$5.00.
- Volume IV, Part II: TERRACOTTA LAMPS. By OSCAR BRONEER. xx + 339 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 210 illustrations in the text, 33 plates. 1930. \$5.00.
- Volume V: THE ROMAN VILLA. By THEODORE LESLIE SHEAR. 26 pages. Large folio. 7 illustrations, 11 plates. 1930. \$10.00.
- Volume VI: THE COINS, 1896-1929. By KATHARINE M. EDWARDS. xii + 172 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 10 plates. 1933. \$5.00.
- Volume VII, Part I: THE GEOMETRIC AND ORIENTALIZING POTTERY. By SAUL S. WEINBERG. xiv + 104 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 31 figures in the text and 45 plates. 1943. \$5.00.
- Volume VIII, Part I: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS, 1896-1927. Edited by BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. 180 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 331 illustrations in the text. 1931. \$5.00.
- Volume VIII, Part II: LATIN INSCRIPTIONS, 1896-1926. Edited by ALLEN BROWN WEST. xiv + 171 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 177 illustrations in the text. 1931. \$5.00.
- Volume IX: SCULPTURE, 1896-1923. By FRANKLIN P. JOHNSON. xiii + 172 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 332 illustrations. 1931. \$5.00.
- Volume X: THE ODEUM. By OSCAR BRONEER. xiv + 154 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 138 illustrations, 16 plates. 1932. \$5.00.
- Volume XI: THE BYZANTINE POTTERY. By CHARLES H. MORGAN II. xviii + 376 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Frontispiece in color; 226 illustrations in the text, 53 plates (of which 17 are in color). 1942. \$15.00.
-
- THE ARGIVE HERAEUM. By CHARLES WALDSTEIN and others. 2 vols. xxi + 231 pages, 90 illustrations in the text, 41 plates; xxix + 389 pages, 209 illustrations in the text, 102 plates. 1902-1905. \$15.00 a set.
- EXPLORATIONS IN THE ISLAND OF MOCHLOS. By RICHARD B. SEAGER. 111 pages, 54 illustrations, 11 colored plates. 1912. \$3.00.
- KORAKOU: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT NEAR CORINTH. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xv + 139 pages. 139 illustrations, 8 colored plates, 1 plan. 1921. \$5.00.

American School of Classical Studies at Athens

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

(Continued from Third Page of Cover)

- SELECTED BINDINGS FROM THE GENNADIUS LIBRARY. 38 plates in color with introduction and descriptions by LUCY ALLEN PATON. 33 pages. 1924. \$25.00.
- THE ERECHTHEUM. Measured, drawn, and restored by GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; text by LACEY DAVID CASKEY, HAROLD NORTH FOWLER, JAMES MORTON PATON, and GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; edited by JAMES MORTON PATON. xxvi + 674 pages, 236 illustrations in the text. With a portfolio of 54 plates 21 × 14 inches. 1927. \$25.00.
- ZYGOURIES: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT IN THE VALLEY OF CLEONAE. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xviii + 230 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 20 illustrations in color, 2 maps. 1928. \$7.50.
- THE ATHENIAN CALENDAR IN THE FIFTH CENTURY. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. 144 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Illustrated. 1928. \$2.50.
- THE SCULPTURE OF THE NIKE TEMPLE PARAPET. By RHYS CARPENTER. 84 pages. Royal Octavo. Cloth. 29 plates, 15 figures, 1 plan. 1929. \$2.00.
- BYZANTINE MOSAICS IN GREECE: HOSIOS LUCAS AND DAPHNI. By ERNST DIEZ and OTTO DEMUS. viii + 120 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 42 half-tone plates, 15 colored plates. 1931. \$8.00.
- THE ARCHONS OF ATHENS IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. xviii + 568 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 1931. \$7.50.
- ANCIENT CORINTH, A GUIDE TO THE EXCAVATIONS. By RHYS CARPENTER. Third edition, revised and enlarged. 121 pages. Octavo. Paper. 18 figures, 1 plan. 1936. \$0.70.
- THE PERICLEAN ENTRANCE COURT OF THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS. By GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS. ix + 78 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Frontispiece, 66 figures. 1936. \$2.50.
- PROFILES OF GREEK MOULDINGS. By LUCY T. SHOE. xvi + 188 pages, 3 illustrations in the text. With a portfolio of 85 plates 21 × 14 inches. 1936. \$10.00.
- DOCUMENTS ON ATHENIAN TRIBUTE. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. Royal octavo, xi + 135 pp., 16 figures and 2 plates. 1937. Cloth, \$2.50.
- PROSYMNA: THE HELLADIC SETTLEMENT PRECEDING THE ARGIVE HERAEUM. By CARL W. BLEGEN, with a Chapter on the Jewellery and Ornaments by ELIZABETH PIERCE BLEGEN. 2 vols. xxvi + 486 pages, frontispiece and VIII plates in color in vol. I; xx + 192 pages, 731 figures and 52 plans in vol. II. Quarto. Cloth. London: Cambridge University Press, 1937. \$45.00.
- THE ATHENIAN TRIBUTE LISTS. By BENJAMIN D. MERITT, H. T. WADE-GERY, and MALCOLM F. MCGREGOR. Volume I: xxxii + 605 folio pages with 192 figures in the text, 25 plates, and a map. Cloth. 1939. Price \$15.00.
- THE CHRONOLOGY OF HELLENISTIC ATHENS. By WILLIAM KENDRICK PRITCHETT and BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. xxxvi + 158 pages with 14 figures in the text. Quarto. Cloth. 1940. \$5.00.
- THE LION MONUMENT AT AMPHIPOLIS. By OSCAR BRONEER. xx + 76 pages. Frontispiece, 37 figures, and 11 plates. Royal octavo. Cloth. 1941. \$2.50.
- GREEK WALLS. By ROBERT LORENTZ SCRANTON. xvi + 194 pages. 24 figures in the text. Royal octavo. Cloth. 1941. \$3.00.

GENNADEION MONOGRAPHS

- I. THE VENETIANS IN ATHENS, 1687-1688: FROM THE *ISTORIA* OF CRISTOFORO IVANOVICH. Edited by JAMES MORTON PATON. xiii + 104 pages, royal octavo, cloth. \$2.50.
- II. SCHLIEMANN'S FIRST VISIT TO AMERICA, 1850-1851. Edited by SHIRLEY H. WEBER. ix + 111 pages, royal octavo, cloth. \$2.50.

JAN 14 1947